

A. v. Dyc. Pinxit.

19861 2

THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

Building of *Rome* to the Ruin of the *Commonwealth*.

Illuſtrated with Maps and other Plates.

VOL. I.

By N. HOOKE, Eſq;

The SECOND EDITION Corrected.

LONDON:
Printed by *James Bettenham*,

And Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES in *Pater-noſter-Row*, G. HAWKINS in *Fleetſtreet*, and J. and J. RIVINGTON in St. *Paul*'s *Church-yard*.

M.DCC.LI.

ALEXANDER POPE, ESQ.

OF



THE MOST

To Alexander Pope, *Esq;*

SIR,

THE displaying your name at the head of these Sheets, is, I confess, like hanging out a splendid Sign to catch the Traveller's Eye, and entice him to make tryal of the Entertainment the place affords. But when I can write under my Sign, that Mr. POPE *has been here, and was content, Who will question the goodness of the House?*

You see, SIR, *and I had no desire to hide it, my interested view in this Epistle. Perhaps I should find it difficult, on such an occasion as the present, to address you in any terms, which might not be construed into Self-love, more or less refined. Will not this be the case, if I say, as with truth I can, that I was glad to seize the only opportunity I may*

ever have of ſo publickly teſtifying my juſt Eſteem for a worthy Friend, to whom I have been long and much obliged? Yet allow me to add, that I imagine I do give a Proof of that Eſteem, when I inſcribe to You this Attempt towards a Hiſtory of Roman Virtue *and* Patriotiſm. *No conſideration, I hope, could engage me to it, if I was not perſuaded that you really are, what your writings declare you to be, a Friend to Virtue, to your Country, and to the Liberties of Mankind.*

I am with ſincerity and affection,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful

Humble Servant,

GRAY'S INN,
Feb. 6, 1737.

N. Hooke.

THE PREFACE.

THE *compendious* History of the REGAL and CONSULAR STATES of ROME, by Mr. *Eckard*, and a translation of the *extensive* one, written in *French*, by the fathers, *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, were the only *general* Accounts, which (unmix'd * with foreign matters) had been given of them, *in our language*, when the present work was first offered to the public. In the structure of it, the Author had an especial regard to those persons, who, willing to be acquainted with the *Roman* story by reading it in *English*, found Mr. *Eckard too brief* to satisfy their curiosity, and the Jesuits too *diffuse* and *verbose* to engage their attention agreeably. Not long after its coming abroad, the well known and much esteemed Monsieur *Rollin*, who, by the solicitation of his friends and admirers, had been prevailed with, in his old age, to undertake *a History of* Rome *from the building of the* City *to the battle of* Actium, obliged the public with a part of what he had executed. Death prevented his prosecution of the work to its completion; but it has since been continued and finished by the ingenious and industrious Monsieur *Crevier*, and the whole is translated into *English*. Had M. *Rollin*, so clear, so exact a writer, and who not only has avoided, in his relations, the extremes abovementioned, but has drawn his historical matter (for the most part) from the antient *Greek* and *Latin* authors, been somewhat more early in his enterprise, it would have hindered the writer of the present history from attempting any thing of this kind; whose project, at first, was nothing more than to *abridge* the Jesuits voluminous compilation, making use, occasionally, of Mr. *Vertot*'s sprightly narrative of the revolutions in the *Roman* government. That project, however, he did not closely and constantly follow, even in this first volume, and he wholly departed from it, in composing the second, chusing then to have recourse to the ancients for his materials, and also venturing, with regard to certain things, by them related, to make

* Mr. *Howel*, in his *History of the World*, has given a dry, but very exact account of the *Roman* Kingdom and Republic. "His "*collections* (says Mr. *Echard*) are admi- "rable, both for their usefulness and ex- "actness; his *decisions* very just and faith- "ful, and his *learning* very uncommon and "curious: in short, we may say, that no "man ever more truly and carefully brought "together the principal matters of all the "*Roman* historians, than he; and that he "was an incomparable *collector* and *compiler*, "tho' at the same time he was but an in- "different *historian*." Pref. to Ech. Rom. Hist.

remarks, and give conjectures of his own; which, he imagined, might at leaſt occaſion to his readers the pleaſure of *conſidering*, if they proved of no ſervice to aſſiſt them in *judging*. Nor was he diverted from proceeding in this method, by the pieces M. *Rollin* had then publiſhed, of his *Roman* hiſtory: for this excellent writer, though more exact in his tranſlations, and in giving the ſenſe of his authors when he is not a mere tranſlator, than either Monſieur *Vertot* or the Jeſuits, has not, ſo often as could be wiſhed, made uſe of his judgment to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe, the probable from the improbable; and he has ſometimes choſen to tranſcribe Monſieur *Vertot*, where this Abbé did certainly not deſerve that honour. Whoever peruſes Monſieur *Vertot*'s work muſt, I * think, obſerve, that, notwithſtanding his ſtrong and lively repreſentation of the avarice, ambition and uſurpations of the *Nobles*, the *Tribunes*, with him, are always wrong, either in the *matter* or the *manner*, or the *timing* of their propoſals for relieving the *Plebeians*, and commonly in all three. And Monſieur *Rollin*, though he be not quite ſo devoted to the ariſtocratical faction as the Abbé, yet ſeems to have a ſtronger byaſs that way than perhaps in reaſon he ought to have. In page 57, 58 of his ſecond volume, ſpeaking of the Agrarian Law, he ſays, "The demand "of the Tribunes on this article does really appear ſo founded in equity, "that it ſeems as if nothing reaſonable could be objected to it; and one "cannot eaſily look upon the Senate's obſtinate withſtanding it, but as "a crying injuſtice, and a partiality wholly condemnable. Nevertheleſs, "a Society ſo reſpectable, and abounding with perſons of generally avowed "prudence and virtue, muſt undoubtedly have had ſtrong reaſons for "acting as they did. That poſſeſſion [which the Patricians had] of the "lands belonging to the public, might be *unjuſt in its origin*, and it was "*then* that a remedy might and ought to have been applied. But, "as Monſieur L'Abbé de *Vertot* obſerves, *a new partition* was a thing "attended with great difficulties." And then, to excuſe the Senate, he tranſcribes Monſieur *Vertot*'s *imaginary* difficulties; of which the reader will find ſome notice taken in page 269 of this volume.

Roll. Hiſt. Rom.

It is the more extraordinary that Monſieur *Rollin* ſhould be ſo ready to aſcribe the Senate's oppoſing the Agrarian Law to prudential motives, and a concern for the tranquillity of the public, when he had ſaid but five pages before, in ſpeaking of their oppoſition to the law for a partition of *Mount Aventine* among the people, "There was nothing unreaſonable in "this law: and the Senate ought to have granted the hill with a good "grace, and have even prevented the demand of the Tribunes; but theſe "obtained nothing from the *Fathers* without violent ſtruggle, the diſcord "being ſo great, and become, as it were, natural between the two Orders."

If from ſome paſſages, in the preſent edition of this volume, regarding the civil conteſts at *Rome*, the Author ſhould be thought too much byaſs'd

* I truſt here to my memory; perhaps there may be ſome inſtances of the contrary in M. *Vertot*.

to

to the popular ſide, he hopes it will be remembered at the ſame time, that there is a ſort of generoſity in taking the part of the poor Commons, who, in almoſt all their endeavours to free themſelves from oppreſſion, have been uſually repreſented, as an unreaſonable, headſtrong multitude, inſolent, ſeditious and rebellious. And he can truly ſay, that how partial ſoever to the Plebeians he may ſeem, he is not conſcious of having paſſed over any material fact, reported by the ancients to the diſadvantage of the plebeian cauſe, or its advocates; notwithſtanding his own incredulity with regard to ſeveral pretended facts of this kind. Thus, though he totally diſbelieves the ſtory of * *Caſſius's treaſonable plot*, with his trial and condemnation; as likewiſe that of the *wicked conſpiracy of the Tribunes* † againſt the Senate and the Knights; yet he has given the ſubſtance of both theſe tales as they are related by *Dionyſius*.

* See Hiſt. B. 2. c. 14.
† B. 2. c. 21.

In the *Forty two* years, from the SECESSION to the DECEMVIRATE, the main foundations were laid of that *Free* Republican Government, which was afterwards brought to its perfection by the *Licinian* laws, and their natural effects. For which reaſon, and the apprehenſion, that ſeveral tranſactions of thoſe times had not been placed in their true light by Monſieur *Vertot*, whoſe repreſentations of them were copied in the former edition of this volume, that portion of the hiſtory has been reviſed with ſome attention, and compared with the original writers: and this compariſon has occaſioned not only ſome variations from M. *Vertot*, but here and there a critical remark on the ancient hiſtorians themſelves.

A like examination has not been made of what, in the former edition, is related of the times preceding the *Seceſſion*, or of thoſe following the firſt year of the *Decemvirate*. The brief, imperfect and diſcordant accounts, given by the ancients, of the *Regal ſtate* of *Rome*, afford us ſatisfactory information as to very few particulars, more than the names and ſucceſſion of the Kings, their enlargements of the City, ſome of their civil and religious Inſtitutions, and the occaſion of putting an end to Kingly government: And it is hoped, that, in the relation of theſe, no conſiderable miſtake was made.

Nor is the author without the ſame hope concerning the *principal* tranſactions and events *at ROME*, from the firſt year of the Decemvirs, to the year where this volume ends. Theſe are the Revolution from the Decemviral government, the Inſtitution of the Military Tribuneſhip with Conſular power, and the Introduction of the *Licinian* laws.

The reader will, in p. 243, 244, find ſome obſervations on the affair of *Maelius*, and that of *Manlius Capitolinus*. And, with regard to the latter, I ſhall here add, That it being ſufficiently evident from *Polybius*, that the *Gauls* carried off the gold with which the *Romans* purchaſed a peace from thoſe dreadful enemies, this fact deſtroys the credit of the account given us of *Manlius*'s tryal. For, according to that account, a principal article, exhibited againſt him, and not by him diſavowed, is, That he had accuſed the Senators of ſecreting the gold collected for redeeming the Capitol;

and it is utterly incredible, that he ever charged the Senators with appropriating to their own uſe what muſt have been certainly and univerſally known at *Rome*, not to be in their poſſeſſion.

The reſt of the hiſtory, contain'd in this volume, is chiefly a narrative of the progreſs of the Roman arms to the entire conqueſt of ancient *Italy*; and *the circumſtances* of the wars, wherein that conqueſt was made, are frequently very uncertain, as well as unimportant and unintereſting. The material points, with regard to thoſe wars, are the order in which they followed one another, the occaſions of them, and the final events. The reader will, in his own mind, naturally abate ſomewhat of the complete victories and numerous triumphs, with which *Livy* has adorned his hiſtory, in compliance with the vanity of his countrymen. For, that the Roman vanity has now and then prevailed to the miſrepreſentation of facts, is too manifeſt, from ſeveral paſſages in the Latine Hiſtorian, ſome regarding the earlier, ſome the later ages of *Rome*. The happy concluſion of the war with *Porſenna*, and the marvellous exploit of *Camillus* againſt the *Gauls*, when, at the foot of the Capitol, they were ſelling a peace to the *Romans*, are remarkable inſtances of the power of this vanity: And that it had its influence in *Livy*'s relations of the war of *Hannibal*, and the *Spaniſh* war, has been ſhewn in the ſecond part of this Hiſtory.

What is inſerted in the margin of p. 132, by way of objection to *Livy*'s account of the *Peace* made with *Porſenna*, was borrowed from a Treatiſe entitled, *A Diſſertation on the uncertainty of the hiſtory of the firſt 500 years of* Rome. It ſeems, for the reaſons there given, highly probable, if not certain, that the King entirely ſubdued the *Romans*; and the truth of this opinion may perhaps receive ſome confirmation from another remark. *Livy* tells us, that it was a cuſtom, tranſmitted from the ancients, and retained even in his time, for the crier, at public ſales, to call the goods, *Porſenna's goods*. (According to *Plutarch* it was at ſales of goods belonging to the public.) The Latine hiſtorian is at a loſs for the true origin of this cuſtom; becauſe (as he intimates) it would ſeem, that the firſt goods, ſold under this appellation, had been taken from *Porſenna* in a hoſtile manner; and this does not well ſuit with the King's friendly departure from before *Rome*. "Either this cuſtom (ſays he) muſt have "commenced *during the war*, and been continued after the peace; or it "muſt have taken its riſe from an origin of a gentler kind than the *outcry* "imports." *Cujus originem moris, neceſſe eſt aut inter bellum natam eſſe, neque omiſſam in pace: aut mitiore creviſſe principio, quam hic præ ſe ferat titulus, bona hoſtiliter vendendi.* He adds, "The moſt credible tradition "concerning this matter is, That, when *Porſenna* marched away, he made "a preſent to the *Romans* of his camp ſtored with proviſions, of which, "by reaſon of the long blockade of their city, they were in extreme "want. And leſt the people, preſſed with hunger, ſhould ſeize the "proviſions in a rapacious tumultuous way, theſe were ſold and called "*Porſenna's goods*; not to ſignify that it was a ſale of booty acquired by

L. 2. c. 14.

"the *Romans* from the King in war, (for they were not in a condition to "make ſuch depredations) but of the free gifts of his bounty."

Now if, as *Tacitus* informs us, the city ſurrendered to *Porſenna*, and if, as the treaty mentioned by *Pliny* imports, the *Romans* were reduced ſo low, as to ſubmit to *the being prohibited the uſe of iron, except for agriculture*, we may eaſily believe, that the origin of the outcry, uſed in public ſales, was *an injunction* laid upon the *Romans* by the King, to make an *acknowledgment*, on all ſuch occaſions, that *whatever they poſſeſſed was his*. And this is not inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition of his freely ſupplying their neceſſities, when they, through the preſſure of famine, had abſolutely ſubmitted to him. The continuation of this cuſtom, whether it aroſe from gratitude, or from obedience to power, will in either caſe be difficult to account for, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that the words, *Porſenna's goods*, came ſoon to ſignify no more, than that the goods, expoſed to ſale, would be ſold *cheap*; as probably thoſe given by *Porſenna* were. Father *Catrou*, (upon what authority I know not) gives this meaning to the expreſſion.

Tac. L. 3. c. 72. Hiſt. *Plin.* L. 34. c. 14.

It may be obſerved, by the way, that the enterprize of *Mucius* to ſtab *Porſenna* is a ſtrong proof, if the fact be true, of the extremity to which the *Romans* were reduced. And the fact, that *Mucius* did undertake to aſſaſſinate the King, and this (as *Livy* and D. *Hal.* report) *with the approbation of the Senate*, is made credible by that *unuſual* ignominy with which he loaded his conquered * enemies, in *forbidding them the uſe of iron for arms*; for it ſeems to have a reference to the *dagger* of *Mucius*, and the baſe attempt to which *the great council of his nation* had encouraged him.

Liv. L. 2. c. 12. D. *H.* L. 5. c. 28.

Monſieur de *Beaufort*, a member of our Royal Society, and author of the *Diſſertation* abovementioned, gives ſome very good reaſons for queſtioning, in the ſtory of *Mucius*, the truth of that circumſtance, *his broiling his right hand*; and he has made ſeveral other ingenious obſervations on the Hiſtory of the firſt ages of *Rome*; yet I muſt take leave to ſay, that he ſeems very far from having proved, *That there is nothing more uncertain, than the* WHOLE BODY *of the Roman Hiſtory of the firſt* 500 *years, from the building of the City*: Qu'il n'y a rien de plus incertain que TOUT ce corps d'Hiſtoire— qu'on n'y peut compter ſur rien. And, becauſe the matter of the following ſheets is the ſubſtance of what the antients have written concerning thoſe times, it may not be improper to take ſome notice here of the attack made on the credit of their accounts.

Diſſertation, &c. p. 12, & 43.

THE famous *Turenne*, (as we learn from the hiſtory of his life) when he was about 12 years old, ſent a challenge to an officer, who had affronted him, by ſaying, that *Quintus Curtius*'s hiſtory of *Alexander the Great* was a mere romance. I do not wiſh, that our young gentlemen, who have begun to delight themſelves in the Roman Hiſtory, ſhould carry their reſentments ſo far againſt M. de *B.*; yet I think they may reaſonably look upon him as an

Ramſay's life of the Viſcount de *Turenne*.

* That *Porſenna* choſe rather to be himſelf King of the *Romans*, than to reſtore *Tarquin* to the throne, will not be thought wonderful. But when, and by what fortunate incidents the *Romans* got, ſo ſoon as they did, from under the domination of the *Hetrurian*, muſt be left to conjecture.

enemy,

enemy, who ſeeks to deprive them of a conſiderable part of their pleaſures; and that they ought to be upon their guard againſt him. And, for my own part, I cannot readily conſent to have my grave remarks upon certain paſſages of the hiſtory reduced to the importance of thoſe, by which ſome induſtrious chronologer ſhould fix the preciſe year when *Noah*'s grand-daughter *Ceſara* fled into *Ireland* to eſcape the deluge. For the ſake therefore of us Romaniſts, I once purpoſed to have gone through the whole of M. de *B.*'s Diſſertation, and to have attempted to ſhew the inſufficiency of his citations and his reaſonings for diſcrediting the Roman Hiſtory of the firſt 500 years, as to the main and fundamentals of it: For much of the embroidery and flouriſhing may be given up without parting with the groundwork. But the execution of that deſign would ſtretch this Preface to too great a length; and I conceive, that to thoſe who have peruſed M. *L'Abbé Sallier*'s * Defence of the Hiſtory againſt the attacks of M. de *Pouilli*, any further defence is unneceſſary. However, as the diſcourſes of that able champion of our cauſe have, I think, neither been printed apart from the other pieces in the *Memoires de Litterature*, nor tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and therefore may not have fallen into the hands of many perſons, who may have met with M. de *B.*'s Diſſertation, I ſhall juſt mention ſome particulars, in which I apprehend the chief ſtrength of M. *L'Abbé Sallier*'s arguments to be couched; and then make ſome brief remarks on M. de *B.*'s *principal poſitions* in his attempt to refute thoſe arguments.

Topog. Hibern. p. 135, 136. apud M. de Pouilli.

M. Labbé *Sallier* 1ſt and 3d Diſc.

1. IT IS beyond all belief, that *Varro* †, the moſt learned *Roman* of the moſt learned age of *Rome*, ſhould employ his ſtudies and his labours upon the antiquities of his country, in order to diſpel the obſcurity caſt upon the hiſtory of the earlieſt ages, unleſs there were means of attaining to cer-

* It was the controverſy [in 1722, 23, 24, 25] between theſe two very learned and very eloquent gentlemen, members of *the Royal French Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres*, which gave occaſion to M. de *Beaufort*'s *Diſſertation ſur l'Incertitude des cinq premiers ſiecles de l'hiſtoire Romaine*. Not content with the efforts made by M. de *Pouilli*, who, he thinks, *has treated a little too ſuperficially a matter which deſerved to be examined to the Bottom*, he, without neglecting M. de *Pouilli*'s arguments, endeavours to ſupply his deficiencies, and to prove, even to *Demonſtration*, the *Uncertainty* &c. [Je crois avoir *demontré*, d'une maniere tres claire, l'incertitude qui regne ſur *le tems lequel a precedé la priſe de Rome* par les Gaulois, et la deſtruction de ſes monumens, qui en fut une ſuite naturelle. Il eſt vrai, que cela ne prouve rien à l'egard du *ſiecle ſuivant, ſur lequel j'ai cru pouvoir etendre cette incertitude*, à cauſe de la confuſion, qui regne encore par rapport à divers evenemens.] In 1738 M. de *Beaufort* gave the firſt edition of his Diſſertation; an Engliſh tranſlation of which was publiſhed in 1740. His ſecond edition of it *reviſed, corrected*, and *conſiderably augmented*, bears date 1750. 'Tis to the pages of the latter the references are made.

See *Memoires de Litterature* &c. Tom. 8. edit. *Amſterd.*

Pref. p. vii.

N. B. M. de *Beaufort* gives up one argument, in which M. de *Pouilli* expatiates, drawn from the work called, *The Parallels of* Plutarch, a work of which M. l'Abbé *Sallier* has totally deſtroyed the credit.

† Of *Varro* Cicero thus writes.

Nos in noſtra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tanquam hoſpites, tui libri quaſi domum deduxerunt, ut eſſemus aliquando qui, et ubi eſſemus agnoſcere; tu ætatem patriæ, tu deſcriptiones temporum, ſedem locorum, tu ſacrorum jura, tu domeſticam, tu bellicam diſciplinam, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, cauſas aperuiſti. Acad. 1. c. 3.

tainty,

tainty, or a high degree of probability, with regard to many things that paſſed in thoſe ages.

2. It is no leſs incredible, that *Cicero* ſhould † *deſign*, and *Livy* ‖ *undertake* a hiſtory of the earlieſt ages of *Rome*, if they had no authentic records, no ſolid materials for their ground work; and this in an age, of which *Cicero* ſays §, that it was too knowing, too much enlightened to be impoſed upon by fictions and perſuaded to believe abſurdities.

3. *Cicero* in ſix books which he wrote concerning the *commonwealth*, gave a particular and circumſtantial * account of the cuſtoms and maxims of ancient *Rome*, à *primo urbis ortu*, its domeſtic and military diſcipline.

4. We have the expreſs teſtimony of *Cicero* for the exiſtence, in his time, of the PONTIFICAL ANNALS †, which were begun almoſt as early as the

† *Cicero*, ſays Dr. *Middleton*, was meditating *a general hiſtory* of *Rome*, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the only man capable of adding that glory to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a ſpecies of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the leaſt cultivated by the *Romans*. But he never found leiſure to execute ſo great a taſk; yet has ſketched out a plan of it, which, ſhort as it is, ſeems to be the beſt, that can be formed, for the deſign of a perfect hiſtory.

He declares it to be the firſt and fundamental law of hiſtory, that it ſhould neither dare to ſay any thing that was falſe, nor fear to ſay any thing that was true, nor give any juſt ſuſpicion either of favour or diſaffection: that in the relation of things, the writer ſhould obſerve the order of time, and add alſo the deſcription of places: That in all great and memorable tranſactions, he ſhould firſt explain the councils, then the acts, laſtly the events: that in the councils he ſhould interpoſe his own judgment on the merit of them: in the acts, ſhould relate not only what was done, but how it was done: in the events, ſhould ſhew, what ſhare chance, or raſhneſs, or prudence had in them: that in regard to perſons, he ſhould deſcribe, not only their particular actions, but the lives and characters of all thoſe, who bear an eminent part in the ſtory. That he ſhould illuſtrate the whole in a clear, eaſy, natural ſtile: flowing with a perpetual ſmoothneſs, and equability: free from the affectation of points and ſentences, or the roughneſs of judicial pleadings. *de Orator.* 2. 15. *Middleton*'s Life of *Cicero*, Vol. 2. p. 528.

‖ *Res immenſi operis, ut quæ ſupra ſeptingentiſſimum annum repetatur, &c.* Liv. Præf.

§ *Ut jam doctis hominibus, ac temporibus ipſis eruditis ad fingendam vix quicquam eſſet loci. Antiquitas enim recipit fabulas, fictas etiam nonnunquam incondite: hæc ætas autem jam exculta præſertim et erudita omne quod fieri non poteſt reſpuit.* Frag. Lib. 3. de Repub.

* *Nec enim hic locus eſt ut de moribus, inſtitutiſque majorum, et diſciplina ac temperatione civitatis loquamur: aliis hæc locis accurate ſatis dicta ſunt, maximèque in his ſex libris quos de republica ſcripſimus.* Lib. 4. Tuſc. c. 1.

† *Erat enim hiſtoria nihil aliud niſi annalium confectio. Cujus rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ cauſa, ab initio rerum Romanarum uſque ad Publium Mucium Pontificem Maximum res omnes ſingulorum annorum litteris mandabat P. Maximus, referebatque in album, et proponebat tabulam domi ut eſſet poteſtas populo cognoſcendi, ii qui etiam nunc* annales maximi *nominantur. Hanc ſimilitudinem ſcribendi multi ſecuti ſunt qui ſine ullis ornamentis monumenta ſolum temporum hominumque locorum, geſtarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acuſilas fuit, aliique permulti; talis noſter Cato, et Pictor, et Piſo, qui neque tenent, quibus rebus ornatur oratio (modo enim huc iſta ſunt importata,) et dum intelligatur, quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant eſſe, brevitatem.* Lib. 2. de Orat. 12.

Abeſt enim hiſtoria litteris noſtris, ut et ipſe intelligo, et ex te perſæpe audio. Potes autem tu profecto ſatisfacere in ea, quippe cum ſit opus, ut tibi quidem videri ſolet, unum hoc oratorium maximè. Quamobrem aggredere, quæſumus, et ſcribe ad hanc rem tempus, quæ eſt a noſtris hominibus adhuc nec ignorata, aut relicta. Nam poſt annales pontificum maximorum, De leg. Lib. 1. c. 2.

the birth of the ſtate, and continued to the time of *P. Mucius*, the High Prieſt, who lived in the 7th century of *Rome*. *Varro*, in his books concerning the Latin tongue, gives us many fragments of theſe annals.

L. 12. Lit. 25. Ad Cornif. L. 11. Lit. 25. ad Brut.

5. Since it was the cuſtom in the *latter* times of the republic to record the *acts of the ſenate* and *of the magiſtrates*; it is *probable* that the ſame cuſtom was obſerved in the *former*. And it ſeems unqueſtionable from a paſſage ‖ in *Suetonius* [Vit. Veſp. 8.] not only that the acts of the ſenate, and of the people, in the earlieſt ages, uſed to be recorded, but that many of thoſe records were preſerved from the flames, when the *Gauls* burnt the city.

6. *Dionyſius* ſpeaks of the *memorials* §, *commentaries* or *tables* of the *cenſors* preſerved in families which had been honoured with the cenſorſhip, *pieces* which he conſulted, and in which he found, that a poll of the people had been taken *two years before the burning of Rome*, in the conſulſhip of *Valerius* and *Manlius*.

c. 17.

7. *Cenſorinus*, in his book *de die natali*, inſinuates, that the *memorials* of the *duumvirs* and *decemvirs* were antient monuments that uſed to be conſulted, long after the firſt ages of *Rome*.

Libri Lintei.

8. *Livy* frequently cites the *Linnen books*; which ſeem to have been of great uſe for diſcovering the ſucceſſion of the conſuls and other magiſtrates.

9. It appears from the hiſtorians, that many *treaties* with foreign ſtates were preſerved from the flames which conſumed the city.

10. *The laws of the twelve tables* were unqueſtionably preſerved, and theſe would give a thorough inſight into the conſtitution of the ſtate.

Liv. Lib. 1. Macr. Lib. 3. c. 9. Aul. Gell. L. 16. c. 4.

11. In *Livy*, *Macrobius* and *A. Gellius* we have the antient invariable *forms* that were uſed by the *Roman heralds*, when employed to *demand ſatisfaction* for an injury done to the State; *declare war*; *invite the gods* to forſake a city beſieged; and, before a battle, *load with curſes* the army of the enemy.

12. The *Rituals* and *Calendars* were of uſe to hiſtory. The very name of a feſtival is often a brief relation of the fact which gave occaſion to its inſtitution.

* *Some read* jejunius.

morum, quibus nihil poteſt eſſe * jucundius: *ſi aut ad Fabium, aut ad eum, qui tibi ſemper in ore eſt, Catonem, aut ad Piſonem, aut ad Fannium, aut ad Vennonium veniat: quamquam ex his alius alio plus habet virium, tamen quid tam exile, quam iſti omnes.*

Unde autem facilius quam ex annalium monumentis *aut res bellica, aut omnis reipublicæ diſciplina cognoſcitur? Unde aut agendum aut dicendum copia depromi major graviſſimorum exemplorum, quaſi* incorruptorum teſtimoniorum *poteſt?* Frag. Cic. in Hortens.

‖ Speaking of *Veſpaſian*'s reſtoring the capitol which had been demoliſhed in the Vitellian ſedition. *Ipſe* [Veſpaſianus] *æreorum tabularum tria millia, quæ ſimul conflagraverant, reſtituendo ſuſcepit, undique inveſtigatis exemplaribus, inſtrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetuſtiſſimum confecit; quo continebantur* penè ab exordio urbis ſenatus conſulta, plebiſcita *de ſocietate, et fœdere, ac privilegio cuicunque conceſſis.*

§ Δηλοῦναι δὲ ἐξ ἁπάντων τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τῶν καλουμένων τιμητικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, &c. *D. Hal.* p. 59. Edit. Oxon.

13. Antient

13. Antient *pillars*, *ſtatues* and *inſcriptions* § immortalized the memory of ſeveral great men of the early times, and bore teſtimony to their exploits.

Therefore, though *Livy* complains of the ſcarcity of men of letters in the early times [*raræ per ea tempora litteræ*] and of the loſs of *a great part*, or the *greater part* † of the pontifical annals, and other hiſtorical monuments, both public and private, in the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, yet there remained good memorials and original pieces ſufficient for compoſing a credible hiſtory * of the earlieſt ages of *Rome*.

14. *Tradition* alone was ſufficient whereon to found a reaſonable and full belief of many facts in the Roman ſtory; ſuch, for example, as *the ſhameful defeat* of the *Romans* near the *Caudine Forks*; and the ſeditions and *ſeceſſions* of the *Plebeians* on occaſion of the cruelties exerciſed by the rich towards the poor. [This is a conceſſion made by M. de *Pouilli*.]

15. The fables which are found interſperſed in the writings of the Roman hiſtorians ought not to ruin the credit of the hiſtory of the firſt ages of *Rome*, as to the eſſentials of it; though the hiſtorians ſhould ſeem to have adopted thoſe fables for facts. *Livy* ‖ warns us not to be over credulous with regard to ſeveral old ſtories of the *marvellous* kind, and *Cicero* ridicules them.

‖ L. 2. de Divin. & L. 1. de leg.

16. And *Atticus* † had ſucceſsfully laboured to rectify the miſtakes in ſome family-memoirs, concerning the ſucceſſion of the magiſtrates, and the origins of families, miſtakes occaſioned by ignorance or vanity; and he could have had no ſucceſs in ſuch an attempt, had he been deſtitute of all ſure guides to the truth.

If any reader deſires to ſee theſe, and ſeveral other particulars, relating to the ſame ſubject, learnedly and ingeniouſly diſcuſſed, I ſhall refer him to the diſcourſes at large of M. *L'Abbé Sallier* in the *Memoires de Litterature*.

Before I take notice of M. de *Beaufort*'s poſitions, I muſt frankly confeſs that I am not well qualified to diſpute againſt his opinion, concerning the Roman Hiſtory; becauſe I cannot, by his Diſſertation, diſcover with *certainty* what his opinion is.

§ *Suorum vero clypeos in ſacro vel publico, privatim dicare primus inſtituit (ut reperio) Appius Claudius, qui conſul cum Servilio fuit anno urbis 259. poſuit enim in Bellonæ æde majores ſuos; placuitque in excelſo ſpectari et titulos honorum legi.—Quales clypeos nemo non gaudens, favenſque aſpicit.* Pliny B. 35.

† *Quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliiſque publicis, privatiſque erant monumentis incenſâ urbe pleraque interiere.* B. 6. c. 1.

* *Quæ ab conditâ urbe ad captam eandem urbem Romani ſub regibus primum, conſulibus deinde ac dictatoribus, decemviriſque ac tribunis conſularibus geſſere foris bella, domi ſeditiones, quinque libris expoſui.* B. 6. c. 1.

‖ —*Omnis expers curæ, quæ ſcribentis animum, etſi* non flectere à vero, *ſollicitum tamen efficere poſſit. Quæ ante conditam, condendamve urbem,* poeticis *magis* decora fabulis, *quam incorruptis rerum geſtarum monumentis traduntur,* ea nec affirmare nec refellere *in animo eſt.* Liv. in Præf.

Speaking of the *Curtian Lake, and how it came to be ſo called. Cura non deeſſet, ſi qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret; nunc fama rerum ſtandum eſt, ubi certam derogat vetuſtas fidem,* Liv. Lib. 7. c. 6.

† *Laborem nobis Attici noſtri levavit labor; ſic familiarum originem ſubtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines poſſimus cognoſcere.* Cic. in Orat. et Corn. Nep. in Attic.

I know not whether, in his judgment, we may reaſonably *reject the* WHOLE * hiſtory of the firſt 500 years of *Rome* as groundleſs and fabulous.

Or ſhould reject only *almoſt all.*

Or may ſtop when we have rejected *the greater part.*

Or, rejecting ſome paſſages of the hiſtory as utterly falſe, ſhould *call in queſtion, doubt of, ſuſpect all the reſt:* [le revoquer en queſtion, en douter, le tenir pour ſuſpect.]

This laſt, from a great number of paſſages ‖ in his Diſſertation, one would imagine to be his real opinion. And yet now and then he ſeems to ſlide into *belief*, and even into *certainty*, without being aware of it. He has great faith in what *Polybius* relates of the *Romans* in the early times of the Republic; and admits, as indubitable, ſeveral facts, for which the other hiſtorians are his only vouchers. Thus, for example,

Diſſert. p. 299. "It is *certain* † that *Servius* [*Tullius*] augmented the number of the "Tribes."

p. 329. "*Certain* it is, that from this time *Porſenna* did not treat the *Romans* "as enemies, but as old allies or as good ſubjects."

And M. de *B.*'s arguments for diſbelieving ſome facts in the *Roman*

p. 18. * Attendu le peu de ſoin qu'on a eu de tranſmettre à la poſterite la memoire des evenemens, dans le tems, qu'ils arrivoient, nous ſommes fondés, en voiant une hiſtoire ſuivie de quatre ſiecles de *rejetter* LE TOUT, ou du moins *la plus grande partie comme forgés à plaiſir.*

Ce n'eſt pas que je veuille *revoquer en doute* generalement tous les evenemens de ce ſiecle [le cinquieme,] pour quelques traits fabuleux dont ils ſe trouvent accompagnés, ou parce qu'il y en a pluſieurs qui ſont manifeſtement faux. Mon intention eſt ſeulement de faire voir, que *divers faits* des plus marqués, et des plus importans, *ſe trouvant faux*, et le fruit de la vaine gloire des Romains, *les autres doivent nous etre ſuſpects.* J'en tire encore de nouveaux motifs de douter de *l'Hiſtoire des ſiecles precedens, laquelle*, à plus forte raiſon, *doit paroitre fabuleuſe et forgée apres coup.* p. 359.

Ces caracteres de fauſſeté ſuffiroient à bien des gens pour leur faire *rejetter cette Hiſtoire*, ſans plus d'examen; mais je ne veux pas me prevaloir de cet avantage. Ce n'eſt que ſur l'autorité des ecrivains les plus celebres, et les plus accredités que je veux m'appuier pour *en douter.* Et, a fin qu'on ne m'accuſe pas d'en douter trop legerement, je me retranche à ne trouver cette hiſtoire *obſcure* et *incertaine*, que parce qu'ils la trouvent telle eux-memes. p. 10.

‖ De-là je conclus —— que nous ſommes fondes à *tenir pour fort ſuſpect* TOUT *ce qu'on nous raconte des quatre ou cinq premiers ſiécles de Rome.*

La ſeconde partie ſera deſtinée à l'examen de certain faits des plus marqués, et qui figurent le plus dans l'Hiſtoire Romaine: l'incertitude ou la fauſſeté deſquels, étant bien prouvée, donnera une nouvelle force aux raiſons que l'on a de *revoquer en doute* TOUTE *cette Hiſtoire.* —— je me flatte, que ceux qui ſe dépouillerent de leurs préjugés conviendront qu'il n'y *a rien de plus incertain que* TOUT *ce corps d'Hiſtoire des prémiers ſiécles de Rome.* p. 11, 12.

Il faut abſolument, qu'on en vienne a dire, que ces traittés ſont ſuppoſés, ce qu'on ne peut faire ſans de fortes raiſons (et je ne vois pas qu'on ait aucune pour douter de leur autenticité) ou que l'on convienne de bonne foi, que TOUT ce qu'on nous debite dans l'Hiſtoire Romaine n'eſt qu'incertitude, et *qu'on n'y peut compter ſur rien.* p. 43.

† Il eſt *ſur* que Servius en augmenta le nombre [des tribus.]

Ce qu'il y a de *ſur*, c'eſt que, dès lors, Porſena n'en uſa plus avec les Romains, comme avec des ennemis, et qu'au contraire il les traitta en anciens alliés, ou en bons ſujets.

ſtory,

ſtory, or doubting of them, are frequently drawn from the *certainty* of others, particularly of the *Treaties*. See p. 33.

I cannot but take notice, that, with regard to the ſtory of King *Brennus* the *Gaul*, M. de *B.* ſeems not to doubt of theſe facts. 1. That the *Gauls* totally routed the *Roman* army in the field. 2. That they preſently after poſſeſſed themſelves of *Rome*. 3. That they burnt the city. 4. That the old hiſtorical records and monuments were moſt of them conſumed in the flames. 5. That the capitol was ſaved. 6. That ſeveral ancient monuments, being there depoſited, were preſerved with it. 7. That the *Gauls* ſold a peace to the *Romans*, and departed without loſs. Here are then, in the hiſtory of this one affair, ſeven important facts which M. de *B.* ſeems fully to believe. And what is it he objects to? Why, to *Livy*'s relation of *Camillus*'s wonderful arrival in the critical moment to ſave the *Romans* from the diſgrace of living on the foot of a ranſomed people; and his deſtroying the whole army of the *Gauls*. But this relation, romantic in the air of it, and diſcovered by *Polybius*'s account to be a mere fiction of Roman vanity, can never be thought a good reaſon for queſtioning the truth of every thing that *Livy* has related of the earlieſt ages of *Rome*; and much leſs for regarding the whole Roman Hiſtory of the firſt 500 years, as fabulous or *uncertain*. For when M. de *B.* ſpeaks of the *uncertainty of the* Roman Hiſtory, I ſuppoſe he means, or ought to mean, *the uncertainty of the beſt and leaſt exceptionable accounts of the Roman affairs, that can be collected from the ſeveral ancient writers who have treated the ſubject.* Diſſert. part 2. ch. x.

We ſhall preſently ſee, that one of M. de *B.*'s reaſons for his incredulity is, that the Roman Hiſtorians (the earlieſt of whom lived in the ſixth century from the building of *Rome*) *wanted means to know the truth.* Yet he gives credit to *Polybius*'s relation of the wars between the *Romans* and *Gauls*, from the time of *Brennus*, to that of *Pyrrhus*; and if he thinks it reaſonable to believe *Polybius* on this part of the Roman Hiſtory, he muſt allow that there were means of coming at the truth of it, whether *Livy*, and the prior hiſtorians whom he followed, made uſe of them or not.

But whatever be the real opinion of M. de *B.* concerning the *Roman* Hiſtory of the firſt 500 years, he has advanced (if I miſtake him not) the following propoſitions.

" 1. The Romans were an obſcure people, confined, *during four cen-* Diſſert. p. 6.
" *turies*, to a little corner of *Italy*; and the continual exerciſe of arms,
" and huſbandry (the only ſciences they profeſſed) *hindered them from*
" *having the* * *Thought of tranſmitting the memory of events to poſterity.*"

" 2. And, if they had thought of perpetuating the memory of what
" paſſed among them, they were univerſally ſo illiterate, that *no body* p. 15.
" *was capable* of writing hiſtory, or *tranſmitting the events to poſterity by*
" *ſure and exact memorials* †." Perſonne n'etoit capable, *&c.*

" 3. *The*

* — *l'empecha de ſonger à tranſmettre à la poſterité des evenemens*, qui dans le fond, ne ſont devenus intereſſans, que par le haut degré de gloire, auquel ſes deſcendans ſe ſont elevés par leurs conquêtes.

† M. de *B.* cites a paſſage from *Livy*, p. 16. (B. vii.

p. 10, 56. "3. THE PONTIFICAL ANNALS, *or hiſtorical part of the pontifical books,* " *and the other monuments publick and private,* which could have given *ſome*

(B. vii. c. 3.) to prove that even *in the end of the 4th century,* WRITING was *very little in uſe.* " Raræ per ea tempora litteræ, *on ſaiſoit* " *peu d'uſage de l'ecriture* dit Tite Live " en parlant *de la fin du quatrieme ſiecle.*" M. de *B.* adds, " Indeed they muſt have " been very little ſolicitous *in theſe times* " to preſerve the memory of events, ſince, " *inſtead of all other Annals,* they were " content with *driving a nail every year* in- " to the wall of the temple of *Jupiter Ca-* " *pitolinus*; and this was *the ſole expedient* " *they could have for fixing the chronology,* " [c'etoit là toute la reſſource qu'on pou- " voit avoir pour fixer la chronologie] *as* " *the ſame hiſtorian informs us in the ſame* " *place.*"

He proceeds; " Had this been prac- " tiſed from the foundation of *Rome,* it " might have been of great uſe for ſet- " tling the true Æra of the city. But the " practice could not *commence* before the " temple was dedicated, which was not " till after the expulſion of *Tarquin*; and " it had ſuffer'd a long interruption. It " was *renew'd* in the end of the fourth " century of *Rome, not becauſe they found* " *it mention'd in any record or ritual,* (for " they made ſo little uſe of letters, that " *they had neither books nor records*) but " on account of a tradition almoſt for- " gotten, *ex ſeniorum memoriâ repetitum.*" [*it was recall'd to mind by ſome old men,* &c.]

As great uſe is made of the paſſage in *Livy,* referr'd to by M. de *B.* for proving the extremely illiterate ſtate of the *Romans,* during many years after the commencement of the Republic, I ſhall here tranſcribe the paſſage at length. The hiſtorian is ſpeaking of the year 392 (or according to the Capitoline Marbles 390) when *Rome* was grievouſly afflicted with the plague.

Cn. Genucio, L. Æmilio Mamercino ſecundum conſulibus, quum piaculorum magis conquiſitio animos quam corpora morbi afficerent, repetitum ex ſeniorum memoria dicitur, peſtilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo ſedatam. Ea religione adductus Senatus, dictatorem clavi figendi cauſa dici juſſit. Dictus L. Manlius Imperioſus, L. Pinarium Magiſtratum Equitum dixit. Lex vetuſta eſt priſcis litteris, verbiſque ſcripta, " *cer-* ut qui Prætor Maximus ſit, Idibus Septembribus clavum pangat. Fixus fuit dextro lateri ædis Jovis optimi maximi, ea ex parte qua Minervæ templum eſt. Eum clavum, quia raræ per ea tempora litteræ erant, notam numeri annorum fuiſſe *ferunt*: eoque Minervæ Templo dicatam legem, quia Numeros Minervæ inventum ſit. Volſiniis quoque clavos indices numeri annorum, fixos in templo Nortiæ Etruſcæ Deæ, comparere, diligens talium monimentorum auctor Cincius affirmat. M. Horatius CONSUL, EX LEGE Templum Jovis optimi maximi dedicavit, anno poſt reges exactos: à CONSULIBUS *poſtea* ad DICTATORES, quia majus imperium erat, ſolenne clavi figendi tranſlatum eſt. Intermiſſo deinde more, digna etiam per ſe viſa eſt res, propter quam dictator crearetur.

Now I conceive that M. de *B.* has, through inattention, made no leſs than four miſtakes in his comment upon this paſſage.

For 1. Firſt of all, *Livy* does not ſpeak of THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, when he ſays, *ſome report, that the* Nail *was to mark the number of years, becauſe* Letters *were rare in* THOSE DAYS, *per ea tempora*; but of *the time, when the Practice* of driving a nail in the Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter,* COMMENCED, in purſuance of a LAW, directing that it ſhould be done annually, on THE IDES OF SEPTEMBER, by the Chief Prætor, [i. e. by the Chief Magiſtrate. The CONSULS were, at firſt, ſtiled PRÆTORS.] That this Practice commenced long before *the end of the fourth century* is evident, from the inſtance *then* called to mind by the old men, of a Dictator's doing it, and from the words *intermiſſo deinde more.* And it ſeems highly probable from *Livy*'s words, that the LAW *was made, and the* PRACTICE *commenced in the firſt year of the Republic, and that* HORATIUS, *when he dedicated the Temple, ſtruck the Firſt Nail into the wall*; and that it was a part of the Ceremony, at the Dedication, and performed in conformity to the Law abovementioned. " There is an old Law, (ſays " *Livy*) written in antique characters, and " antique words, importing, that the Chief " Prætor ſhould, on the Ides of September, " *drive the Nail, clavum pangat.* The Nail " was fixed on the right ſide of the Temple " of

" *certainty* to hiſtory, were ALL * *deſtroy'd* by the flames which con-
" ſumed the city, after the *Gauls* had taken it [in 363.]"

How to reconcile this *third* aſſertion with the *ſecond*, or with the *latter part of* the *firſt*, ſeems ſomewhat difficult; nor ſeems it very eaſy to reconcile it with the following enumeration of the antient monuments which M. de *B.* ſuppoſes to have eſcaped the flames.

" SOME LAWS of the KINGS. p. 13.

" of *Jupiter*, in that part where the Fane
" of Minerva is." What follows is all Pa-
renthesis, till he thus goes on: " The CON-
" SUL Marcus Horatius, ACCORDING TO
" THE LAW, *dedicated* the Temple of *Ju-*
" *piter*, the year after the expulſion of the
" Kings: AFTERWARDS, *the fixing the Nail*
" was transferred from the CONSULS to
" the DICTATORS, becauſe theſe were Ma-
" giſtrates of greater power and dignity"
[agreeably to the Spirit of Law, expreſſed in theſe words, Qui Prætor Maximus ſit.] Whoever attends to *Livy*'s words muſt ſurely ſee, that, when he ſays, the CONSUL Horatius dedicated the Temple EX LEGE, he refers to the LAW, where it was enjoined, that the Chief Magiſtrate ſhould drive a Nail annually on the Ides of September; and means to tell us, that this CONSUL *drove the firſt Nail*, purſuant to that Law, *when he dedicated the Temple*; (which DEDICATION was on *the Ides of September*, as Plutarch informs us.) If *Livy* did not mean to ſay that HORATIUS *drove the Nail, when he dedicated the Temple*, what connexion between the former and latter part of this period? " The CONSUL Horatius dedicated the
" Temple the year after the Regifuge; AF-
" TERWARDS, *the fixing the Nail* was trans-
" ferred from the CONSULS to the DICTA-
" TORS."

2. THERE is not one word in the paſſage referr'd to, importing that the *Romans* had no *annals* except *nails*. And the *written law* itſelf is a proof, that the nails were not uſed becauſe *no body could write*, or becauſe theſe nails were *the only expedient they could have to fix the chronology*. And, for the ſame reaſon, they, of whom *Livy* ſays *ferunt*, cannot be ſuppoſed to have meant, that the nails were uſed, becauſe no body could mark the years by words or figures, but becauſe the generality of people could not *read* what ſome could *write*; as was the caſe in theſe countries not many hundred years ago. And the *interruption* of the practice of *driving nails* [*intermiſſo deinde more*] if it proves any thing, proves only, that the common people were become leſs illiterate, and that the nails were not wanted to inſtruct them in chronology.

3. It appears from the paſſage referr'd to, that, in the end of the fourth Century, the *Romans* had a monument or record *mentioning the cuſtom* of driving a *nail*, &c. They had *a written law* enjoining it; *lex vetuſta eſt priſcis litteris verbiſque ſcripta, ut qui Prætor Maximus ſit, Idibus Septembribus clavum pangat*. In conformity to which Law the Act of *fixing the nail* had been transferred from the Conſuls to the Dictators. And this ſhews that both the Law and the Practice were anterior to the Inſtitution of Dictators.

4. THE *thing ſaid to be remember'd by the old men*, was not *the cuſtom of driving a nail into the wall of the Temple*, but a particular inſtance of *the plague's being ſtopt* by a Dictator's driving a nail, &c. *repetitum ex ſeniorum memoria dicitur, peſtilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo ſedatam*.

* C'eſt de ces ecrivains, que j'apprens, que TOUS *les monumens publics*, qui auroient pû donner quelque certitude à l'Hiſtoire, *perirent par le feu*, lorſque les Gaulois eurent pris Rome. p. 10.

Il eſt ſur que la partie hiſtorique des livres des Pontifes, ou leurs *Annales* perirent dans la deſtruction de Rome par les Gaulois. Tite Live eſt ſi exprés là deſſus, qu'il nous ote tout ſujet d'en douter,—— lorſque ſe plaignant de la peine qu'il a eue— parceque TOUS les memoires, conſervez dans les Archives, *qui etoient entrés les mains des particuliers*, ou *qui faiſoient partie des livres des Pontifes*, avoient été enveloppés dans la ruine de la ville. *Et quod etiamſi quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliis publicis privatiſque erant monumentis, incenſâ urbe* PLERÆQUE interiere. p. 56.

N. B. In this place, *Pleræque*, with M. de *B.*, imports *Tous*; in p. 5. 18. *Preſque tout*; in p. 20, 27. *La plus part*; in p. 19. *Grande partie*.

p. 32. "ALL the LAWS of the *Twelve Tables, by which might be known the* "*conſtitution of the antient government.*

46, 47. "SOME of the PONTIFFS BOOKS, *which diſcovered the origin of ſeveral* "*religious cuſtoms or ceremonies.* (Under the name of the *Pontiffs* "*books*, M. de *B.* comprehends all the books in general, which treated "of the religious ceremonies and traditions of the *Romans*, as the books "of the *Augurs* and *Haruſpices*, the verſes or hymns of the *Salii*, the "*Saturnian* verſes, and a great number of books of that kind.)

103. "SOME of the *books* * which contain'd the *muſters* and *polls* taken of "the *Roman* citizens, *which books might be of uſe to hiſtory.*

42. "A *conſiderable number* of the *Treaties* which *Rome* had made with "the neighbouring ſtates. Il eſt a preſumer qu'ils ſauverent un aſſez "bon nombre de ces derniers [les traittés] parce qu'ils etoient gardez "dans le temple de Jupiter au capitole, qui demeura a l'abri de la fu-
33 "reur des Gaulois. *And treaties of peace are the moſt authentic ma-* "*terials for hiſtory.* Les traittés de paix ſont les materiaux les plus au-"thentiques pour l'hiſtoire, et on ne peut former aucun doute raiſonable "ſur des faits appuiés de pareilles preuves."

145. 4. "THERE was, at *Rome*, no book, *no writing* prior to *Pyrrhus*'s com-
70. "ing into *Italy*; *no* † *piece* that could be *of uſe to hiſtory*, anterior to the "end of the fifth century."

How to make this agree with the foregoing enumeration of *pieces preſerved* from the flames, I do not readily perceive.

6, 7. "5. THE LATER hiſtorians of *Rome did but copy* § the *earlier* with re-"gard to the times preceding the *earlier*."

* Quoique les anciens Hiſtoriens omettent quelques *luſtres*, et quelque fois les noms des cenſeurs, ainſi que le nombre des citoiens, qui s'etoit trouvé dans chaque denombrement, *je ſerais aſſez porté à croire, ſur ce qui nous reſte de ces reoues generales des citoiens de Rome, que c'etoit un des monumens le mieux conſervé, et que les hiſtoriens avoient le moins negligé de conſulter.* Ce que Denis d'Halicarnaſſe en cite remoute juſqu'au premier cens ſous Servius Tullius. On ſeroit un peu mieux fondé, ſi on nous alléguoit de pareilles pieces en faveur de l'hiſtoire Romaine. Car, ſi ce que les hiſtoriens nous diſent des differens cens, où denombremens, qui ſe ſont faits à Rome, eſt fondé ſur le temoignage de ces monumens, qui ſe gardoient dans les Archives, *on ne peut diſconvenir*, qu'ils n'aient echapé aux flammes, du moins en partie, et *qu'ils n'aient été de quelque uſage pour l'hiſtoire.* p. 102, 103.

† J'ai deja prouvé que ces Annales des Pontifes n'exiſtoient point, et je prouverai bientôt, *qu'il n'y avoit aucune piece qui pût ſervir à l'Hiſtoire laquelle fut anterieure à la fin du cinquieme ſiecle de Rome.* p. 70.

§ On reconnoitra facilement que ceux qui ont ecrit l'Hiſtoire Romaine *n'ont fait que ſe copier les uns les autres* pour ce qui regardoit les tems anterieurs. p. 7.

Fabius Pictor et ceux qui le ſuivirent de près avoient ignoré, &c. On *n'avoit fait depuis que les copier* ſans autre examen. p. 45.

Ils ont ete plus de cinq ſiecles ſans avoir d'Hiſtoriens—*les premiers* qu'ils ont eus ont fort mal réüſſi deſtimés comme ils l'etoient de monumens anciens et de memoires ſurs qui leur puſſent ſervir de guides—*les Hiſtoriens, qui depuis ont entrepris* de fournir la même carriere, *ſe ſont contentés de s'appuier de l'autorité de leurs Predeceſſeurs et de les donner pour garans des faits qu'ils rapportoient*—ils ſe ſont pen mis en peine *d'examiner à la rigueur la verité des faits.* p. 6.

N. B. Unleſs with regard to *abſurd* fictions, it is hard to gueſs by what teſt the *later* hiſtorians, if there were no *antient monuments*, no authentic *memorials*, could examine the truth of the facts related by the *earlier* hiſtorians.

This

This ſeems to be a haſty aſſertion; ſince both *Livy* and *Dionyſius* ſpeak ſo frequently of the diſagreeing accounts given by the authors they cite, with regard to the times anterior to the firſt hiſtorians. And *Livy*, in his preface, ſays, that each new writer thinks *either to produce ſomething more certain with regard to facts*, than his predeceſſors have done, or to excel them in language and ſtyle. *Novi ſemper ſcriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos ſe, aut ſcribendi arte rudem vetuſtatem ſuperaturos credunt.*

" 5. THOSE records or monuments which eſcaped the flames (when p. 11.
" *Rome* was burnt by the *Gauls*) were of little uſe for compoſing a hiſ-
" tory. And the *firſt* hiſtorians did not reſt upon ſuch monuments, but
" *founded themſelves* WHOLLY upon *traditions and vulgar ſtories*, as the moſt
" celebrated and moſt eſteemed writers inform us, * who nevertheleſs
" *took all their accounts* from thoſe *firſt* hiſtorians.

" What we have of the *Roman* hiſtory [of the firſt 500 years] was p. 142.
" taken out of *family-memoirs*. Deſtitute of all other monuments, it 143. &
" was to theſe pieces, that the hiſtorians, towards the middle of the ſixth 435.
" century, [i. e. the firſt hiſtorians] were obliged to have recourſe, and 151.
" *from no other ſources could they have drawn* what they related of thoſe 152.
" times which, as *they* † *themſelves* confeſs, were cover'd with thick dark-
" neſs, and of which there was no ſpeaking with any certainty." §

To explain, and, as much as poſſible, *reconcile* theſe two paragraphs, we ſhall have recourſe to another paſſage in the Diſſertation.

" *The moſt antient piece* known at *Rome* in *Cicero*'s time‖, was the ſpeech 150.
" of *Appius Claudius, the blind*, pronounced in the ſenate to diſſuade
" them from accepting the terms of peace propoſed by *Pyrrhus* in 474.

" Indeed

* Je recherche ce qui a pû échaper à cet incendie—je trouve que ce qui en echapa fut de peu d'utilité pour la compoſition de l'Hiſtoire. Ce ſont eux memes [*les ecrivains les plus célebres et les plus accreditès*] qui m'apprennent, que ce n'eſt point ſur de pareils monumens, que *les premieres Hiſtoriens* ſe ſont appuiés, et que *ceux qui les ont ſuivi* (en avouant, que ceux qui les avoient precedés dans cette carriere, *ne s'etoient fondés que ſur des traditions, et ſur des bruits populaires*, que d'ailleurs ils n'avoient aporté ni jugement, ni exactitude, dans la compoſition de leurs hiſtoires, et dans ce qu'ils diſoient des premiers ſiecles de Rome) *n'ont pas laiſſé de reconnoitre que c'etoit d'eux qu'ils tiroient* TOUT *ce qu'ils en rapportoient*. [i. e. *tout* ce qu'ils rapportoient des premiers ſiecles de Rome.] p. 10, 11. Les hiſtoriens, qui ont vecu dans des ſiecles plus polis, et où l'on n'ignoroit aucune des loix de l'Hiſtoire, n'aiant point eu d'autres ſources où puiſer, que ces mêmes hiſtoires, *qui n'etoient fondées que ſur la tradition*, ils n'ont pû donner plus de certitude à ce qu'ils rapportoient des premiers ſiecles de Rome. p. 204.

† By *they themſelves*, I preſume M. de *B.* means the later hiſtorians; for they are the only writers he cites as complaining of darkneſs.

§ C'eſt des *Memoires des Familles*, qu'eſt tiré ce que nous avons de l'Hiſtoire Romaine. p. 142.

Deſtitués de tous autres monumens, ce fut à ces pieces [Memoires des Familles] que les hiſtoriens, vers le milieu du ſixieme ſiecle, furent obligez d'avoir recours. p. 435.

Dans quelle ſource ont-ils puisé ce qu'ils ont dit ſur des tems, que ſelon eux-memes couvroient d'epaiſſes tenebres, et dont on ne pouvoient parler avec aucune certitude? *Ce n'a pû être* que dans ces *Traditions des Familles* puiſqu'il n'y avoit point d'autre monument auquel ils puſſent avoir recours. p. 152.

‖ I am not aware that M. de *B.* has any ſupport for this, but a miſtake of his own (through inattention) in interpreting a paſſage

" Indeed there were, beſide that, ſome *funeral orations*; but *tradition* muſt " have ſupplied the reſt: ſo that the truth of the hiſtory of the firſt five " centuries had no other ſupport but theſe two witneſſes, *funeral orations* " and *tradition*."

" Perhaps to theſe we may add, ſome ſongs or hymns, compoſed in " honour of the heroes and illuſtrious men, — pieces not proper to in- " ſtruct us in the truth of facts."

The caſe then was this; there were no *written* family-traditions nor any other [hiſtorical] *writings*, aucun livre, aucun ecrit, before the year 474. Between this time and the year 550 (when *Fabius Pictor* became an hiſtorian) *funeral orations* were *written*. And from theſe *written orations* and from *oral tradition*, the *firſt hiſtorians* compiled their works.

p. 150. But then we are aground again, by reaſon of an unlucky paſſage, cited by M. de *B.*, from *Dionyſius*, who tells us, that *Fabius* [whom all the following hiſtorians are ſaid to have copied] compiled his hiſtory of the firſt 500 years from tradition, from *bear-ſay*, *wholly* from bear-ſay; on

p. 164. voit que ce qu'il en diſoit n'etoit appuié que ſur ce qu'il en avoit ouï dire: ἐξ ὧν ἤκουε, D. H. Lib. 7. p. 475. *Fabius* then did not make uſe of the *funeral orations*, nor of any *written* family-traditions, (family-memoirs:) Neither were theſe, according to M. de *B.*, form'd upon *bear-ſay*. The matter of them was *invented* by the vanity of private men. And not only the matter of them was invented, but the greater number of the

p. 154. *pieces themſelves* were *forgeries*, † i. e. they were not contemporary with the authors to whom they were aſcribed, but forged after their time. And if *Fabius* took his hiſtorical accounts from *forged funeral orations*, theſe

paſſage of *Cicero*'s *Brutus* [c. 16.] *Nec verò habeo quenquam antiquiorem* cujus quidem ſcripta proferenda putem, *niſi Appii Cæci oratio hæc ipſa de Pyrrho, et nonnullæ mortuorum laudationes, fortè delectant: et Herculi, hæ quidem extant.* *Cicero* is diſcourſing, not of authors in general, nor of hiſtorians, but of *Orators*, and the laſt he mentions is *Cato* the Cenſor; and he adds, that " he is ac- " quainted with none more antient, *whoſe* " *writings he thinks worth ſpeaking of*; un- " leſs the *oration* of *Appius Claudius* con- " cerning *Pyrrhus*, and ſome *funeral ora-* " *tions* may happen to pleaſe. Of theſe " there are indeed enough." Had *Cicero* been ſpeaking of Roman hiſtorians, or authors in general, he certainly would not have ſaid, that he knew none more antient than *Cato*, that were worth mentioning; becauſe *Fabius* and *Cincius* and ſeveral other hiſtorians, much eſteemed, were prior to *Cato*. Yet on the authority of this paſſage M. de *B.* (p. 145.) writes thus, "On ne pourra pas douter " de la verité de ce que j'avance, dés que " j'aurai fait voir, qu'on n'avoit a Rome " aucun livre, *aucun ecrit*, qui fût *anterieur* " *à la venuë de Pyrrhus en Italie*, evene- " ment, qui ne ſe place que vers la fin du " cinquieme ſiecle de Rome. Pour *des* " HISTORIENS, on ſait qu'ils ne parurent " que dans le ſiecle ſuivant. Ciceron, *par-* " *lant de ce qu'on avoit de plus ancien de ſon* " *tems*, dit que Caton, qui etoit mort il " n'y avoit pas plus d'un ſiecle, etoit con- " ſideré comme *un Auteur* fort ancien *cum* " *nos perveterem habemus*. Certes ajoute " t-il, je n'en connois point de plus ancien " dont *je puiſſe vous citer les ecrits*, à moins " que l'on ne trouve du gout à la harangue " d'Appius Claudius ſur Pyrrhus, et à quel- " ques oraiſons funebres."

† L'on peut aſſûrer ſans temerité que l'Hiſtoire Romaine, pour la plus grande partie, à été forgée ſur ces *Traditions des Familles*, et ſur des *oraiſons funebres*, qui *pour la pluſpart* n'etoient que des *pieces ſuppoſées*, *que des fauſſaires avoient forgées* pour favoriſer les pretenſions, que quelques familles formoient à une genealogie illuſtre.

forgeries

forgeries muſt have been *almoſt all* made in his own time, and *all* in the ſpace of 76 years; ſuppoſing it true, that there were no *writings* of earlier date than the year 474. And then we ſhall be at a loſs to gueſs how it was poſſible to impoſe theſe forgeries upon *Fabius* for genuine pieces.

But is it not ſtrange that M. de *B.*, who, by admitting that the public monuments and private memorials of the *Romans* were burnt by the *Gauls*, admits that the *Romans* had both ability and diſpoſition to write *before* that time, ſhould yet ſuppoſe, that they had neither the one nor the other, for above 100 years *after* that time?

And there is another difficulty ariſing from another paſſage cited by M. de *B.* from *Dionyſius* [Lib. 1. p. 58.] who there ſays, that the earlieſt *Roman* hiſtorians took all their accounts of the birth of *Romulus* and the building of *Rome*, from *the antique narratives in the* SACRED BOOKS, ἐν ἱεραῖς διφθέραις. p. 162.

And what makes theſe difficulties the greater is, that M. de *B.* is of opinion, we * ought to give full credit to *Dionyſius* in what he ſays concerning the works and merit of the hiſtorians who preceded him.

BUT, not to dwell any longer on the *ſeeming* repugnancies in the argumentation of our ingenious Critic againſt the credibility of the hiſtory of the five firſt centuries, let us now conſider what *Livy* ſays concerning his own hiſtory of the times anterior to the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*.

" I have, in five books, ſet forth what, from the building of the city " to it's being taken, was done by the *Romans*, firſt under the Kings, then " under the Conſuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, and Military Tribunes with " conſular power; the foreign wars and domeſtic ſeditions; matters very " obſcure, *by reaſon of their antiquity*, (like objects, that at a great diſtance, " are hardly diſcerned.) For it is only by *writings*, that the tranſactions " and events of remote times can be clearly and faithfully tranſmitted; " and in thoſe days there were few *writers*; and the greater part of the " commentaries of the High Prieſts, and of the other records, publick " and private, periſhed in the burning of *Rome* †. Henceforward, mat- " ters more clear and certain will be related; the civil affairs and military " acts of the *Romans*, after the rebuilding of their city §."

Now what is the obvious ſenſe of this paſſage?

" The

* Denis d'Halicarnaſſe, aiant entrepris l'Hiſtoire des cinq premiers ſiecles de Rome, doit etre conſideré comme juge competent de ceux qui l'ont precedé dans la meme carriere. p. 168. L'on ne riſque rien en s'en rapportant à ce qu'il en dit. p. 163.

I cannot poſſibly be of M. de *B.*'s opinion in this particular. *Dionyſius* ſeems, of all writers, to be the man who deſerves the leaſt credit when he ſpeaks of the merit of other writers. For (Lib. 1. p. 5.) he ſays of *Polybius*, " that he wrote little concern- " ing the *Romans*, and that the little he " did write was without any care or accu- " racy, and *wholly founded upon idle reports*." Nor could even *Thucydides* pleaſe *Dionyſius*: but, as to what he ſays by way of cenſure on *Thucydides*, Mr. *Hobbes* remarks, " that there was never written ſo much " abſurdity in ſo few lines."

† It ſeems pretty plain from what *Livy* here ſays of the deſtruction of public and private Monuments or Records, that he knew nothing of the *peu d'uſage de l'ecriture*, for which M. de *B.* contends.

§ Quæ ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem L. 6. Cap. 1.

"The foregoing part of my hiſtory, (ſays *Livy*) is full of obſcurity "and uncertainty; becauſe the matters, there treated of, are of too anci- "ent date to have been tranſmitted with *faithfulneſs* and *exactneſs* by *oral* "*tradition*, and becauſe the contemporary writers were few, and the "greater part of their writings periſhed in the fire that conſumed the city. "But the tranſactions and events after that time, are things more clear "and certain, *clariora & certiora*:" *How ſo?* "Becauſe with reſpect to "theſe, there are not the ſame cauſes of obſcurity and uncertainty. The "times not being ſo remote, the *traditions* concerning them are more to be "depended on; contemporary writers were leſs rare; and there has not "been a like deſtruction of their writings."

This is ſurely the plain meaning of his words, and it ought to be obſerved to his credit, that his hiſtory of the earlieſt times, is proportioned, for length, to the ſcarcity of materials he complains of; for, notwithſtanding his *circumſtantial*, and, perhaps in his own opinion, fabulous account of the rape of the *Sabine* women, with the conſequences of it; and notwithſtanding the frequent diſplay of his ſkill in adorning a ſtory, as in his deſcription of the combat between the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, and in ſeveral other inſtances, his whole hiſtory of the ſeven kings, who are ſuppoſed to have reigned 244 years, hardly fills ſeventy pages in *Clerc*'s ſmall edition; and, of theſe, twenty are taken up with the reigns of *Servius Tullius*, and his ſucceſſor *Tarquin the Proud*. Now, the inſtitutions of *Servius*, which were his moſt important acts, and were the plan, whereon, after the expulſion of *Tarquin*, the new government was eſtabliſhed and maintained, cannot eaſily be called in queſtion; nor, I believe, will any body queſtion the truth of the moſt material things, related of *Tarquin*'s tyranny, which gave occaſion to the revolt from him, and the abolition of kingly government. The obſcurity and uncertainty therefore, of which *Livy* ſpeaks, muſt chiefly regard the circumſtances with which ſome facts are accompanied in his relations, and not the principal facts and events contained in hiſtory of the early times.

Certainly M. de *B.* had not duly attended to the accounts given by the ancients, of the regal ſtate of *Rome*, when he ventured to ſay, "It is ſur- "priſing to find a continued hiſtory of five centuries, in which there is "ſcarce any *void*, any year, that is not *diſtinguiſhed* by ſome conſidera- "ble event:" For very few of the 244 years of the kings are *diſtinguiſhed* by any event whatſoever.

P. 6.

eandem urbem Romani ſub regibus primum, conſulibus deinde ac dictatoribus decemviriſque ac tribunis conſularibus geſſere, foris bella, domi ſeditiones, quinque libris expoſui; res quum vetuſtate nimia obſcuras, veluti quæ magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur: tum quod et raræ per eadem tempora litteræ fuere, una cuſtodia fidelis memoriæ rerum geſtarum: et, quod etiam ſi quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliiſque publicis privatiſque erant monumentis, incenſa urbe pleræque interiere. Clariora deinceps *certioraque* ab ſecunda origine, velut ab ſtirpibus lætius, feraciuſque renatæ urbis, geſta domi militiæque, exponentur.

It

It may be further remarked, that *Livy*'s hiſtory of the 129 years, from the expulſion of *Tarquin* to the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, is above four times as long as his hiſtory of the 244 years of the kings; and his hiſtory of thoſe 129 years is no longer than his hiſtory of the 95 years that follow the rebuilding of *Rome*, and reach to the year 460, with which his tenth book ends. And the next ten books (which are loſt) contain'd but the hiſtory of 73 years. Now the reaſon of theſe differences in the length of his accounts of the different periods is very obvious, and is contained in the paſſage above cited.

I proceed now to ſay ſomething of the value of thoſe *materials*, which the firſt *Roman* hiſtorians may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have had for compoſing their hiſtories. Without entering into any diſcuſſion of the antiquity or contents of the *linnen books*, the *books of the magiſtrates*, the *tables* and *memorials* of the *cenſors*, the *books of the Decemvirs and Duumvirs*, or the *inſcriptions* on pillars, ſtatues or ſhields, (from all which, it cannot be queſtioned but many things, uſeful to hiſtory, might be drawn) I ſhall confine myſelf to ſpeak of the other ſources of hiſtorical matter, that were open to the firſt hiſtorians.

1. THE ANNALS or Commentaries of the High Prieſts, called the *Great Annals*.

That it was the conſtant cuſtom from the earlieſt times, for the High Prieſts to record in writing the events of each year, and that *ancient annals*, compoſed by the *High Prieſts*, * exiſted, either entire or in part in *Cicero*'s time, is unqueſtionable from his expreſs teſtimony.

And from the complaint which *Livy* makes of the loſs of the *greater part* of the Pontifical Annals, anterior to the burning of *Rome* [*incenſa urbe* Pleræque † *interiere*] it is evident that ſome *pieces* of *thoſe* ANNALS were preſerved from that fire. His words import this: and his chief ground for ſaying that the *greater part* periſhed, was doubtleſs the preſervation of the *ſmaller*. L. 6. c. 1.

Rome was burnt by the *Gauls* about the year 363, i. e. about 129 years after the commencement of the Republic. The *Romans*, we are told, were very induſtrious in collecting what monuments or records had eſcaped the fire: and it is natural to ſuppoſe that endeavours were uſed to ſupply by *memory* (as far as memory could ſupply) the defects of what remained of the Pontifical Annals. "Before the uſe of *letters* (ſays Sir *Iſaac Newton*) the names and actions of men could ſcarce be remembered above 80 or 100 years after their deaths: and therefore I admit of no chronology of things done in *Europe* above 80 years before *Cadmus* brought letters into *Europe*." It ſeems here to be admitted by this great man, *Short* Chron. p. 7.

* ——*Ab initio rerum*——*Res omnes ſingulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus*——*ii qui etiam nunc* Annales Maximi *vocantur*, *De orat. Lib.* 2. *c.* 12. *Servius ad Virg. Æneid. Lib.* 1. *v.* 377. and *Vopiſcus* in *Tacito cap.* 1. ſpeak to the ſame effect, as M. de *B.* obſerves.

† *M. L'Abbé Sallier* conſiders *Livy*'s *Pleræque* as a word of exaggeration, to magnify his own labour in compiling a general hiſtory of his country.

that the names and actions of men, and even the chronology of things done 80 years back, might be preſerved by *memory*, and without written records. The defects of the *Great Annals* might therefore, with certainty enough, be ſupplied, by the help of *memory alone*, as to the principal events during the far greater part of the time, between the beginning of the Republic and the burning of *Rome*. And with regard not only to that time but to the earlier times, is it to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe perſons, who had read the Annals before they were in part deſtroyed, remembered nothing of what they had read?

Theſe Annals, thus repaired, would doubtleſs be very brief and very imperfect, but not uſeleſs to hiſtory. The great events and the order of them would there be found. And as to the Annals, written after the burning of *Rome* (for the practice was continued) we read of no deſtruction happening to theſe either in whole or in part. It muſt be granted however, that even theſe, through ſome accident or neglect, were not entire and perfect in the days of *Livy* or of the prior hiſtorians. If there had been no chaſms, no interruptions in them, how could the hiſtorians have been ſo much at a loſs, as we find they ſometimes were, concerning the ſucceſſion of the magiſtrates?

But granting the Pontifical Annals, mentioned by *Cicero*, to have been very imperfect, and even ſuppoſing, that his words, *ab initio rerum*, regard the time when the practice of writing Annals began, and not the *Epoch* whence the relations, contained in thoſe which he had read, commenced; yet (as I ſaid before) certain it is from his teſtimony, that *ancient records*, called *the Annals of the High Prieſts*, or *the Great Annals*, did exiſt in this time; and therefore the ſilence of *Livy* and *Dionyſius*, if they are ſilent, (as M. de *B.* imagines) concerning theſe Annals, will not prove what M. de *B.* would infer from it, the non-exiſtence of them in their time. If they did not *then* exiſt, they muſt have been loſt in the few years between the time when *Cicero* wrote, and the time when *Livy* and *Dionyſius* compoſed their hiſtories; and of this there is no where any hint. *Livy* would doubtleſs have complained of ſuch a loſs, had it really happened, ſince he complains of the earlier loſs ſuffered by the burning of *Rome*. And for theſe ſeveral conſiderations it is reaſonable to believe, that the *old Annals*, of which *Livy* frequently ſpeaks, and the ἱεραὶ Δέλτοι, mentioned by *Dionyſius* as hiſtorical monuments, were *the Great Annals* deſcribed by *Cicero*: And I think it may be reaſonably aſked, How could *Cicero* well know (and he ſpeaks with confidence) that the cuſtom of writing Annals commenced *ab initio rerum*, but from the actual exiſtence, in his time, of fragments of Annals, written in the earlieſt times; or from their being cited by the firſt hiſtorians as exiſting in their time?

To prove the non-exiſtence of any Annals, or parts of Annals written before the burning of *Rome*, M. de *B.* makes great uſe of the authority of one *Clodius* cited by *Plutarch*, and repreſents this *Clodius* as ſpeaking thus: "ALL *the* ANTIENT MONUMENTS *were burnt when the* Gauls *ſacked* "Rome, *and thoſe which the* Romans *now have are forgeries.*"

In Numa. Differt. p. 20.

M. de

M. de *B.* goes on: "And *Plutarch* himſelf, *or whoever was the author* "of the treatiſe *of the fortune of the Romans*, after ſpeaking of ſome "*marvellous* events of thoſe early times,—adds, *To what purpoſe ſhould* p. 21. "*we dwell upon times which have nothing clear, nothing certain, ſince, as* "Livy *aſſures us, the Roman hiſtory was corrupted, and its monuments de-* "*ſtroyed?*"

Then immediately, (taking for granted, that *Plutarch* was the author of that treatiſe) he adds, "What *Plutarch* ſays, upon the teſtimonies of "*Clodius* and *Livy*, of the deſtruction of *thoſe monuments*, gets an addi- "tional force in the mouth of *ſo grave* an author as he. For ſince he "does not contradict them, he ſupports what they ſay by his ſuffrage. "The teſtimony of theſe authors is very expreſs, &c."

Again, "*Livy*, *Clodius* and *Plutarch depoſe* that the *monuments*, by p. 26. "which the truth of the *Roman* Hiſtory might have been aſcertained, "and which alone could give it the requiſite certainty, were deſtroyed "in the ſacking of *Rome*."

And again, "It is *certain*, that the *hiſtorical part* of the books of the p. 56. "Pontiffs or their ANNALS, *if* * *they ever exiſted*, periſhed in the deſtruc- "tion of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. *Livy* is ſo expreſs upon this, that he "leaves us no room to doubt of it."——For he ſays, "*that* ALL *the* "*memorials (kept in the Archives) that were in private hands, or that made* "*part of the books of the Pontiffs, were involved in the ruin of the city.*" And where does *Livy* ſay this? Why, [in B. 6. c. 1.] where he tells us, that *a great part* or *the greater* part of what was contained in the High Prieſts commentaries, and in other public and private monuments, periſhed in the burning of *Rome*: *Et quod etiam ſi quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliiſque publicis privatiſque erant monumentis incenſâ urbe* pleræque *interiere.*

As to *Clodius*, *Plutarch* writes thus: "Though the *pedigrees* of *Numa's* "family from its beginning to this day, be ſet forth in very nice order, "there is much diſpute concerning the time when he lived. One *Clodius*, "in a work entitled ἔλεγχος χρόνων, aſſerts that the antient writings *of* "*that ſort* [τὰς ἀρχαίας ΕΚΕΙΝΑΣ ἀναγραφὰς] were loſt, when the *Gauls* de- "ſtroyed *Rome*, and that thoſe which now appear were framed by flatter-

* Theſe words, *if they ever exiſted*, had *Livy* uſed them in this place, he would have ſpoken like a certain gentleman, who, in giving a bad character of a perſon deceaſed, after many ſevere accuſations, went on thus, *And he was a very cruel father to moſt of his children—if he had any.*

That *Livy* did not intend to expreſs a doubt whether any Pontifical Annals exiſted before the burning of *Rome*, is pretty evident from a paſſage (in his 4th book c. 3.) cited by M. de *B.*

The hiſtorian is writing of the year 310, and he puts theſe words into the mouth of a Tribune, "If we are not admitted to the "*Faſti*, nor to the COMMENTARIES of the "*High Prieſts*, are we therefore ignorant of "thoſe things which are known even by all "ſtrangers? *That the Conſuls ſucceeded in* "*the place of the kings, and have no rights* "*or prerogatives which the kings had not be-* "*fore?*" Si non ad Faſtos, non ad COMMENTARIOS PONTIFICUM admittimur: ne ea quidem ſcimus, quæ omnes peregrini etiam ſciunt: Conſules in locum Regum ſucceſſiſſe; nec aut juris, aut majeſtatis quicquam habere, quod non in Regibus antefuerit?

" ers to pleaſe the vanity of ſome private families, who would needs be " thought deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious origins, to which they had " in truth no relation." We ſee, that *Clodius* ſpeaks only of genealogical tables, and not of any other hiſtorical monuments. Had he aſſerted that ALL the antient monuments or records were loſt, he would have aſſerted what was not true, by the conceſſion of M. de *B.*, who allows, that many treaties of peace, the laws of the twelve tables, and ſeveral other pieces of antiquity, eſcaped the flames.

M. *L'Abbé Sallier* thinks, that *Plutarch* was not the author of the treatiſe *de Fortuna Romanorum*; and indeed, if he were, he muſt, how *grave* ſoever, have been a very idle man, and condemned by himſelf in the above-cited paſſage from that treatiſe, to ſpend his time in writing the lives of *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Poplicola* and *Camillus*, without any materials, but what he believed to be forgeries and romance.

But can it be imagined, that either he or *Livy* or *Dionyſius* believed nothing of what they have written of the firſt ages of *Rome*, or that they looked upon *all* as *uncertain?* Though *Livy*, in ſome inſtances doubts, yet he often ſays, *it is evident*, *it is certain*, conſtat, certum eſt; and, in his preface, he warns us, with regard to what he is going to write, to diſtinguiſh between the ſtories adorned with fiction, and the traditions ſupported by authentic monuments.

And it was very ſingular, and not a little marvellous, if, when *Rome* was burnt by the *Gauls*, the fire did ſo piouſly diſtinguiſh between ſacred writings and prophane. It ſpared that part of the Pontiff's BOOKS which regarded public worſhip, and likewiſe the treaties of peace, and the laws
* *Livy*, L. 6. c. 1. of the twelve tables, treaties and laws being *religiones* *, religious matters, deemed ſo on account of the religious ceremonies performed at their making; but it deſtroyed *entirely* the *hiſtorical part* of the Pontiff's Books, their *Annals*; it ſpared no writing that was wholly prophane, nothing hiſtorical, if not ſomehow under the protection of religion.

2. THE Firſt *Roman* Hiſtorians had, among the materials for their works, not only ſome parts of the High Prieſts Annals, written before the burning of *Rome*, but ſome parts of OTHER *public hiſtorical monuments* or memorials, preſerved from that fire. *Quæ in Commentariis Pontificum* ALIIS*que publicis monumentis erant* PLERÆQUE *interiere:* the greater part, not all, periſhed.

What thoſe OTHER *public monuments* were, I will not pretend to ſay. Perhaps they were the *linnen books*, the *books of the magiſtrates*, the *memorials* or *tables* of the *Cenſors*, and ſome other antient pieces referred to by the hiſtorians.

p. 98. M. de *B.* obſerves, that *Livy*, who cites the *linnen books* pretty often, from *Licinius Macer*, during the ſpace of about ten years, does not cite them for any thing after that time, or before it. Now ſuppoſing this to be a proof that the *linnen books*, which *Licinius* had conſulted, contained nothing but what related to thoſe ten years; yet, as thoſe years were prior to the burning of *Rome*, we may reaſonably believe, that the books

in queſtion were part of an old public record, a fragment preſerved from that fire. And we may reaſonably think the ſame of thoſe parts of the *books of the magiſtrates*, and of the *Cenſors books*, which are cited in atteſtation of matters anterior to the deſtruction of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. The very imperfection of theſe pieces carries with it ſome proof of their antiquity, and of the miſchief they had ſuffered.

3. ORIGINAL Records of many treaties which the *Romans* had made with the neighbouring nations, before the burning of the city. And theſe muſt have been of excellent uſe to the firſt hiſtorians, both for facts and dates in their accounts of the early times. And as to the treaties, after the rebuilding of *Rome*, there is no queſtion of their preſervation.

4. THE ACTS of the *Senate* and of the *Comitia*, and the LAWS *of the Twelve Tables*, which fully laying open the conſtitution of the ſtate, the cuſtoms and manners of the *Romans*, the rights of the people, and the powers of the magiſtrates, were a ſure guide to the hiſtorians in many particulars of their accounts.

5. WHATEVER could be aſcertained by antient annals or records, preſerved in the other cities of *Italy*, that were fallen under the power of the *Romans*, when *Fabius* and his ſucceſſors undertook to write hiſtory. Why ſhould he ſuppoſe, that theſe were totally neglected by the firſt hiſtorians? That the neighbouring nations had books and records is evident from *Liv.* L. 10. c. 38, where we find, that, in the year 459 of *Rome*, the *Samnites* had * recourſe to their *linnen books* for direction in forming that legion which they called *legio linteata*.

That treaty with *Porſenna*, (mentioned by *Pliny*) of which M. de *B.* takes advantage to diſcredit the *Roman* Hiſtory, was doubtleſs found at *Cluſium*, or ſome other city of *Hetruria*, not at *Rome*.

Livy, in citing the prior hiſtorians, does not always tell us from whence they took their matter, yet often enough to make us know, that they cited authorities for what they delivered. And it is evident that they had recourſe to the archives of the conquered cities. From the paſſage in *Livy*, (L. 7. c. 3.) before referred to, we learn that *Cincius* having examined into the antiquities of *Volſinii*, a town in *Hetruria*, had found it to have been formerly a cuſtom there to mark the number of the years by nails fixed in a temple dedicated to *Nortia*, an *Hetruſcan* Goddeſs; and that *Cincius* was a diligent enquirer into ſuch antiquities, *diligens talium monimentorum auctor Cincius*.

6. FAMILY-MEMORIALS, and FUNERAL-ORATIONS.

M. de *B.* cites † the authorities of *Cicero* and *Pliny* to prove, that it was the general cuſtom at *Rome* for each noble family to preſerve *memorials* p. 104. & ſeq.

recording

* M. *L'Abbé Sallier*, in his firſt diſcourſe, makes this obſervation; and he adds, Les nations Voiſines pouvoient donc offrir des monumens aux recherches des hiſtoriens. On pourroit rapporter bien d'autres preuves, que les peuples Voiſins des Romains n'etoient pas ſans monumens & ſans hiſtoires. Varron, cité par Cenſorin et Feſtus, en pluſieurs endroits, fourniroit de bons temoignages pour ce que je dis icy.

† Cic. in Brut. c. 16. *Plin.* L. 35. c. 2.

recording the ſervices which the members of it had done the ſtate in the diſcharge of thoſe offices, with which they had been intruſted. "If theſe "*memorials*, ſays M. de *B.*, had been faithfully written, they would have "been of infinite uſe to hiſtory. Should we admit that all the other mo- "numents were loſt, we muſt likewiſe admit, that the loſs might have "been ſupplied by theſe memorials. They were ſo many hiſtories of the "lives of particular men, and contained the principal affairs of the ſtate, "in the conduct of which thoſe men had had a ſhare. But unhappily, "in the compoſition of theſe hiſtories, much leſs regard was had to truth "than to heightening the luſtre of families. There were ſo many falſifica- "tions, the truth of facts was ſo frequently corrupted in theſe memorials, "that *no uſe could be made of them without great precaution.*"

p. 107, 108. To prove the unfaithfulneſs of the *Family-memorials*, M. de *B.* inſiſts chiefly on a paſſage in *Cicero*, and another in *Livy*, charging ſome *Funeral-orations* with containing falſe facts invented to gratify the vanity of private families. From which it would ſeem that he conſiders the *Family-memorials* as conſiſting *wholly* of *Funeral-orations*. Yet, as he ranges certain *records of the Cenſors*, (called by *Dionyſius* τιμητικὰ ὑπομνήματα) among the family-memorials, and is inclined to think that the *linnen books* ought to be placed there too, he manifeſtly admits, that funeral-orations were not the whole of the family-memorials.

p. 105. 100.

Now if the practice of writing family-memorials began early, and theſe pieces were preſerved, and tranſmitted from generation to generation, they muſt have been of excellent uſe to the firſt *Roman* hiſtorians: For how much ſoever thoſe pieces might abound in panegyrical exaggeration, and falſe colourings, they would furniſh good evidence of the truth of thoſe *facts*, in which they agreed, and with which the ſeveral writers of thoſe pieces were contemporary.

But as it does not appear, at what time the cuſtom of writing family-memorials began, I ſhall here leave this matter, and conſider what is ſaid of *funeral-orations*.

Dionyſius, ſpeaking of the funeral-oration which *Poplicola* pronounced on his deceaſed collegue *Brutus*, tells us, it is uncertain whether *Poplicola* introduced this cuſtom among the *Romans*, or found it already eſtabliſhed by the kings. Be that as it will, there is no doubt of it's being the conſtant practice from the beginning of the Republic, to honour the memory of great men by funeral-panegyrics. And, as theſe were premeditated ſpeeches, and as the glory of the orator was no leſs concerned in the compoſition, than that of the deceaſed, it is highly reaſonable to believe that the orator wrote down what he purpoſed to ſay, and by reviſing and correcting his ſpeech, put it into the beſt form he could, before he delivered it. I ſay it is natural to ſuppoſe, that this method was for the moſt part, if not univerſally, obſerved by the ſpeakers of funeral-orations. Nor can any thing be more probable, than that the families, concerned in theſe orations, would be very deſirous to preſerve them.

And

And indeed there ſeems to be ſufficient ground to conjecture, that from theſe Funeral Orations were taken, into the Hiſtory of the earlieſt times of the Republic, many particulars, not to be learnt from Tradition, or the High Prieſt's Annals, or any other public Memorials. But then, for an authentic account of what paſſed among the *Romans*, I would aſk, What better materials could an Hiſtorian have to work upon, than a ſeries of ſuch Orations? For though, in a Funeral Panegyric, the Orator may well enough be ſuppoſed to overrate the private virtues of the deceaſed, diſguiſe or refine the motives of his actions, aſcribe to his remote anceſtors exploits which they had not performed, nay give him noble anceſtors from whom he was not really deſcended; yet, as to the high offices which the perſon himſelf had filled, and the public acts he had done in thoſe offices, whether civil or military, we can hardly imagine the Orator would attempt to impoſe upon an audience, who, having been eye-witneſſes of the truth, were not capable of being deceived. For the ſphere of action, in which the *Romans* moved during more than 200 years after the erection of the Commonwealth, was ſo very narrow, that nothing conſiderable, of a public concern, could paſs either in peace or in war, but what muſt be known to almoſt every individual of the State. The *Roman* citizens were all ſoldiers, all went to the war in their turns, and they could not, therefore, be impoſed upon with regard to the ſucceſs of the enterprizes formed by their Generals: And the ſame ſoldier-citizens were parties in all the civil commotions and ſtruggles, and had a ſhare in eſtabliſhing thoſe uſeful laws and regulations, which their magiſtrates had the merit of contriving and propoſing. So that a ſeries of Funeral Orations on the great men of *Rome* would contain moſt authentic Memorials of all the principal tranſactions and events both at home and abroad. It was the buſineſs of the Hiſtorian, who employed theſe materials for his work, to ſeparate the *ſolid* from the *light* and *unſure*; and certainly no taſk could be more eaſy.

It does not ſeem probable, that, during the *Regal State*, Funeral Panegyrics were in uſe, unleſs we may ſuppoſe that this honour was done to the Kings upon their demiſe, who, while *Rome* was governed by Kings, had the glory of all victories in war, and all prudent inſtitutions in peace. But certain it is, that the practice prevailed from the very commencement of the Republic. And though much the greater number of theſe Funeral Orations were unqueſtionably loſt, when *Fabius*, about 300 years after the expulſion of *Tarquin*, undertook a general Hiſtory of *Rome*, yet, that many of them were preſerved, and eſpecially of thoſe poſterior to the rebuilding of the City, there ſeems no reaſon to doubt. What could *Livy* mean by the *Privata Monumenta*, of which, he ſays, the greater part was deſtroyed by the *Gauls*, but theſe Funeral Orations and other Family Memorials? For he ſpeaks of them as Pieces that would have been uſeful towards a general and clear Hiſtory of thoſe times. And indeed we cannot imagine, that private families, in the earlieſt times of

the Republic, were chargeable with that vanity, which * *Cicero* and *Livy* complain of, as the ſource of many inventions in Funeral Panygyrics of the later ages. Till ſome families could with truth boaſt of their antiquity, and the long glories of a line of anceſtors from whom they were deſcended, there was no temptation, no opportunity for vain men *falſely* to claim that kind of nobility, and invent pedigrees to do themſelves honour. And ſhould we ſuppoſe, that at the renovation of the State, upon the departure of the *Gauls*, (*i. e.* about 120 years after the birth of the Commonwealth) the loſs of many monuments public and private, might give both temptation and opportunity for fiction in ſome degree, yet this could reach to nothing very conſiderable; and it is hardly credible that the Orator at a Funeral would, to raiſe the glory of the deceaſed and his family, hazard invented facts, which derogated from the glory of other families, and could be contradicted by the memory of perſons living. And when in later times (the brevity and imperfection of the Pontiff's Annals and the other public monuments, and the loſs of many private ones, through the extinction or decay of families, giving large ſcope to inventive vanity) Conſulſhips and Triumphs were falſely aſcribed, in Funeral Orations, to the remote anceſtors of thoſe whoſe obſequies were then ſolemnized; ſtill the accounts, given in thoſe Orations, of what they themſelves had performed in the high offices they had filled, would be materials which an Hiſtorian might confidently and ſafely employ.

Livy's complaint ſufficiently proves, that he thought the firſt Hiſtorians had made uſe of Funeral Orations in compiling their Hiſtories, and that ſome of thoſe writers had very injudiciouſly adopted what they found delivered in ſuch Orations, concerning the remote anceſtors of the perſons, in whoſe honour they were ſpoken. But neither he nor Cicero charges thoſe Orations with containing falſe accounts of facts contemporary with the Orators, nor do they ſpeak of thoſe pieces as forgeries. I am not aware of any the leaſt ground M. de *B.* has for thinking, that the Funeral Orations of which *Livy* and *Cicero* complain, were *pieces ſuppoſées, que des fauſſaires avoient forgées!*

It is in writing of the year 432 of the City (*i. e.* the 188th of the Republic) that *Livy* is at a loſs to know, whether the Dictator *Cornelius*, or the Conſuls of the year conducted the war againſt the *Samnites* and had a Triumph for the ſucceſs. The Authors, he conſulted, differed on

* Nec verò habeo quemquam antiquiorem [Catone Cenſore] cujus quidem ſcripta proferenda putem, niſi quem Appii Cæci Oratio hæc ipſa de Pyrrho, et nonnullæ *Mortuorum Laudationes* fortè delectant: et Hercules, hæ quidem extant. Ipſæ enim familiæ ſua quaſi ornamenta, et monumenta ſervabant, & ad uſum, ſiquis ejuſdem generis occidiſſet, et ad memoriam laudum domeſticarum, et ad illuſtrandam nobilitatem ſuam. Quamquam his laudationibus Hiſtoria rerum noſtrarum eſt facta mendoſior. Multa enim ſcripta ſunt in eis, quæ facta non ſunt, falſi triumphi, plures Conſulatus, genera etiam falſa, et ad Plebem Tranſitiones, cùm homines humiliores in alienum ejuſdem nominis infunderentur genus: ut ſi ego me à M. Tullio eſſe dicerem, qui patricius cum Servio Sulpicio Conſule, anno decimo poſt Reges exactos fuit. Cic. in Brut. c. 16.

this point, all agreeing however in Cornelius being then Dictator: they had therefore some unquestionable authority for this particular. Their differences, in relation to the persons who obtained the Victory and Triumph, he imputes to the differing accounts in Funeral Orations and Inscriptions on Images, made long after the time, and by which he supposes the disagreeing Historians to have been respectively guided. "It is "my opinion, says he, that the truth of history has been corrupted by "Funeral Orations, and lying Inscriptions on Images, each family, by "plausible fictions, assuming to itself the honour of great exploits. Hence, "(that is, from this arrogant vanity) it has doubtless happened, that the "actions of particular men are confounded (those of one man ascribed "to another) and the public monuments are likewise in confusion (dis-"agree, contradict one another.) Nor is there any contemporary writer "(contemporary with the Dictator and Consuls of the year 432) *extant*, "by whose authority the truth of the matter in question can be sufficient-"ly ascertained."

What *Livy* means by *Public Monuments*, in this place, I will not pretend to say: probably they were the Inscriptions on Statues, erected in in the later times, in temples and other public places, which Inscriptions, contradicting one another, had occasioned a disagreement among the Historians, who employed them in their own compositions. That he does not speak of the *High Priests Annals*, as confounded or made inconsistent, is evident from Cicero's account of those Pieces. The High Priest's business was not to record the transactions that passed two or three hundred years before, but the transactions of the present, or immediately preceding year. No funeral Orations nor Inscriptions on Images, made in after times, could confound those Annals. Contradict them they might, but not make them inconsistent with themselves.

The same may be said of any other monuments, contemporary with the facts recorded in them; no posterior Orations nor Inscriptions could throw them into confusion.

It must indeed be admitted, upon the Credit of *Livy's* words, that, in his time, no authentic record of any sort, contemporary with the Magistrates he is writing of, was extant, *by which the particular point in question could be cleared up*. For otherwise the differences among the prior Historians would not have perplexed him. But he does not say, that *Rome* had no writers so early as the year 432, or that no writing of so early date was extant in his time. His words rather import the contrary, That there were Writers in those days, and that some of their writings were extant, but none whereby the matter in doubt could with sufficient certainty be determined. Nec quisquam æqualis temporibus illis scriptor EXSTAT, quo *satis certo auctore* fietur.

* Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus et falsis imaginum titulis, dum familiæ ad se quæque famam rerum gestarum, honorumque fallente mendacio trahunt. Inde certè et singulorum gesta, et publica monimenta rerum confusa. Nec quisquam æqualis temporibus illis scriptor exstat, quo satis certo auctore fietur. Lib. 8. c. 40.

DEMONSTRATION, or ſatisfactory proof is not aimed at, by any thing, or by all that is ſaid above, in favour of the Roman Hiſtory of the five firſt centuries; but only probability. The ſum is this. It ſeems from many paſſages in *Cicero*, *Livy* and other antient writers, that the firſt Roman Hiſtorians had a great variety of antient and genuine pieces for the foundation of their Hiſtories; *The High Prieſts Annals*; *The Acts of the Senate, and of the Comitia*; *Records of the ſucceſſion of the Magiſtrates*; *The Cenſors Books*; *Treaties of Peace and Alliance*; *Family Memorials and Funeral Orations*.

Of no one ſort of theſe pieces was there an uninterrupted ſeries, but only parts and fragments. The whole ſtock of materials was inſufficient for a continued thread of Hiſtory; and, accordingly, the Hiſtory is broken and imperfect; there are many chaſms in it; ſome things are delivered as uncertain, ſome as fabulous; and many things in it are fabulous or uncertain, which are not delivered as ſuch. *Fabius Pictor* and his neareſt followers adopted traditional ſtories which pleaſed the national vanity, and of which thoſe Hiſtorians had no deſire to deſtroy the belief, even when they could have done it by the means of authentic Monuments; and in many inſtances they were deſtitute of thoſe means. The *Circumſtantial* Accounts of the exploits of particular men, I conjecture to have been taken from Family Memorials and Funeral Orations; becauſe I cannot conceive from what other ſource the Hiſtorians could have them. For *the Great Annals*, according to the deſcription of them by *Cicero*, muſt have been too brief, to deſcend often to *Circumſtances* of Actions; and *Tradition* (as M. d. *Pouilly* obſerves) never informs us of Circumſtances any more than of dates. When fiction or uncertainty is apparent in the accounts given us of the heroic deeds of this or that great man, I apprehend, that thoſe accounts were taken from Family Memorials and Funeral Orations, of *low date*, when, the power of the *Romans* growing conſiderable, and their vanity keeping pace with it, Genealogies became a matter of great moment to private Families.

But as to the moſt memorable of the *National Affairs*, the civil conteſts and the important changes produced by thoſe conteſts in the conſtitution of the government, the foreign wars in which the *Romans* engaged, and the final ſucceſs of their ſtruggles with each of the neighbouring ſtates, the truth of theſe events might be aſſured by Tradition alone; and the very dates of moſt of them would be aſcertained by the LAWS and the TREATIES, that were carefully preſerved; the laws conſequent to the commotions, and the treaties conſequent to the wars. And we may well preſume that the memory of much more than theſe principal events was tranſmitted by the High Prieſt's Annals, and the other public Monuments, contemporary with the facts they recorded. Family Memorials and Funeral Orations, compoſed in the earlieſt times of the Republic, would be excellent materials for an Hiſtorian; and even thoſe of later date, where truth was mingled with fiction, would be good authority with regard not only to contemporary facts, but to facts much earlier than thoſe Pieces, if many of thoſe Pieces agreed in the ſame accounts.

M. de

M. de *B.* begins the ſecond part of his Diſſertation with theſe words. "I have given the reaſons which make me call in queſtion the Hiſtory of the firſt five centuries of *Rome*. They are founded on the want of contemporary Monuments and Hiſtorians. So that the firſt Hiſtorians which *Rome* produced, could have nothing whereon to ground their relations but *Tradition*, which is apt to corrupt very much the truth of facts."*

Now, granting that the very ſhort account of the 244 years of the Kings, contained in *Livy's firſt Book*, was *chiefly* taken from *Tradition*, yet ſurely it is quite incredible, that ſuch a variety of matter, ſo many particulars (with that degree of order which they have) as fill the *nine* preſerved Books of *Livy* that follow the *firſt*, and filled *ſeven*† Books more that are loſt, could all be collected from Tradition alone. Tradition is not ſo copious and methodical. The earlier Hiſtorians, therefore, from whom *Livy* drew the matter of his Hiſtory of *Rome*, from the Expulſion of *Tarquin* to the end of the 5th Century, muſt have had written Records and Memorials of ſome ſort to work upon; and from theſe they muſt have taken *the greater part* of what they related; unleſs we will ſuppoſe that their Hiſtories were romances of their own invention, which is not very probable; there being no indication whatſoever of thoſe writers being great wits. It is probable, that, after *Fabius Pictor* and ſome others had compoſed General Hiſtories of their Country, moſt of the private Memorials, which had ſerved them, in many particulars, for guides and vouchers, were neglected and loſt; as was the fate of *Fabius*, and all the Hiſtorians prior to *Livy*, after he had publiſhed a better written and more entertaining Hiſtory, comprehending the ſubſtance of all that they had collected.

M. de *B.*, in the ſecond part of his Diſſertation, produces from the *Roman* ſtory, ſeveral facts, which he calls *Principal Events*, and which, from the diſagreement among the Antients, in their accounts of them, he conſiders as wholly uncertain; and from the uncertainty of theſe *Principal Events* he infers the uncertainty of all the reſt. I ſhall not enter into a particular conſideration of the facts referred to; Becauſe, firſt of all, ſome of them are ſpoken of by the Antients as uncertain; and nobody pretends to certainty where they diſclaim it. In the next place, becauſe I conceive that very few of the facts mentioned have a title to be called *Principal Events*; and laſtly becauſe, if diſagreement in ſome things, among Hiſtorians who write of the ſame People and times, be a ſufficient ground for refuſing credit to every thing they relate, there is no Hiſtory which may not with good reaſon be utterly rejected; and I am not concerned in the defence of Hiſtory in general.

* J'ai rapporté les raiſons qui me font revoquer en doute l'Hiſtoire des cinq premiers Siecles de Rome. Elles ſont fondées ſur la diſette de Monumens, et d'Hiſtoriens contemporains; de ſorte que les premiers Hiſtoriens ne purent fonder leurs relations, que ſur la Tradition, ſujette à alterer beaucoup la verité des faits. P. 205.

† *Livy's* 17th Book ended with the year 493.

But, in the first part of the Dissertation, there is one particular, which being strenuously insisted upon by the ingenious author, and seeming very much to his purpose of discrediting the accounts, given us by *Livy* and *Dionysius*, of the early times of the Republic, ought not to be entirely passed over: I mean THE TREATY which *Polybius* says, was concluded between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in the *first year after the expulsion of* Tarquin; *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and *Marcus Horatius being Consuls*. The Reader may find this *piece* in p. 454 of the following sheets, where it is inserted, without any comment. If the treaty be genuine, and there be no mistake in the date which *Polybius* assigns to it, it stands in opposition to many things related by the other two Historians.

Dissert. p. 35.

1. It appears by this treaty (says M. de *B.*), "That *Brutus* and *Horatius* were *colleagues* in the consulship; which, according to *Livy* and "*Dionysius*, and all the *Roman Fasti*, they were not:" and he adds, "that every thing the historians tell us of the events of this year, being "partly founded on the names of the Consuls, nothing of the whole is, "in his opinion, much worthy of credit."*

He observes, "that Mr. *Dodwell*, (de cyclis Rom. Diss. x. p. 104.) "and *Rycquius* (de capitol. Rom. c. 11.) chuse rather to accuse *Polybius* "of falsifying this treaty, than admit the uncertainty which it throws upon "ancient history: and that *Perizonius* † has endeavoured to reconcile *Po-* "*lybius* with the *Roman Fasti*, by conjecturing, That *Polybius* found only "the name of *Horatius* in the original of the treaty, and added, of his own "head, the name of *Brutus*, the better to denote the true date of this "piece; and, as the name of *Horatius* alone had been put on the "temple of the capitol, so that name alone had been put to this treaty. "This conjecture [says M. de *B.*] I would let pass, if it removed "the other difficulties raised by the piece in question, and reconciled it "with the accounts given by the other Historians: yet I think *Polybius* "*too well versed* in the Roman History, to have given *Horatius* a col- "league, who never was his colleague; and too exact and scrupulous to "have added any thing of his own to an original piece."

† Dissert. vii. N. 8.

Without looking into the three critics cited, whom I have never read, I shall agree with M. de *B.* in thinking, that *Polybius* would not be guilty of forgery; and that *Perizonius*'s conjecture, if admitted, would leave the main difficulties in their full force. But I should be curious to know, what *Roman History* that was, which M. de *B.* supposes *Polybius so well versed in*, and in which he supposes him to have found, that *Brutus* and *Horatius* were colleagues in the consulship. If, in the days of *Polybius*, there were *authentic annals* existing, which recorded the transactions of the earliest times of the Republic, M. de *B.*'s main position in his Dissertation is overthrown. If he supposes that *Polybius*'s sole authority for joining *Brutus* and *Horatius* in the consulship (contrary to report of the

* *Je crois qu'il faut avouer de bonne foi, que tout ce que les Historiens nous disent des evenemens de cette année, etant en partie fondé sur les noms des consuls, est peu digne de creance.*

older

older historians and annalists, whom *Livy* and *Dionysius* are said to have copied) was the piece in question, I would ask, how it appears that the names of *Brutus* and *Horatius* were *certainly* at the head or tail of that ancient monument? When *Livy* and *Dionysius* contradict *Polybius* upon any particular historical fact, I believe there are very few readers who will not be inclined to side with the last, provided there be no reason not to do so, but barely his being contradicted upon *that fact*, by those two historians. But this is not the present case. The fact reported by *him* is highly improbable; and it is inconsistent with a series of not improbable facts, reported by *them*, facts, in regard to which we cannot conceive any temptation they had to *invent*, *conceal*, or *disguise*: and, in what *Polybius* himself says, there seems to be good ground for suspecting that he was deceived in relation to the piece in question. He introduces his translation of it with these words: "The first treaty between the *Ro-* L. 3. c. 22.
"*mans* and *Carthaginians* was made in the consulship of *Lucius Junius* "*Brutus*, and *Marcus Horatius*, the first Consuls after the *Regifuge*, *by* "*whom also was consecrated the temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus, 28 years be- "fore the passing of *Xerxes* into *Greece*. Below, you will find the words "of the treaty, *interpreted in the best manner I could get it done*. For *the* "*ancient Latin is so different from that now in use, that the most skilful,* "*employing their utmost attention, can hardly explain certain passages.*"— And (in c. 26.) after giving us two subsequent treaties, he says, "It is no "wonder that *Philinus* knew nothing of these [all the 3] treaties, (though "engraven on brass, and preserved in the temple of *Jupiter*, under the "custody of the *Ædiles*) for even in my time, the oldest men, both "*Romans* and *Carthaginians*, men well versed in public affairs, were igno- "rant of these treaties."

Now, granting that some Consuls names were *really* found at the beginning or end of the old record in question, yet no body will suppose, that the Consuls were there *described* in the manner *Polybius* describes them. The *description* is all his own. And (by the way) when he says, that the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was consecrated by *Brutus* and *Horatius*; Who can prefer his authority, *in this particular*, to that of *Livy*, or of the most ancient Latin historians whom doubtless *Livy* followed herein; and to the very inscription itself on the temple, where *Horatius* was named as the only consecrator? What motive can we imagine the Roman Historians to have had for denying *Brutus* a share in that honour, if he had any title to it? Besides, it seems pretty evident from many passages in *Livy*, that it was not L. 2 c. 8.
the custom, in the dedication of any temple, for more than one person to L. 4. c. 29.
perform that ceremony. L. 9. c. 46.

Further; not only the *description* of the Consuls, but their very NAMES, *as* Polybius *gives them*, cannot well be supposed to have been annexed to this record, *Lucius Junius* with his surname *Brutus*, and *Marcus Horatius* without his surname *Pulvillus*. If the names were *entire* and *legible*, we must believe that the historian has either omitted or added something. And supposing, that to this record were found both *entire* and *legible*, the

the names of ſome Conſuls; yet why is it ſo difficult to believe, that *Polybius* may have been deceived by his decypherers, concerning thoſe names? He took the whole upon their authority. He may have given us a falſe account of the date of this treaty without being guilty of forgery.

And why may we not ſuppoſe, that time had effaced ſome parts of the Conſuls names, and that the defects were ſupply'd by conjecture? The Roman vanity might have a ſhare too in the conjecture; it might prompt the decypherers to fill up * the chaſms in ſuch a manner as to form an evidence, that the Roman ſtate was conſiderable enough, in the firſt year of the Republic, to have a treaty with the *Carthaginians*.

But perhaps there is ſome reaſon to doubt, whether any date, or Conſuls names were *really* found at the beginning or end of this old record. For it is remarkable, that *Polybius*, who gives us, at large, two ſubſequent treaties engraven, like the firſt, on braſs, and kept with it under the cuſtody of the *Ædiles*, neither mentions *the names of the Conſuls* under whoſe adminiſtration they were made, nor aſſigns any *certain date* to either of them. Of the *former* of the two he ſays only, that it was made *after the firſt*; and of the *latter* he ſays only, that it was made *about the time of* Pyrrhus's *coming into* Italy: and for *this* it does not appear, that he had any voucher, but the matter of the treaty itſelf, where *Pyrrhus* is mentioned. If he had found dates and conſuls names to theſe brazen records, it is wonderful that ſo exact an hiſtorian ſhould omit them; and eſpecially when he is employing theſe records as evidence againſt *Philinus*'s accounts, and the evidence has no real weight for want of thoſe dates. Seeing then there is ſo much reaſon to believe that the records of the two later treaties wanted dates, we may well ſuſpect that the oldeſt had the like defect; and that the date given to it was by mere conjecture.

Differt: p. 37.

2. M. de *B.*'s ſecond diſcovery, in this important piece of antiquity, is, "That ſo early as the firſt year of the Republic, the *Romans* practiſ"ed navigation and *pyracy*; of which things (he adds) there is little ſaid "in their hiſtory, which repreſents their *marine*, till the firſt Punic war, "as conſiſting only of ſome merchant ſhips, and as not brought to any "perfection but on occaſion of that war, *as* Polybius *himſelf remarks*."

L. 1. c. 20.

I muſt here confeſs, that I cannot diſcern, in the treaty, one word importing, that the *Romans*, at the time of its being concluded, practiſed *pyracy*, or had any *ſhips of war*. Perhaps M. de *B.* collects this *py-*

racy

* Suppoſe the treaty in queſtion to have been made ſo late as 304, the firſt year after the Decemvirate, when *Lucius Valerius Potitus* and *Marcus Horatius Barbatus* were Conſuls. The matter of the treaty will, in this caſe, ſuit better with the times, according to the accounts of them by *Livy* and *Dionyſius*. (For *Ardea* was then in alliance with *Rome*, and *Antium* was a *Roman* colony.) Imagine the names of the Conſuls to have been partly effaced, and that there remained of them, (ſuppoſing the cognomens to have been originally inſerted) only *Lucius —ius —tus, Marcus Horatius*. Who will not ſee, that the Roman vanity of thoſe, whom *Polybius* employed for his decypherers, might tempt them to ſupply the chaſms with *Jun— Bru—?* But I am inclined to think that the piece in queſtion was of much later date than the year 304.

racy from *Polybius*'s *comment* on the treaty, who ſays, "That the *Carthaginians* would not ſuffer the *Romans* to ſail to the ſouth of the Fair Promontory with *long ſhips*, μακραῖς ναυσὶ;" which are commonly underſtood to be *ſhips of war*. But his comment here does not well accord with what *he himſelf aſſerts*, when he writes of the *firſt Punic war*: For he there tells us, "That the *Romans*, to that time, had never thought of the "ſea—— and were ſo far from having *deck'd* ſhips, that they had not ſo "much as *one long ſhip*, or even a *Lembus*." In this particular the hiſtorian is undoubtedly miſtaken; and I mention it, not only to ſhew its repugnance to his comment on the treaty in queſtion, but to ſhew likewiſe that *Polybius* is not always to be followed with a blind deference; and that we ought, in reading him, to obſerve the rule which he recommends to thoſe who read the hiſtorian *Fabius*, "not to regard ſo much the great name "of the perſon who writes, as the matter he delivers," and to conſider whether this be probable, have the appearance of truth, and be conſiſtent with what is unqueſtionably true [a].

L. 1. c. 20.

L. 3. c.

But further, this treaty, according to M. de *B.* informs us,

3. That ſo early as the firſt year of the Republic, "The *Romans* were "*maſters* of all the ſea-coaſt as far as to *Tarracina*, and even of the cities of

Diſſert. p. 37.

[a] *Polybius* (L. 3. c. 26.) quarrels with *Philinus*, not for being ignorant of the three treaties before mentioned, as he ſuppoſes he was, but for aſſerting things contrary to the tenor of them. Now it does not appear, from any proof *Polybius* gives, either that *Philinus* was ignorant of theſe treaties, or that he aſſerted any thing contrary to them. *Philinus* affirmed (in ſpeaking of the grounds of the firſt Punic war) that in ſome treaty between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, it had been covenanted, that the former ſhould not invade any part of *Sicily*, nor the latter any part of *Italy*. But this aſſertion does not contradict what is contained in the other treaties. To ſhew a contradiction *Polybius* ſhould have given us the dates of all the three treaties he has mentioned, and likewiſe the date, which *Philinus* aſſigned to the treaty mentioned by him; and this *Polybius* has not done. The treaty, to which *Philinus* refer'd, might have been made after the time of *Pyrrhus*'s coming into *Italy*: And *Philinus* might know there was ſuch a treaty, though *Polybius* could find no record of it; which is the ſecond bad reaſon he gives for denying the fact. What *Philinus* reported is ſo far from being manifeſtly falſe, that it is highly probable. For if the *Romans* before they had ſubdued *all Latium*, or had even alliances with *all* the *Latine* ſtates, thought it neceſſary to bind the *Carthaginians* by treaty not to attempt conqueſts in any part of *Latium*, it was natural, that when they came to have the ſame ſort of intereſt in protecting *all Italy* from the *Carthaginians*, which they had before in protecting *Latium* only, they ſhould exclude the *Carthaginians* from every part of *Italy*; and doubtleſs in that caſe the *Carthaginians* would exclude the *Romans* for the like reaſons, from every part of *Sicily*.

[*N. B.* In p. 18. of the ſecond Volume of this Hiſtory, where the queſtion, *Whether the firſt war, undertaken by the Romans againſt the Carthaginians was juſtifiable*, is diſcuſſed, the reaſoning is partly founded on the ſuppoſition, that the report of *Polybius* is true; and that no treaty had been concluded between the two ſtates, whereby the *Romans* were barred from meddling in the affairs of *Sicily*.]

It is ſometimes urged againſt the authority of *Livy* and *Dionyſius*, with regard to certain important facts related by them, that *Polybius* is ſilent concerning thoſe facts, tho' he write of the ſame times and on the ſame ſubject which they treat. But I ſhall here obſerve, once for all, That this his ſilence will never *alone* be a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting the accounts of the other hiſtorians. For *Polybius*, though he ſpeaks three times of the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, does not once mention their *burning* it; and yet this is an important fact, of which I believe no body queſtions the truth.

" *Antium* and *Ardea*; a point wherein it manifeſtly ſtands in oppoſition to
" *Livy* * and *Dionyſius* †. For theſe authors tell us, that *Antium* was the
" capital of the *Volſci*, and that the *Romans* did not take it till 40 years af-
" ter, in the conſulſhip of *T. Quinctius* and *Q. Servilius*. The city of *Ar-*
" *dea* §, according to the ſame hiſtorians, was beſieged by *Tarquin* the
" Proud at the time when the *Roman* people ſhook off the yoke of his do-
" mination. The *Ardeates*, after that, having the ſame intereſts with the
" *Romans*, made a fifteen years truce with them. After which time *Ardea*
" continued in alliance with *Rome* to the year 310, when, on account of
" ſome particular diſcontents, they confederated with the *Volſci*; but in
" the following year the old alliance was renewed.

" This city therefore (adds M. de *B.*) was, according to thoſe hi-
" ſtorians, *independent*, and *only in alliance* with the *Romans*; whereas *the*
" *treaty*, given at large by *Polybius*, imports, that this city, and likewiſe
" *Antium*, *Laurentum*, *Circeii*, *Terracina* were SUBJECT to them; and *ex-*
" *preſly diſtinguiſhes theſe cities from the cities* IN ALLIANCE *with* Rome. Hence
" it appears that the two hiſtorians give us a falſe notion of the *Roman* ſtate
" in the beginning of the republic; for they repreſent its domination as
" extending little further than the proper territory of *Rome*; whereas by
" this treaty we ſee, that it extended over ſeveral cities, and over all the
" ſea-coaſt as far as *Tarracina*"

* Lib. 2. *in fine.*
† Lib. ix. p. 615.
§ *D. Hal.* Lib. 4. p. 277. *Liv.* Lib. 1. c. 57.

Whenever this treaty was made (ſuppoſing it genuine) it is evident, that the main purpoſe of the *Romans* in it, was to exclude the *Carthaginians* from *all Latium*, not only thoſe parts of it that were ſubject to the *Romans*, or in alliance with them, but thoſe likewiſe with which they had neither of thoſe connexions. And it is not, I think, clear from the words of the treaty, that *all* the towns therein mentioned were *in abſolute ſubjection* to the *Romans*. It ſpeaks to this effect, " * Let the *Carthaginians* do no hurt to the " *Ardeates*, *Antiates*, *Laurentini*, *Circeënſes*, *Tarracinenſes*, or any other " of the *Latines*, if they be υπηκοοι, nay if any of them be not υπηκοοι, " let not the *Carthaginians* meddle with their towns. If they take any " town of the *Latines* [whether they be υπηκοοι or not υπηκοοι] let them " reſtore it unhurt to the *Romans*." Here is no diſtinction made of towns *ſubject* and towns *in alliance*, but of the *Latines* who were υπηκοοι, and the *Latines* who were *not* υπηκοοι. What the force of the word υπηκοοι is, does not fully appear; whether it mean *ſubject* in the ſtrict ſenſe, or only *dependent allies*. I ſay *dependent allies*; for theſe towns might be *in alliance* with the *Romans* and yet *not independent* on them; ſuch being the caſe of almoſt all the ſtates of *Italy* at the commencement of the firſt Punic war. And what the true import was of the old obſolete Latin word, which *Polybius* has rendered υπηκοοι, who can tell? One would ſuſpect

* ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΑΔΙΚΕΙΤΩΣΑΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΑΡΔΕΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΤΙΑΤΩΝ, ΛΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΝΩΝ, ΚΙΡΚΑΙΑΤΩΝ, ΤΑΡΡΑΚΗΝΙΤΩΝ, ΜΗΔ' ΑΛΛΟΝ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ΛΑΤΙΝΩΝ, ΟΣΟΙ ΑΝ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΙ. ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΜΗ ΩΣΙΝ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΙ, ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΑΠΕΚΕΤΩΣΑΝ. ΑΝ ΔΕ ΛΑΒΩΣΙ, ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΤΩΣΑΝ ΑΚΕΡΑΙΟΝ. *Polyb. Lib.* 3. *c.* 22.

that his decypherers did not very well underſtand the piece they undertook to explain. For it is a very ſtrange covenant, *That in caſe the* Carthaginians *ſeized any town of the* Latines, not ſubject *to the* Romans, *they ſhould reſtore it to the* Romans.

Further; If this Brazen Monument had, for its date, the names of *Brutus* and *Horatius* (Conſuls in the firſt year of the Republic) and if the words of the treaty import, that the *Ardeates* were SUBJECT to *Rome*, and *diſtinguiſh* them from ALLIES, it is contradicted by an *Original Authentic Record*, which *Livy* mentions, of a *Treaty of Alliance and Friendſhip*, made with the *Ardeates* in the Conſulſhips of *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *L. Papirius Mugilanus* (year of *Rome* 309 or 311:) which treaty was a *Renewal of an Alliance* that had long ſubſiſted between the two States *. Lib. 4. c. 7.

Again; it is hardly to be imagined that the *Romans* had *ſubdued* the maritime towns of old *Latium*, as far as to *Tarracina*, in the remoteſt extremity of it, without having reduced the intermediate in-land towns, and in ſhort, the whole or almoſt the whole country: Yet this *ſubjection* of the *Latine* Nation to *Rome* in the firſt year of the republic, is incompatible with an Original Brazen Monument exiſting in *Livy's* time, and recording the *Treaty of Alliance* made with the *Latines* in the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Caſſius*, (year of *R.* 260, or 261.) L. 2. c. 33.

And, as to *Antium*, the Capital of the *Volſci*, though *Livy* reports, that it was taken (in 284) forty years after the commencement of the Republic, yet, by the ſequel † of his ſtory, it would ſeem, that the *Antiates* L. 2. c. 65.

* The *Ardeates*, on occaſion of a diſpute between them and their neighbours the *Aricini*, about a tract of land, were inſulted by a decree of the *Roman* people, to whom the cauſe had been referred; who, inſtead of adjudging the land to either of the claimants, took it to themſelves. Hereupon the *Ardeates* broke alliance with the *Romans*, and ſoon after, by Ambaſſadors, complained at *Rome* of the injury which had been done them; but complained in ſuch terms, as ſhewed, they were willing to renew alliance and friendſhip with the *Roman* ſtate, provided reſtitution were made of the land in queſtion. The Senate gave them a ſoft anſwer; and the next year the alliance was renewed by treaty; the record of which treaty *Licinius Macer* had read. T. Quinctius Barbatus interrex conſules creat, L. Papirium Mugilanum, L. Sempronium Atratinum. His conſulibus cum Ardeatibus fœdus renovatum eſt. *Idque Monumenti eſt*, Conſules eos illo anno fuiſſe qui neque in *Annalibus Priſcis*, neque in *Libris Magiſtratuum* inveniuntur, Credo, quod Tribuni Militum initio anni fuerunt, eo perinde ac ſi totum annum in imperio fuerint, ſuffectis his Conſulibus, prætermiſſa nomina Conſulum horum, Licinius Macer auctor eſt, et in FORDERE ARDEATINO et in *Linteis Libris ad Monetæ* inventa.

† The *Latine* Hiſtorian relates, that when after the taking of *Antium* in 284. by *T. Quinctius*, the Senate had decreed to place a Colony there, the perſons appointed to ſettle the Colony could prevail with but few of the *Roman* Citizens to go thither, ſo that they were forced to admit of *Volſci* to compleat the neceſſary number; and he further tells us, that a multitude of the old inhabitants returning ſoon after to the City, theſe alienated the minds of the Colony from the *Romans*, and its fidelity could no longer be depended upon. *Livy* ſeems not to have known the exact time, when the *Antiates* ſhook off all dependance upon the Republic; But he repreſents them in the year 347 at the Head of a Confederacy againſt *Rome*. In 378, he makes them ſurrender their town and territory to the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, in 407, we find them acting as an independent people; they rebuild L. 3. c. 1. c. 4. c. 23. L. 4. c. 56. L. 6. c. 33.

tiates were not really ſubdued, not reduced to a ſtate of abſolute ſubjection
Liv. L. 8. c. 13, 14. till the year 417, when the *Latines* alſo, or at leaſt the much greater part of them, were brought into the like ſubjection. And even then *Antium* was made a *Roman* Colony into which the Natives were admitted.

It would ſeem therefore, that the treaty, given by *Polybius*, as made with *Carthage* in 244, was not made, till after the year 417, the matter of it perfectly agreeing with the ſtate of things after this year, and not before it.

Livy ſpeaks of a treaty of alliance and friendſhip with the *Carthaginians* in 407, and his words * ſeem to import that this was the *firſt* treaty concluded between the two Republics. He ſpeaks of no other till he comes
L. 9. c. 43. to the year 447, when he ſays a *Third* † Treaty was made with *Carthage*; ſo that it would ſeem from hence, and from the matter of that treaty, which *Polybius* calls the *firſt*, that it was really the *ſecond*, and made between the years 407 and 447, and after the reduction of *Latium* in 417. According to the Epitome of *Livy*, the treaty concluded in the time of *Pyrrhus*, which is *Polybius*'s *third* treaty, was the *fourth* treaty made with the *Carthaginians*. Iterum adverſus Pyrrhum dubio eventu
Epit. L. 13. pugnatum eſt. Cum Carthaginienſibus *quarto* fœdus *renovatum eſt*.

GRANTING then, that, by the words of this old brazen record, the towns, there mentioned, were abſolutely SUBJECT to the *Romans*; what is the concluſion we ſhould naturally draw from it? Not that *Livy* and *Dionyſius* have given us a falſe account of the Roman ſtate in the firſt year of the Republic, but that the PIECE in queſtion was not genuine, or *that the names of* Brutus *and* Horatius *were not annexed to it*. For,

What could tempt *Livy*, a *Roman*, or *Dionyſius*, an extravagant flatterer of the *Romans*, *wilfully* to diſguiſe the extent of the *Roman* domination at the commencement of the republic? I ſay *wilfully to diſguiſe*: For is it poſſible to believe that either the *Romans* or the *Latines* were ignorant of the time when the latter became *Subjects* of the former? And M. de *B.* ſeems not to have duly reflected, when he ſays §, "It is ſufficiently ap-
" parent, that *Livy* and *Dionyſius* knew nothing of the treaty mentioned
" by *Polybius*." They could not but meet with this piece in *Polybius*'s work, which they appear to be very well acquainted with, and of which

build *Satricum*, and ſend a Colony thither. And, in 409, they by deputies ſolicit the *Latines* to take arms againſt the *Romans*. And in 415 the *Antiates* make incurſions on the lands of *Oſtia*, *Ardea* and *Solonium*; and the *Romans* gain no honour in the war againſt
L. 8. c. 13, 14. them. But in 417 they are totally ſubdued, together with the *Latines*, and a new Colony is ſent to *Antium*. The *Antiates* are allowed to enrol themſelves in the Colony; but they are forbid the ſea, and deprived of their *Long Ships*, ſome of which the *Romans* burn, carrying the *Beaks* of them to *Rome*, where the *Suggeſtum* or Pulpit, in the Forum, being adorned with them, acquires thence the name of *Roſtra*. With the reſt of the ſhips, the *Romans* augment their own navy.

* Cum Carthaginienſibus Legatis Romæ fœdus *ictum*, quum amicitiam ac ſocietatem petentes veniſſent. Liv. L. 7. c. 27.

† Cum Carthaginienſibus eodem anno fœdus *Tertio renovatum*. L. 9. c. 43.

§ *Il paroit meme aſſez, qu'ils n'en ont eu nulle connoiſſance*, Differt. p. 34. *Si Tite Live avoit eu connoiſſance de cette piece*, &c. *S'il avoit conſulté ce monument*, &c. p. 34.

Livy makes great uſe in compiling his own. And is it not evident therefore, from their ſhewing no regard to what *Polybius* ſays of his old brazen monument, either that they looked upon it as not authentic, or knew that he had been deceived concerning the date of it? It is remarkable, that *Livy*, who informs us, that ſome authors differing from the reſt, make *Horatius* the *immediate ſucceſſor* of *Brutus*, has not thought it worth while to obſerve, that *Polybius* makes them *collegues* in the conſulſhip. L. 2. c. 8.

Add to this the great improbability, that, during the unſettled and precarious ſtate of things at *Rome*, in the firſt year after the expulſion of *Tarquin*, the *Carthaginians* ſhould enter into any treaty with the *Romans*; and the yet greater improbability, that they ſhould conclude a treaty with them in terms, which ſuppoſe them in a ſettled ſtate, and in a condition to maintain the ſtipulations therein expreſſed.

Perhaps we ſhould have found the matter cleared up, and *Polybius*'s miſtake animadverted upon by *Livy* or *Dionyſius*, if thoſe parts of their hiſtories, which treated of the firſt war with the *Carthaginians*, had been preſerved.

I SHALL cloſe theſe Obſervations with the words of M. de *Pouilly*, in the beginning of his *Nouveaux Eſſais de Critique ſur la fidelité de l'Hiſtoire*.

"It very ſeldom happens, that we avoid one faulty extreme without "running into another, its contrary: This maxim, true in morality, is "true in criticiſm. Are men afraid of giving credit to fables? They "ſometimes refuſe it to the moſt certain facts; they look upon Hiſtory "as a compound of Truths and fictions, ſo intimately united, that it is "impoſſible to ſeparate them. Had the Hiſtorian no part in the tranſ-"actions he relates? They ſuſpect him of being ill informed. Had he a "part in thoſe tranſactions? They accuſe him of prejudice and pre-"poſſeſſion. On the other hand there are thoſe, who, fearing leſt they "ſhould happen to reject true Hiſtory, give credit to all the fables "which have borrowed its Name.——Let us avoid theſe oppoſite ex-"travagances: Let us confeſs, that, in Hiſtory, *falſhood* is mingled with "*truth*; but that there are marks by which they may be diſtinguiſhed. "Love of the *Marvellous*, Intereſt, Vanity, Spirit of Party, are ſo many "fountains ever open, from whence fiction ſpreads itſelf in ample waves "over the Annals of all nations.—When we are reduced to ſeek the truth "of a fact in Hiſtorians byaſſed by paſſions, if they are of different parties "and intereſts, let us bring their narrations together; and from this "collation, we ſhall ſtrike out the truth, if I may ſo ſpeak, in ſpite of "them: I ſay farther, that thoſe who are of one and the ſame party, "will commonly deſerve ſome credit in facts of ſuch public notoriety, "that they durſt not diſguiſe them; or in which they were too little in-"tereſted to have ſufficient temptation to undertake it."

REMARKS

REMARKS
ON THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SEVEN ROMAN KINGS,

Occaſioned by Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Objections to the ſuppoſed 244 years duration of the Regal State of *Rome*.

IT is commonly admitted, upon the authority of the ancient Chronologers, that the fall of *Troy* was about 676 years before the expulſion of *Tarquin* the laſt King of *Rome*, who was indiſputably expelled about the year before Chriſt 508. But Sir *Iſaac Newton* has by many arguments made it probable, that thoſe Chronologers have placed the taking of * *Troy* near 300 years farther back than they ought to have done: And one of his arguments is drawn from the too long ſpace of time ſuppoſed to be filled up by the reigns of only 21 Kings in ſucceſſion (14 at *Alba*, and 7 at *Rome*.) For in no Country, of which the Hiſtorical and Chronological accounts are certain, is it found, that the like number of Kings in ſucceſſion reigned near ſo long as 676 years. And becauſe moſt of the 7 *Roman* Kings were untimely ſlain, and one depoſed, he thinks it not reaſonable to believe that their reigns took up half the 244 years allotted to them by the *Roman* Hiſtorians. Ant. Chr. 1184.

As the following Remarks, offered in ſupport of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s concluſion, may happen to fall under the inſpection of ſeveral perſons, who have not peruſed that Great Man's Chronological Work, it may to ſuch, perhaps, be agreeable, if the Remarks be introduced by ſome of his fundamental reaſons for queſtioning the truth of the received Chronology of antient Kingdoms in general, and of the *Roman Kingdom* in particular.

The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended, p. 43, & ſeq.

'ALL Nations, before they began to keep exact accounts of time, have been 'prone to raiſe their antiquities; and this humour has been promoted, by the con-'tentions between nations about their originals.

'*Herodotus* tells us, that the Prieſts of *Ægypt* reckoned from the reign of *Me-'nes* † to that of *Sethon*, who put *Senacherib* § to flight, three hundred forty and 'one generations of men, and as many prieſts of *Vulcan*, and as many Kings of '*Ægypt*; and that three hundred generations make ten thouſand years; For, ſaith Herod. l. 2. § Ant. Ch. 714.

* Mr. *Whiſton* p. 971. of Authent. Rec. part. 2. ſeems confident that *Troy* was taken juſt 1270 years before the Chriſtian Æra, which computation agrees with the Chronology of the Author of the life of *Homer* ſuppoſed to be *Herodotus*.

† He is ſuppoſed to be *Mixraim* the ſon of *Cham*, and grandſon of *Noah*, and to have founded a Kingdom in *Ægypt*, A. M. 1772. ——Ant. Chr. 2232.

'*Herodotus*,

'*Herodotus*, three generations of men make an hundred years: and the remaining forty and one generations 1340 years: and ſo the whole time from the reign of '*Menes* to that of *Sethon* was 11340 years. And by this way of reckoning, and allotting longer reigns to the Gods of *Ægypt* than to the Kings which followed them, *Herodotus* tells us from the prieſts of *Ægypt*, that from *Pan* to *Amoſis* were 15000 years, and from *Hercules* to *Amoſis* 17000 years.

'So alſo the *Chaldæans* boaſted of their antiquity; for *Calliſthenes*, the diſciple of *Ariſtotle* ſent aſtronomical obſervations from *Babylon* to *Greece*, ſaid to be of 1903 years ſtanding before the times of *Alexander* the Great. And the *Chaldæans* boaſted further, that they had obſerved the ſtars 473000 years; and there were others who made the kingdoms of *Aſſyria*, *Media* and *Damaſcus*, much older than the truth.

'Some of the *Greeks* called the times before the reign of * *Ogyges* UNKNOWN, becauſe they had no hiſtory of them; thoſe between his flood and the *beginning* ‡ of the *Olympiads* FABULOUS, becauſe their Hiſtory was much mixed with poetical Fables: and thoſe after the beginning of the *Olympiads* HISTORICAL, becauſe their Hiſtory was free from ſuch fables. The FABULOUS ages wanted a good Chronology, and ſo alſo did the HISTORICAL, for the firſt 60 or 70 *Olympiads*.

‡ Ant Chr. 776.

'The *Europeans* had no Chronology before the times of the *Perſian* Empire, and whatſoever Chronology they now have of ancienter times, hath been framed ſince, by *reaſoning* and *conjecture*.——

[Founded by *Cyrus*, Ant. Chr. 536.

'*Plutarch* tells us that the philoſophers antiently delivered their opinions in Verſe, as *Orpheus*, *Heſiod*, *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, *Empedocles*, *Thales*.——

Plut. de Pithiæ Oraculo.

'SOLON wrote in VERSE, and all the *Seven Wiſe Men* were addicted to Poetry, as * *Anaximenes* affirmed.

Plut. in Solon.

* Apud Diog. Laert. in Solon, p. 10.

'Till thoſe days the *Greeks* wrote *only* in VERSE, and while they did ſo, there could be no Chronology, nor any other Hiſtory than ſuch as was mixed with poetical fancies.

'*Pliny* in reckoning up the inventors of things, tells us, That PHERECYDES SCYRIUS taught to compoſe diſcourſes in PROSE in the reign of CYRUS; and CADMUS MILESIUS to write Hiſtory. And in another place he ſaith, that CADMUS MILESIUS was the firſt that wrote in PROSE.

Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

Ib. l. 5. c. 29.

'*Joſephus* tells us, that CADMUS MILESIUS and ACUSILAUS were but a *little before the expedition of the Perſians againſt the Greeks*: and *Suidas* calls ACUSILAUS a moſt ancient Hiſtorian, and ſaith that he wrote genealogies out of tables of braſs, which his father, as was reported, found in a corner of his houſe. *Who hid* them there may be doubted: For the *Greeks* had no public table or inſcription older than the laws of *Draco*.

Cont. Apion ſub initio.

In Ακουσιλαος.

Joſeph. cont. Ap. l. 1.

521.

'PHERECYDES ATHENIENSIS in the reign of DARIUS HYSTASPIS, or ſoon after, wrote of the antiquities and ancient genealogies of the *Athenians* in ten books; and was one of the firſt *European* writers of this kind, and one of the beſt; whence he had the name of *Genealogus*; and by *Dionyſius Hallicarnaſſenſis* is ſaid to be ſecond to none of the genealogers.

Dionyſ. l. 1. initio.

'EPIMENIDES (not the philoſopher, but) an Hiſtorian, wrote alſo of antient genealogies: and

* According to the old Chronology, the Flood of *Ogyges* happened 1796 years before the Chriſtian Æra: but according to Sir *I. N.*, little more than 1100 years. Short Chron. p. 10.

† "In the beginning of that [the *Perſian*] "monarchy, *Acuſilaus* made *Phoroneus* as "old as *Ogyges* and his flood, and that flood "1020 years older than the firſt Olympiad; "which is above 680 years older than the "truth. Chron. of the *Greeks*, p 45.

HELLANICUS

'HELLANICUS (who was twelve years older than *Herodotus*) digeſted his Hiſtory 'by the ages or ſucceſſions of the Prieſteſſes of *Juno Argiva*. Others digeſted theirs 'by thoſe of the Archons of *Athens*, or Kings of the *Lacedæmonians*.

'HIPPIAS the *Elean* publiſhed a Breviary of the *Olympiads*, ſupported by no 'certain arguments, as [a] *Plutarch* tells us: he lived in the [b] 105th *Olympiad*, and 'was derided by *Plato* for his ignorance. This Breviary ſeems to have contained 'nothing more than a ſhort account of the victors in every *Olympiad*.

[a] Plut. in Num.
[b] About 360. Ant. Chr.

'Then § EPHORUS the diſciple of *Iſocrates* formed a *Chronological Hiſtory* of 'Greece, beginning with the return of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponneſus*, and end- 'ing with the ſiege of *Perinthus* in the 20th year of *Philip*, the father of *A- 'lexander* the Great, that is eleven years before the Fall of the *Perſian* Empire: 'but *he digeſted things by Generations*, and the Reckoning * by the Olympiads, or 'by any other Æra was not yet in uſe among the *Greeks*.

§ Diodor. l. 16. p. 550. Ant. Chr. 343. Polyb. p. 379. B.

'The ARUNDELIAN MARBLES were compoſed 60 years after the death 'of *Alexander* the Great (An. 4. Olymp. 128.) and yet mention not the O- 'lympiads nor any other ſtanding Æra, but *reckon backwards* from the time 'then preſent.

Ant. Chr. 265.

'But Chronology was *now* reduced to a *Reckoning by Years*; and, in the next 'Olympiad,

'TIMÆUS SICULUS improved it: For he wrote a Hiſtory, in ſeveral Books, 'down *to his own times according to the* OLYMPIADS; comparing the *Ephori*, 'the Kings of *Sparta*, the Archons of *Athens*, and the *Prieſteſſes of Argos* with 'the OLYMPIC VICTORS, ſo as to make the OLYMPIADS and the *Genealogies* 'and *Succeſſions of Kings* and *Prieſteſſes*, and the *Poetical Hiſtories* ſuit one ano- 'ther, according to the beſt of his judgment; and, where he left off, POLYBIUS 'began, and carried on the Hiſtory.

'ERATOSTHENES wrote above 100 years after the death of *Alexander* the 'Great. He was followed by APOLLODORUS, and theſe Two have been followed 'ever ſince by Chronologers.

223.

'But how uncertain their Chronology is, and how doubtful it was reputed by 'the *Greeks* of thoſe times, may be underſtood by theſe Paſſages of *Plutarch*. '*Some reckon* Lycurgus, *ſaith he, contemporary to* Iphitus, *and to have been his 'companion in ordering the* Olympic *feſtivals, amongſt whom was* Ariſtotle *the 'philoſopher; arguing* † *from the* Olympic *Diſc, which had the name of* Lycur- 'gus *upon it. Others ſupputing the times by the Kings of* Lacedæmon, *as* Era- 'toſthenes *and* Apollodorus, *affirm that he was not a few years older than the firſt 'Olympiad.* He began to flouriſh in the 17th or 18th Olympiad, and at length '*Ariſtotle* made him as old as the firſt Olympiad; and ſo did *Epaminondas*, as he 'is cited by *Ælian* and *Plutarch*: and then *Eratoſthenes*, *Apollodorus*, and their 'followers, made him above an hundred years older.

In vita Lycurgi ſub initio.

[Mr. *Whiſton* accuſes Sir *I. Newton*, of not informing his readers, how very difficult a thing it is to tell the age of *Lycurgus*; nor that *Plutarch* himſelf declares, " How every thing about *Lycurgus* is diſputed; and, above all the reſt,

Confut. of Sir *I. N*'s. Chron. p. 1047.

* Sir *Iſ. N.* ſays the ſame in the Introduction to his ſhort Chronicle, and adds there theſe Words, *Nor does it appear that the Reigns of Kings were yet ſet down by numbers of years.*

† *N. B.* In p. 58. Sir *I. N.* ſhews the fallacy of this argument. *Iphitus*, ſays he, did not reſtore all the *Olympic* Games. He reſtored indeed the *Racing* in the firſt Olympiad, *Coræbus* being Victor. In the 14th Olympiad, the double Stadium was added, *Hypænus* being Victor. And in the 18th Olympiad, the Quinquertium and Wreſtling were added, *Lampus* and *Erybatus* two *Spartans*, being Victors; and the Diſc was one of the Games of the *Quinquertium*.

Pauſan. l. 5. c. 8.

" *the time when he lived.*" I cannot ſee any good ground for this quarrel with Sir *I. N.*; But I wonder that Mr. *Whiſton* or any body ſhould build much upon the authority of Chronological Canons, the framers of which were ſo deſtitute of authentic records as to be reduced to conjectures concerning the time when *Lycurgus* lived, than whoſe Legiſlature there is not a more memorable event in the Hiſtory of *Greece*. And it ought to be obſerved, that the uncertainty with regard to *Lycurgus* muſt be attended with a like uncertainty as to the times of the Kings in the line of *Procles*; *Lycurgus* having been tutor to his nephew Charilaus the 7th king of that race. And it is remarkable that the Chronologers have not pretended to know the number of years which each of thoſe Kings reigned, tho' they have marked the length of the ſeveral reigns of the Kings in the line of *Euryſthenes* down to *Polydorus* the 10th King.]

In Solone. ' In another place *Plutarch* tells us: *The Congreſs of Solon with Cræſus, ſome* ' *think they can confute by Chronology. But a Hiſtory ſo illuſtrious, and verified by* ' *ſo many witneſſes, and which is more, ſo agreeable to the manners of Solon, and wor-* ' *thy of the greatneſs of his mind and of his wiſdom, I cannot perſuade myſelf to* ' *reject, becauſe of ſome Chronological Canons, as they call them, which hundreds of* ' *authors correcting, have not yet been able to conſtitute any thing certain, in which* ' *they could agree amongſt themſelves, about repugnances.*

Sir *I. N.* p. 50. Lib. 1. in Proem. ' *Diodorus*, in the beginning of his Hiſtory tells us, that he did not define, by ' any certain ſpace, the times preceding the *Trojan* war, becauſe he had no cer- ' tain foundation to rely upon: but from the *Trojan* war, according to the reck- ' oning of *Apollodorus*, whom he followed, there were eighty years to the return ' of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponneſus*; and that from that period to the firſt Olym- ' piad, there were three hundred and twenty eight years, computing the times from ' the Kings of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Apollodorus* followed *Eratoſthenes*, and both of them ' followed *Thucydides* in reckoning eighty years from the *Trojan* war to the return of ' the *Heraclides*: but in reckoning 328 years from that return to the firſt Olym- ' piad, *Diodorus* tells us, that the times were computed from the kings of the *La-* ' *cedæmonians*; and *Plutarch* tells us, that *Apollodorus*, *Eratoſthenes* and others, fol- ' lowed that computation: and ſince this reckoning is ſtill received by Chrono- ' logers, and was gathered by computing the times from the kings of the *Lace-* ' *dæmonians*, that is from their number, let us re-examine that computation.

Plutarch in Lycurgo ſub initio. ' The *Ægyptians* reckoned the reigns of kings equipollent to generations of ' men, and three generations to an hundred years, as above; ſo did the *Greeks* ' and *Latines*; and accordingly they have made their kings reign one with ano- ' ther thirty and three years a-piece, and above.

' For they make the ſeven Kings of *Rome*, who preceded the Conſuls, to have ' reigned 244 years, which is 35 years a-piece:

' And the firſt twelve kings of *Sicyon*, *Ægialeus*, *Europs*, &c. to have reigned ' 529 years, which is 44 years a-piece:

' And the firſt eight kings of *Argos*, *Inachus*, *Phoroneus*, &c. to have reigned ' 371 years, which is above 46 years a-piece:

' And between *the return of the Heraclides* into *Peloponneſus*, and *the end of the* ' *firſt Meſſenian war*, the *ten* kings of *Sparta* in one race,

1. *Euryſthenes*,
2. *Agis*,
3. *Echeſtratus*,
4. *Labotas*,
5. *Doryagus*,
6. *Ageſilaus*,
7. *Archelaus*,

8. *Telechus*,

8. *Teleclus*,
9. *Alcamenes*, and
10. *Polydorus*;

‘ the *nine* in the other [b] race, the *ten* [c] kings of *Meſſene*, and the *nine* [d] of *Arcadia*; ‘ according to Chronologers, took up 379 years: which is 38 years a-piece to ‘ the *ten* Kings, and 42 years a-piece to the *nine*. And the five kings [following ‘ *Polydorus*] of the race of *Euryſthenes*, *between the end of the firſt Meſſenian war*, ‘ and *the beginning of the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis*; *Eurycrates*, *Anaxander*, *Eu-* ‘ *rycrates* II., *Leon*, *Anaxandrides*, reigned 202 years, which is above 40 years ‘ a-piece.

‘ Thus the *Greek* Chronologers, who follow *Timæus* and *Eratoſthenes*, have ‘ made the kings of their ſeveral cities, who lived before the times of the *Perſian* ‘ Empire, to reign about 35 or 40 years a-piece, one with another; which is a ‘ length ſo much beyond the courſe of nature as is not to be credited. For by ‘ the ordinary courſe of nature, kings reign, one with another, about eighteen or ‘ twenty years a-piece: and if in ſome inſtances they reign, one with another, ‘ 5 or 6 years longer, in others they reign as much ſhorter: eighteen or twenty ‘ years is a medium.

‘ So the eighteen kings of *Judah* who ſucceeded *Solomon*, reigned 390 years, ‘ which is one with another twenty two years a-piece.

‘ The fifteen kings of *Iſrael* after *Solomon*, reigned 259 years, which is $17\frac{4}{4}$ ‘ years a-piece.

The eighteen kings of *Babylon Nabonaſſar*, &c. reigned 209 years, which is ‘ $11\frac{2}{3}$ years a-piece.

‘ The ten kings of *Perſia*; *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, &c. reigned 208 years, which is ‘ almoſt 21 years a-piece.

‘ The ſixteen ſucceſſors of *Alexander* the Great, and of his brother and ſon in ‘ *Syria*; *Seleucus*, *Antiochus Soter*, &c. reigned 244 years, after the breaking of ‘ that monarchy into various kingdoms, which is $15\frac{4}{4}$ years a-piece.

‘ The eleven kings of *Ægypt*, *Ptolomæus Lagi*, &c. reigned 277 years, counted ‘ from the ſame period, which is 25 years a-piece.

‘ The eight in *Macedonia*; *Caſſander*, &c. reigned 138 years, which is $17\frac{1}{4}$ ‘ years a-piece.

‘ The thirty kings of *England*; *William* the Conqueror, *William Rufus*, &c. ‘ reigned 648 years, which is $21\frac{1}{2}$ years a-piece.

‘ The firſt twenty four kings of *France*; *Pharamundus*, &c. reigned 458 years, ‘ which is 19 years a-piece.

‘ The next twenty four kings of *France*; *Ludovicus Balbus*, &c. 451 years, ‘ which is $18\frac{3}{4}$ years a-piece.

‘ The next fifteen, *Philip Valeſius*, &c. 315 years, which is 21 years a-piece.

‘ And all the ſixty three kings of *France*, 1224 years, which is $19\frac{1}{2}$ years a-piece.

‘ Generations from father to ſon, may be reckoned one with another at about ‘ 33 or 34 years a-piece, or about three generations to an hundred years: but if ‘ the reckoning proceed by the eldeſt ſons, they are ſhorter, ſo that three of ‘ them may be reckoned at about 75 or 80 years: and the reigns of Kings are ‘ ſtill ſhorter, becauſe Kings are ſucceeded not only by their eldeſt ſons, but ſome-

[b] 1. *Procles*, 2. *Sous*, 3. *Eurypon*, 4. *Prytanis*, 5. *Eunomus*, 6. *Polydectes*, 7. *Charilaus*, 8. *Nicander*, 9. *Theopompus*.

[c] 1. *Creſphontes*, 2. *Epytus*, 3. *Glaucus*, 4. *Iſthmius*, 5. *Dotadas*, 6. *Sibotas*, 7. *Phintas*, 8. *Antiochus*, 9. *Euphaes*, 10. *Ariſtodemus*.

[d] 1. *Cypſelus*, 2. *Olaus*, 3. *Buchalion*, 4. *Phialus*, 5. *Simus*, 6. *Pompus*, 7. *Ægineta*, 8. *Polymneſtor*, 9. *Æchmis*.

'times by their brothers, and ſometimes they are ſlain or depoſed; and ſucceeded 'by others of an equal or greater age, eſpecially in elective or turbulent kingdoms.

'In the later ages, ſince Chronology hath been exact, there is ſcarce an in-'ſtance to be found of ten kings reigning any where in continual ſucceſſion above '260 years: but *Timæus* and his followers, and I think alſo ſome of his prede-'ceſſors, after the example of the *Egyptians*, have taken *the reigns of kings* for '*generations*, and reckoned *three generations to* 100, and ſometimes to 120 years; 'and founded the technical chronology of the *Greeks* upon this way of reckoning. 'Let the reckoning be reduced to the courſe of nature, by putting the reigns 'of kings one with another, at about 18 or 20 years a-piece: and the 'ten kings of *Sparta* by one race, the nine by another race, the ten kings of '*Meſſene*, and the nine of *Arcadia*, abovementioned, between the return of the '*Heraclides* into *Peloponneſus*, and the end of the firſt *Meſſenian* war, will ſcarce 'take up above 180 or 190 years: whereas according to Chronologers they took 'up 379 years.——

'Chronologers have [not only] lengthened the time, between *the return of the* '*Heraclides into Peloponneſus* and *the firſt Meſſenian war*, —they have alſo length-'ened the time between *that war* and *the riſe of the Perſian Empire*.

Herod. l. 7. 'For in the race of the *Spartan* kings, deſcended from *Euryſthenes*; after *Poly-'dorus*, reigned theſe kings.

11. *Eurycrates*,
12. *Annaxander*,
13. *Eurycrates* II.
14. *Leon*,
15. *Anaxandrides*,
16. *Gleomenes*,
17. LEONIDAS, &c.

Herod. l. 8. 'And in the other race deſcended from *Procles*; after *Theopompus* [the 9th king] 'reigned theſe, *Anaxandrides*, *Archidemus*, *Anaxileus*, *Leutychides*, *Hippocratides*, '*Ariſton*, *Demaratus*, *Leutychides* II. &c. according to *Herodotus*. Theſe kings 'reigned till the ſixth year of *Xerxes*, in which *Leonidas* was ſlain by the *Perſians* at '*Thermopylæ*; and *Leutychides* II. ſoon after, flying from *Sparta* to *Tegea*, died there.

'The *ſeven* reigns of the kings of *Sparta*, which follow *Polydorus*, being added 'to the *ten* reigns abovementioned, which began with that of *Euryſthenes*, make 'up ſeventeen reigns of kings, between the return of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponneſus* and the ſixth year of *Xerxes*: and the eight reigns following *Theopampus*, 'being added to the nine reigns abovementioned, which began with that of *Pro-'cles*, make up alſo ſeventeen reigns: and theſe ſeventeen reigns, at twenty years 'a-piece one with another, amount unto three hundred and forty years. Count 'theſe three hundred and forty years upwards from the ſixth year of *Xerxes* and 'one or two years more for the war of the *Heraclides*, and the reign of *Ariſtode-'mus*, the father of *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*; and they will place the return of the '*Heraclides* into *Peloponneſus*, 159 years after the death of *Solomon*, and forty ſix
Ant. Chr. 822. 'years before the firſt Olympiad, in which *Coræbus* was victor. But the followers 'of *Timæus* have placed this return 280 years earlier. Now this being the com-'putation upon which the *Greeks*, as you have heard from *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, 'have founded the Chronology of their kingdoms which were ancienter than the '*Perſian* Empire; that Chronology is to be rectified by ſhortening the times which 'preceded the death of *Cyrus*, in the proportion of almoſt two to one; for the 'times which follow the death of *Cyrus* are not much amiſs.

[The truth of Sir *I. N.*'s computation with regard to the reigns of the 17 kings of *Sparta*, of whom *Leonidas* was the laſt, ſeems to be well ſupported by the

ſpace of time filled up by the reigns of the 13 kings, (of the ſame Line) who reigned in ſucceſſion after *Leonidas*.

Leonidas was ſlain in the year before Chriſt, 480.

Cleomenes, the laſt of the thirteen kings who reigned after him, being expelled *Peloponneſus*, killed himſelf in *Ægypt* (as *Petavius* § hath ſhewn) in 219. Bef. Chr. The years between the deaths of theſe two kings are 261, ſo that the thirteen kings in ſucceſſion from *Leonidas* reigned but about 20 years a-piece one with another.] § Rat. Temp. par. 1. l. 4 c. 4.

'As for the Chronology of the *Latines*, that is ſtill more uncertain [than the Chronology of the *Greeks*] * *Plutarch* repreſents great uncertainties *in the Originals of Rome*, and ſo doth † *Servius*. The old records of the *Latines* were burnt ‖ by the *Gauls* 120 years after the Regifuge, and 64 years before the death of *Alexander* the Great: and *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, the oldeſt Hiſtorian of the *Latines*, lived 100 years later than that king, and took almoſt all things [concerning the Originals of *Rome*] from *Diocles Peparethius* a *Greek*.' Sir *I.N.* p. 49. * Plut in Rom. & Num. † In Æn. 7. v. 678. ‖ Diod. L. 1.

'When the *Romans* conquered the *Carthaginians*, the archives of *Carthage* came into their hands. And thence *Appian*, in his Hiſtory of the Punic Wars, tells in round numbers that *Carthage* ſtood 700 years; and *Solinus* adds the odd number of years [37] in theſe words: Adrymeto atque Carthagini author eſt a Tyro populus. Urbem iſtam, ut Cato in Oratione Senatoria autumat, cum rex Hiarbas rerum in Libya potiretur, Eliſſa mulier extruxit, domo Phœnix, & Carthadam dixit, quod Phœnicum ore exprimit civitatem novam; mox ſermone verſo Carthago dicta eſt, quæ poſt annos ſeptingentos triginta ſeptem exciditur quam fuerat extructa.' Sir *I. N.* p. 64. Solin. c. 30.

'*Eliſſa* was *Dido*, and *Carthage* was deſtroyed in the Conſulſhip of *Lentulus* and *Mummius* in the year of the *Julian* period 4568;* from whence count backward 737 years, and the Encænia or dedication of the city, will fall upon the 10th year of *Pygmalion*, the brother of *Dido*, and king of *Tyre*. She fled in the ſeventh year of *Pygmalion*, but the Æra of the city began wth its Encænia.' * Ant. Chr. 146.

'Now *Virgil* and his ſcholiaſt *Servius*, who might have ſome things from the archives of *Tyre* and *Cyprus*, as well as from thoſe of *Carthage*, relate that *Teucer* came from the war of *Troy* to *Cyprus*, in the days of *Dido* a little before the reign of her brother *Pygmalion*; and, in conjunction with her father, ſeized *Cyprus*, and ejected *Cinyras*: and THE MARBLES ſay, that *Teucer came to Cyprus, ſeven years after the deſtruction of Troy*, and built *Salamis*; and *Apollodorus*, that *Cinyras* married *Metharme* the daughter of *Pygmalion*, and built *Paphos*. Therefore, if the *Romans*, in the days of *Auguſtus*, followed not altogether the artificial Chronology of *Eratoſthenes*, but had thoſe things from the records of *Carthage*, *Cyprus*, or *Tyre*; the arrival of *Teucer* at *Cyprus* will be in the reign of the predeceſſor of *Pygmalion*, and by conſequence the deſtruction of *Troy*, about 76 years later than the death of *Salomon*.' Ant. Chr. 903.

'*Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* tells us that in the time of the *Trojan* war, *Latinus* was king of the *Aborigines* in *Italy*, and that in the ſixteenth age after that war *Romulus* built *Rome*. By ages he means reigns of kings: for after *Latinus* he names ſixteen kings of the *Latines*, the laſt of which was *Numitor*, in whoſe days *Romulus* built *Rome*: for *Romulus* was contemporary to *Numitor*, and after him *Dionyſius* and others reckon ſix kings more over *Rome*, to the beginning of the Conſuls. Now theſe twenty and two reigns, at about 18 years to a reign one with another, for many of theſe Kings were ſlain, took up 396 years; which counted back from the Conſulſhip of *Junius Brutus* and *Valerius Publicola*, the two firſt Conſuls, place the *Trojan* war about 78 years after the death of *Solomon*.' Dionys. l. 1. p. 15.

'When

Sir *I. N.* p. 128. *Vid.* Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l. 1. p. 44, 45.

'When the *Greeks* and *Latines* were forming their Technical Chronology, there 'were great diſputes about the antiquity of *Rome*: the *Greeks* made it much older 'than the Olympiads: ſome of them ſaid it was built by *Æneas*; others by *Romus*, the ſon or grandſon of *Æneas*; others, by *Romus*, the ſon or grandſon of *Latinus* king of the *Aborigines*; others by *Romus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes*, or of *Aſcanius*, or of *Italus*: and ſome of the *Latines* at firſt fell in with the opinion of the *Greeks*, ſaying that it was built by *Romulus*, the ſon or grandſon of *Æneas*. *Timæus Siculus* repreſented it built by *Romulus*, the grandſon of *Æneas*, above an hundred years before the Olympiads, and ſo did *Nævius* the poet, who was 20 years older than *Ennius*, and ſerved in the firſt Punic war, and wrote the Hiſtory of that war.

'Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon, but about 140 or 150 years after the death of *Alexander* the Great, they began to ſay, that *Rome* was built a ſecond time by *Romulus*, in the fifteenth age after the deſtruction of *Troy*: by ages they meant reigns of the kings of the *Latines* at *Alba*, and reckoned the firſt fourteen reigns at about 432 years, and the following reigns of the ſeven kings of *Rome* at 244 years, both which numbers made up the time of about 676 years from the taking of *Troy*, according to theſe Chronologers; but are much too long for the courſe of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of *Rome* upon the ſixth or ſeventh Olympiad: *Varro* † placed it on the firſt year of the ſeventh Olympaid, and was therein generally followed by the *Romans*; but this can ſcarce be reconciled to the courſe of nature: For I do not meet with any inſtance in all hiſtory, ſince Chronology was certain, wherein ſeven Kings, *moſt of whom were ſlain*, reigned 244 years in continual ſucceſſion.

'The fourteen reigns of the Kings of the *Latines*, at twenty years a-piece one with another amount unto 280 years, and theſe years counted from the taking of *Troy* end in the 38th Olympiad: and the ſeven reigns of the Kings of *Rome*, four or five of them being ſlain and one depoſed, may at a moderate reckoning amount to fifteen or ſixteen years a-piece one with another: let them be reckoned at ſeventeen years a-piece, and they will amount unto 119 years; which being counted backwards from the Regifuge, end alſo in the 38th Olympiad: and Ant. Chr. 627. by theſe two reckonings *Rome* was built in the 38th Olympiad, or thereabout.

† If this be not an error of the preſs, yet doubtleſs Sir *Iſaac Newton* meant to write *Cato*, not *Varro*. *Varro* placed the foundation of *Rome* in the 3d year of the 6th Olympiad [Ant. Chr. 753.] *Cato* in the 1ſt year of the 7th [Ant. Chr. 751.]

Theſe two writers agreed in giving 244 years to the *regal ſtate* of *Rome*, but, as they fixed the Æra of the city by reckoning backward, and counted the years of the republic by the annual magiſtracies, and as *Varro*, in this way of counting, gave to the republic two years more than *Cato*; he of courſe placed the building of *Rome* two years farther back than *Cato* had done.

There were three Dictatorſhips, to each of which *Varro* allotted a whole year, which Dictatorſhips *Cato* had conſidered as only ſuperſeding ſo many Conſulſhips, and therefore reckoned each Conſulſhip and the Dictatorſhip that ſuperſeded it as filling but one year. And this would have made *Varro*'s reckoning, upon the whole, exceed *Cato*'s by three years; but *Varro* by placing, in one and the ſame year, the third Decemvirate and the ſucceeding Conſulſhip; to which magiſtracies *Cato* allotted diſtinct years, the reckoning of *Varro* upon the whole exceeded that of *Cato* by two years only.

The Capitoline marbles, with regard to the three Dictatorſhips and the third Decemvirate, reckon like *Varro*; but as they give only 243 years to the *regal ſtate* of *Rome*, their Chronology upon the whole has a year leſs than *Varro*'s, and a year more than *Cato*'s.

See notes ſur la Chron. Grecque-Rom. Selon D. Hal. by the French Tranſlator of *Dionyſius*, p. 34.

'The

'The 280 years and the 119 years together make up 399 years; and the same 'number of years arises by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years 'a-piece: and this being the whole time between the taking of *Troy* and the Re- 'gifuge, let these years be counted backward from the * Regifuge An. 1, Olymp. '68, and they will place the taking of *Troy* about 74 years after the death of '*Solomon*.' [Which death of *Solomon* Sir *Isaac Newton* places 979 years before the Christian Æra; so that *the fall of Troy*, soon after which *Æneas began his voyages*, will be about 905 years before that Æra; and as Sir *Isaac* makes *the* flight of *Dido* from *Tyre* to be Ant. Chr. 892, there were according to this computation, but about 13 years between these two last mentioned events.]

* Ant. Chr. 508.

Vid. Supr. p. xlv.

Mr. Whiston, in his Treatise, intitled *A Confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology*, observes, (p. 987) that "In *England* we have "had Nine successive Reigns, at almost 30 years a-piece, from *Henry* I. "to *Edward* III.

"And Twelve at almost 28 years a-piece, from *William* the Conqueror "to *Richard* II.

"And the *French* have had Six Reigns together at almost 40 years "a-piece from *Robert* to *Philip* II.

"And Eight Reigns at above 35 years a-piece, from *Robert* to "*Lewis* IX.

"And Ten Reigns at almost 33 years a-piece from *Robert* to *Philip* "IV. all inclusive, as these Tables will shew.

Kings of *ENGLAND*.

1.	*William* the Conqueror	21.
2.	*William Rufus*	13.
3.	*Henry* I.	35.
4.	*Stephen*	19.
5.	*Henry* II.	35.
6.	*Richard* I.	11.
7.	*John*	17.
8.	*Henry* III.	56.
9.	*Edward* I.	34.
10.	*Edward* II.	19.
11.	*Edward* III.	51.
12.	*Richard* II.	22.

12) 333 (27¾

Kings of *FRANCE*.

1.	*Rupert* or *Robert*	45.
2.	*Henry* I.	28.
3.	*Philip* I.	48.
4.	*Lewis* VI.	29.
5.	*Lewis* VII.	43.
6.	*Philip* II.	43.

7. *Lewis* VIII. ——— 3.
8. *Lewis* IX. ——— 44.
9. *Philip* III. ——— 15.
10. *Philip* IV. ——— 29.

19) 327 (32½

From theſe examples Mr. *Whiſton* infers, that we ought not to reject or alter the ſeries of the reigns of the TWELVE Kings of *Macedonia* from *Caranus*, of the Heraclidæ, to *Archelaus*, which twelve reigns take up 415 years.

12) 415 (34½

Nor the ſeries of the reigns of the EIGHT laſt of the *Latine* Kings, from *Amulius* to *Tarquin the Proud*, which takes up 286 years

8) 286 (35¾

Which reigns of *Macedonian* and *Latine* Kings, he obſerves, are of all he had before mark'd (in ſeveral ſeries of antient long reigns) *the longeſt in proportion*, becauſe they began after human life was reduced to its preſent ſtandard.

Now I think it muſt be granted, that the examples, which Mr. *Whiſton* has produced of long reigns in ſucceſſion, both in *England* and in *France*, would be ſufficient to make it credible, that the *Seven* Kings of *Rome* reigned as long as they are reported to have done, if there were no objection to this report, but its being *uncommon* to find, in authentic and undiſputed hiſtory, *Seven* Kings reigning, in ſucceſſion, 35 years a-piece one with another. But here it may be proper to conſider,

I. That we have no better authority for the long reigns of the *Seven* Kings of *Rome*, than for the long reigns of the *Fourteen* Kings of *Alba*, their predeceſſors; and there is no inſtance, ſince Chronology was certain, of twenty-one Kings, in ſucceſſion, reigning near thirty-two years a-piece, one with another, as the twenty-one Kings in queſtion are repreſented to have done.

Mr. *Whiſton*, as we ſee above, has given us *Ten* Kings of *France* in ſucceſſion, who reigned 327 years, or 32¾ a-piece.

I think he has ſtretched the reign of *Robert* 10 or 11 years beyond its true length. But, letting that paſs, if to theſe *Ten* Kings we add the *Five* that preceded them, and the *Six* that follow'd them, to make the number twenty-one, we ſhall find, that the twenty-one Kings reigned but about 21 years a-piece one with another.

For *Raoul*, the firſt of the 21, began to reign *An. Dom.* 923, and *Jean* II. the laſt of the 21, died in 1363, the whole ſpace 440 years.

If to the *Ten* Kings we add the *Eleven* that *preceded* them, the reigns of the 21 will be ſtill ſhorter.

Indeed, if to the *Ten* we add the *Eleven* that *followed* them, the 21 reigns amount to near 24 years a-piece one with another. But this is far ſhort of 32 years a-piece, to which the 21 reigns of the *Latine* Kings amount, within a triſle, according to Biſhop *Lloyd*'s tables, cited by Mr. *Whiſton*.

So

So likewiſe, tho' we have had in *England Twelve* ſucceſſive reigns, at almoſt 28 years a-piece, from *William* the Conqueror to *Richard* II. Yet, if to thoſe *Twelve* we add the *Nine* reigns which followed that of *Richard* II. we ſhall find that the 21 Kings did not reign quite 23 years a-piece one with another.

II. It may be further obſerved, that the old Chronology, which makes the reigns of 21 *Latine* Kings fill up a ſpace of time ſo much longer, than the reigns of the ſame number of Kings of any country have ever done ſince Chronology was certain, do in like manner, make the reigns of *every* ſeries of Kings of the moſt ancient kingdoms *exceed*, in duration, what *the common courſe of nature*, as known by true hiſtory, admits; which *univerſal exceſs* affords a probable argument, that the old Chronology was wholly artificial, and not founded on authentic records or monuments.

When I ſay *every* ſeries of Kings, it might perhaps be expected, that I ſhould except the long ſucceſſions of Kings in *Egypt*, (from the time of *Mizraim* the ſon of *Ham*) to which numerous Kings *ſhort reigns* † are aſſign'd by the old Chronology: But I conſider thoſe ſeries of Egyptian monarchs as fabulous. For indeed the *ſhort* reigns, aſſign'd to them, are *alone* almoſt a demonſtrative proof, that the greater number of the Kings, in thoſe ſeries, never exiſted, or at leaſt, not in line of ſucceſſion; as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

III. That moſt of the *Seven* Kings of *Rome* being ſlain, and one depoſed, there ariſes hence a great improbability of their reigning 35 years a-piece one with another.

IV. And laſtly, that in the accounts given us of thoſe *Seven* Kings, there are ſome particulars, by which the hiſtorians diſcover the uncertainty of their Chronology, and ſome that ſeem entirely to refute it, as the following Remarks will ſhew.

ROMULUS.

THE hiſtorians give 37 or 38 years to the reign of *Romulus*, yet if they had not expreſsly affirmed that he reigned ſo long, we ſhould never have imagined, from any thing they relate of his life or death, that his

† Mr. *Whiſton* (in p. 975.) makes the following obſervation.

" *Manetho*, when he ſpeaks of the ſeveral " *Dynaſties* of *Egypt*, or of the ſeveral ſucceſſions of collateral kingdoms, mentions " the principal ſucceſſion as extending to " 113 generations in 3555 years: And implies, that the firſt 16, which were chiefly " before the deluge, were more than equal " to the other 97: Thoſe 16 containing " no fewer than 1985 years; and the 97 no " more than 1570 years; the *former* allowing to each generation or ſucceſſion 124 " years; as the duration of human life before the deluge well admitted; (and the " *Chaldean* ſucceſſion at *Babylon* in *Abydenus* " and *Beroſus* equally admitted alſo) while " the *latter* allows but a little above 16 " years to ſuch a ſucceſſion, till the days " of *Alexander* the Great: which laſt ſmall " number might yet well agree to thoſe latter ages of the kingdom of *Egypt*, which " might be ſubject to great diſturbances and " changes of government all along."

government was of near so long a duration: We should rather have concluded from what they themselves have written concerning him, that he reigned little more than 17 years.

I. PLUTARCH having related how *Romulus* took *Fidenæ*, and sent thither a *Roman* colony on the *Ides of April*, goes on to tell us, that shortly after, a plague broke out, and that before the plague ceased, the *Camerini* invaded the *Roman* territory; that *Romulus* without delay marched against them, defeated them, took *Camerium* their city, transplanted half its inhabitants to *Rome*, and, on the *Kalends of August*, sent from *Rome* double the number of *Roman* citizens to *Camerium*. So greatly (adds *Plutarch*) was the number of his citizens increased in *Sixteen* years time from the building of the city.

The same author proceeds immediately to relate, that the *Veientes*, alarmed at this increase of the *Roman* power, made *Fidenæ* the pretence for beginning a war with *Rome*. They demanded *Fidenæ* back as a city belonging to them; and their demand being scornfully rejected, they took the field, dividing their forces into two bodies: One attacked the *Roman* army of *Fidenæ* with success; the other marched against *Romulus* and was defeated by him. One battle more put an end to the war: *Romulus* obtained a decisive victory, for which he triumphed on the *Ides of October*.

Not only *Plutarch*, but *Livy* and *Dionysius* make *Fidenæ* the pretence for the war undertaken by the *Veientes*; and they speak of this war as begun presently after the reduction of that town by the *Romans*. It is not therefore without good reason that *Pighius* places the King's triumph over the *Veientes* in his 17th year.

II. It appears from *Dionysius*, *Livy* and *Plutarch*, that the victory over the *Veientes* was the *last* military exploit of *Romulus*'s life.

Dionysius having related the particulars of the war with *Veii*, the decisive victory gained by *Romulus*, and his triumph on that occasion, concludes with words to this effect: *These are the most memorable wars of* Romulus; *an untimely death, when he was in the bloom of his military glory, hindered him from subduing any of the other neighbouring nations*[a].

Livy, when he has spoken of the same war, goes on much in the same manner with *Dionysius*[b]: *These were almost all the atchievements at home and abroad during the reign of* Romulus; and then speaks of his death. And,

Plutarch says expressly, that *this war* [with the *Veientes*] *was the last war that* Romulus *ever waged*[c].

[a] Οὗτοι συνέπεσαν πόλεμοι Ρωμύλῳ γενέσθαι ἔνδοξοι. p. 114.

[b] Hæc ferme Romulo regnante domi militiæque gesta. L. 1. c. 15.

[c] τοῦτον ἔσχατον πόλεμον ὁ Ρωμύλος ἐπολέμησεν. p. 33. *Vit. Rom.*

If then theſe two points be granted, that *Romulus*'s war with *Veii* was his laſt war, and that this was finiſhed about the 17th year of *Rome*, it will follow, that the 20 laſt years of his reign, if he reigned 37, were years of PEACE. But is it probable, that a prince of ſo active and enterpriſing a ſpirit, ſhould paſs twenty years in peace with all his neighbours? Or if the *Romans*, when they ſent an offer of the kingdom to *Numa*, had, of 37 years, (the whole period ſince the birth of their ſtate,) been the laſt 20 in peace, how could he, with any propriety or truth, in his anſwer to the deputies, ſpeak of the *Romans* as a people of a reſtleſs ſpirit, ever in war, and inſatiably eager of conqueſt? *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Romans*, when *Numa* aſcended the throne, were become hard as iron by war; and that this prince thought religion the only means to ſoften ſuch ſtubborn minds, and moderate their martial fury; and *Livy* calls them *animos militia efferatos*. There is nothing in any of the hiſtorians to favour the ſuppoſition of *Rome*'s continuing 20 years in peace in *Romulus*'s time, except this only, that they fix his death to the 37th year of the city, and make his wars end about the 17th. See Hiſt. p. 49. & 58.

III. MAY it not be fairly collected from all the three *hiſtorians* beforementioned, that *Romulus*'s victory over the *Veientes* was not only the *laſt military exploit* of his life, but an exploit which did not long precede his death? It has been already obſerved, that *Dionyſius* and *Livy* paſs immediately from the concluſion of the *Veientan* war to the King's aſſaſſination. *Plutarch* does the ſame; and it is farther to be remarked, that *Plutarch* and *Dionyſius* make the affront which *Romulus* put upon the Senators, when, *without conſulting them*, he reſtored to the *Veientes* 50 hoſtages (which they had given him to ſecure the performance of their engagements by the treaty of peace) to be one of the chief provocations which incited the Senators to murder him. And this offence is mentioned as a thing *recent* at the time of his death: *his ſudden diſappearing ſoon after this* ſays *Plutarch*, *brought the ſenate under ſuſpicion and calumny*. And the ſame hiſtorian mentions another *recent* offence given the Senate: *That the king by his ſole authority ſhared among the ſoldiers the lands acquired by the war*. It is not indeed ſaid, at what time the King gave the Senators theſe provocations; but we cannot eaſily ſuppoſe it to have been a great while after the war; and it will be very hard to ſuppoſe that it was 20 years after.

Plutarch is, I think, the only ancient writer who ſpeaks of *Romulus*'s moderation in not poſſeſſing himſelf of the kingdom of *Alba*, upon the death of his grandfather *Numitor*, to which kingdom he ſuppoſes *Romulus* to have had a right of inheritance. Now ſuppoſing *Romulus* to have been heir apparent to his grandfather, and yet never to have poſſeſſed *Alba*, it is much more probable that the grandfather outlived the grandſon, than that the grandſon declined a ſucceſſion to which he had an hereditary right. This imagination which *Plutarch* had of the politick moderation of *Romulus* (for it was to regain the good will of his people) ſeems wholly founded on the ſuppoſition that he reigned 37 years, in which caſe he probably outlived his grandfather; But if *Romulus* reigned

but 17 years, his grandfather may very well be ſuppoſed to have outlived him; for, according to *Plutarch* himſelf, *Romulus* was but 17 years old when he began to reign.

NUMA.

THERE are ſeveral conſiderations, which make it ſeem very improbable, that *Numa* reigned 43 years. His reign is by all repreſented as a reign of uninterrupted peace, and the ſole object of his government, to turn the minds of his ſubjects wholly from war to agriculture and other honeſt occupations, and to religious exerciſes. His people look upon him as the wiſeſt man and beſt King in the world, and revere him as their common Father. Nevertheleſs this very people, of whom not a man, fit to bear arms, had ever drawn a ſword, are after 43 years habit of induſtry and devotion, brought *at once*, as ſoon as *Numa* is dead, totally to neglect his religious inſtitutions, pick quarrels with their neighbours, and go to fighting as readily, as if war had been their conſtant and only trade. Has this any appearance of probability? Is it not natural to believe rather, that *Numa*'s reign did not laſt above 15 or 16 years, and that the army, which *Tullus Hoſtilius* led into the field, conſiſted chiefly of *Romulus*'s ſoldiers, who had been early inured to robbery and plundering, and whom *Numa*'s diſcipline had not cured of their firſt habits and diſpoſitions?

But, as to *Numa*, there is another difficulty, with which *Livy*, *Dionyſius* and *Plutarch* were much embarraſſed, and which will be wholly removed by Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s calculations.

All thoſe three hiſtorians take notice of a tradition which had univerſally prevailed among the *Romans*, *That* Numa *was inſtructed by* Pythagoras *the* Samian *philoſopher*. This Tradition they all reject; and they imagine, it had no foundation but the conformity between the Tenets of *Pythagoras* and thoſe of *Numa*. At the ſame time, they have no argument againſt the truth of the Fact, but what they draw from the received * Chronology of the regal ſtate of *Rome*.

L. 2. p. 116. "*Pythagoras*, (ſays *Dionyſius*) was poſterior to *Numa*, not a few years, "but 4 entire generations," *i. e.* 4 reigns of Kings: For (as he goes on) "*Numa* began his reign in the middle of the 16th Olympiad, and *Pytha*- "*goras* taught in *Italy* after the 50th † Olympiad, μετα την πεντηκοστην," [in

In *Numa*.

* *Plutarch* ſpeaks of ſome writers who, (probably to get rid of the difficulty ariſing from this old tradition, compared with the received chronology of the Kings of *Rome*) imagined, that a certain *Pythagoras*, a *Spartan*, who gained the prize at the races in the 16th Olympiad, might be *Numa*'s inſtructor. *Dionyſius* likewiſe mentions this *Racer*, but declares, that he knows of no good author, *Greek* or *Roman*, who ſpeaks of him, as converſing with *Numa*.

‖ Tuſc. Qu. L. 1. c. 16. Tuſc. Qu. L. 4. c. 1.

† *Cicero* ſays, ‖ That *Pythagoras came into Italy* in the reign of *Tarquin* the Proud; and that he was in *Italy*, when *Brutus* freed *Rome* from tyranny, *i. e.* 206 years after the beginning of *Numa*'s reign, and in the 68th Olympiad. He ſuppoſes, that poſterity being *ignorant of the remote times* [*cum ætates & tempora ignorarent propter vetuſtatem*] and comparing the wiſdom of *Numa* with that of *Pythagoras*, imagined, from that compariſon, the

[in the 4th year * of which Olympiad he places the acceſſion of *Servius Tullius*, the 5th king from *Numa*. The whole number of years between *Numa*'s acceſſion and that of *Servius Tullius* is 137.]

Now taking it for granted, that *Dionyſius* means to ſay, that Pythagoras *began to teach* in *Italy*, ſoon after the 50th Olympiad, and that he is right in this particular, a ſtrong preſumption will ariſe, from the *conſtant Tradition of his intercourſe with* Numa, that this King did not begin to reign in the 16th Olympiad, but much later.

According to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computations *Rome* was not built till about the 38th Olympiad; on which ſuppoſition, if we allow about 17 years for the reign of *Romulus*, *Numa*'s acceſſion to the throne will have been about the middle of the 42d Olympiad. And if this computation be juſt, there will have been but about 24 years (not 137) between the acceſſion of *Numa* to the throne, and the arrival of *Pythagoras* in *Italy*; even ſuppoſig that *Pythagoras did not come into* Italy till the 51ſt Olympiad; *which however is not aſſerted by* Dionyſius.

"St. *Auſtin* (ſays Mr. *Bayle*) would eaſily have believed, that *Numa* "was a diſciple of *Pythagoras*; for he ſays, that *Thales* lived during the "reign of *Romulus*. Now we *know*, that *Thales* and *Pherecydes* were contem- "porary, and that *Pythagoras* was a diſciple of *Pherecydes*; and ſome "pretend † that *Thales* was ſo too. It is *certain*, at leaſt, that *Pythagoras* "and *Anaximander*, a diſciple of *Thales*, lived at the ſame time." *Pythag.* (*B*) † *Tzetzes.*

That *Pythagoras* was contemporary with *Thales*, is no leſs *certain*, if *Thales* outlived *Pherecydes*, to whom *Pythagoras* was a diſciple. And that *Thales* outlived *Pherecydes* is manifeſt from a letter which *Pherecydes*, the year before his death, wrote to *Thales*. Laert. Vit. Thal.

the King to have been a diſciple of the Philoſopher. Now on this I obſerve.

1. That whatever reaſons *Cicero* might have to place the *coming* of *Pythagoras* into *Italy*, in the reign of *Tarquin* the proud, it is plain, that *Livy*, *Dionyſius* and *Pliny* thought the orator in a miſtake, and had no deference to his authority in this particular.

["The moſt accurate chronology, ſays "Mr. *Stanley*, teacheth (as Mr. *Selden* ob- "ſerves) that *Pythagoras* flouriſhed betwixt "the 50th and 52d Olympiad. p. 350."]

2. I obſerve, that *Cicero* ſuppoſes his countrymen, when they *firſt entertained the notion* of *Numa*'s being inſtructed by *Pythagoras*, to have been *extremely ignorant* of the *times of their Kings*, and particularly of *the time when* Numa *lived*. For, as to the *time* of *Pythagoras*, *Cicero*, who believed that he was ſtill living in *Italy*, in the *firſt year of the Republick*, could hardly ſuppoſe that the *Romans* made a miſtake of 200 years in their reckoning; and eſpecially after their conqueſt of that country where *Pythagoras* had reſided. Yet the notion of his being contemporary with *Numa* prevailed after that conqueſt.

It would ſeem therefore, that the *chronology* of the regal ſtate of *Rome* was *invented* and *framed long after* the opinion concerning the intercourſe between *Numa* and *Pythagoras* had been entertained; and if ſo, that the chronology ought rather to be rejected on account of the tradition, than the tradition rejected on account of the chronology, eſpecially as the latter is not agreeable to the common courſe of nature, with regard to the reigns of Kings; and the former is entirely conſiſtent with it.

* When *Dionyſius* places the *acceſſion* of *Servius* to the throne in the 50th Olympiad, he goes upon the ſuppoſition, that *Servius* reigned 44 years. But I ſhall preſently endeavour to ſhew that it is probable he did not reign above 20 years, nor come to the throne till about the 56th Olympiad, and yet that *Pythagoras* might be then living at *Crotona*, tho' he had been *Numa*'s inſtructor.

It

Apollodorus apud Laert. L. 1.

It is generally admitted, that *Thales* was born in the first year of the 35th Olympiad. This opinion is adopted by *Petavius*, Mr. *Bayle* and Mr. *Stanley*; and Sir *Isaac Newton* seems to follow it, when he supposes,

Chron. p. 92.

"that *Thales* in the 41st Olympiad applied himself to *astronomical* studies, "and predicted eclipses, being then a young man, [about 28 years of age.]

If then Sir *Isaac Newton* be right, in placing the foundation of *Rome* about the 38th Olympiad, St. *Austin* will not have erred in thinking, that *Thales* was contemporary with *Romulus*, tho' Mr. *Bayle* seems to smile at the Bishop's notion.

The ancient writers are of different opinions, concerning the times of *Pythagoras*'s birth, and of his going into *Egypt*, and into *Italy*, and of his death. But it seems to be universally agreed that he was contemporary with *Thales*, and the rest of the 7 wise men, who all flourished between the 40th and 55th Olympiads.

L. 2. c. 8.

And, if we may believe *Pliny*, *Pythagoras* could not be much younger than *Thales*. For *Pliny* says, that "*Pythagoras* observed the nature of "the star *Venus*, about the 42d Olympiad, year of *Rome* 142 *" [*i. e.* the 142d of *Rome* according to the reckoning of *Cato*.]

Now,

p. 266.

* "Both these numbers, (says Father "*Harduin*, in his notes on *Pliny*) "must be "*gross corruptions*, or *Pliny* must have *grie-* "*vously blundered, graviter hallucinatum.*" Why so? "Because *Laertius* says, that *Py-* "*thagoras* was in the 60th Olympiad, *Cle-* "*mens Alexandrinus* and *Tatian* in the 62d "Olympiad, and *Eusebius* writes, that he "died in the 70th Olympiad: and *Dionys.* "*Halic.* says that *Pythagoras* flourished after "the 50th Olympiad; he seems indeed to "speak without precision and at large," *i. e.* he does not say *how long after*.

I must here observe, that *F. Harduin* would have us understand the passage in *Dionysius* to mean *certainly*, that *Pythagoras* did not *begin* to flourish *till after* the 50th Olympiad. But this is not the clear import of the historian's words. He says nothing of the time when *Pythagoras began to flourish*, but says that he was posterior to *Numa* 4 entire generations [or four reigns of Kings] and that he *lived* or *taught* [there are two readings] in *Italy after* the 50th Olympiad, that is, *so late as after* that Olympiad, so late as in the reign of the 5th King from *Numa*. He does not say, at what time the philosopher *came into Italy*, and *began* to teach there. This might be long before the 50th Olympiad; but it was enough for *Dionysius*'s purpose, that *Pythagoras* was *living*, *after* the 50th Olympiad: For if so, and if *Numa* came to the throne in the 16th Olympiad, the King could not have been a disciple of the Philosopher, which was all that *Dionysius* wanted to make out. His affirming that *Pythagoras taught in* Italy *after the 50th Olympiad* does in no wise clash with the passage above cited from *Pliny*.

But as to *Pliny*'s blundering, why may not *Laertius*, *Clemens*, *Tatian* and *Eusebius* be as easily supposed to *blunder* as he? It is not improbable, that they all four took *Cicero* for their guide, who, in the opinion of *Livy* and *Dionysius*, did grosly blunder with regard to the point in question.

And as to a *corruption* of *Pliny*'s text by *transcribers*; since there are two Æras made use of, and the numbers in both ways of reckoning coincide in one and the same year, there is little ground to suppose a corruption, unless it can be shewn that *Pliny* has elsewhere said something that is repugnant to what is expressed in the passage before us: But the annotator having produced nothing of this sort, one may naturally conclude that he met with nothing in his author to the purpose.

Indeed there is in *Pliny* one passage, which as Sir *Isaac Newton* has happened (not according

Now, as I obſerved before, it was in this very Olympiad, that *Numa* came to the throne, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computations, if we allow but 17 years to the reign of *Romulus*.

LIVY

cording to his uſual exactneſs) to tranſlate it, ſeems not to ſquare with *Pythagoras*'s making aſtronomical obſervations in the 42d Olympiad. Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s words are theſe: "*Pliny*, in reckoning up the inventors of "things, tells us, that *Pherecydes Syrius* "taught to compoſe diſcourſes in proſe *in* "*the reign* of *Cyrus*." Now *Cyrus* did not found the *Perſian* monarchy till the 4th year of the 62d Olympiad: and if *Pythagoras* was old enough in the 42d Olympiad to obſerve the nature of the ſtar *Venus*, we muſt ſuppoſe that his maſter *Pherecydes* was born as early at leaſt, as the 32d Olympiad, in which caſe he muſt have been 120 years old at the beginning of the *Perſian* monarchy. But *Pliny* does not ſay, that *Pherecydes* taught to compoſe diſcourſes in proſe *in the reign of* Cyrus, *Cyro Rege regnante*, but *in the time*, the *age* of *Cyrus*, *Cyri Regis Ætate*; L. 7. c. 56. and *Cyrus* was born in the 2d year of the 45th Olympiad, and was 63 years old when he came to the empire. So that ſuppoſing *Pherecydes* born ſo early as about the 32d Olympiad, he was but 52 or 53 years old at the birth of *Cyrus*; and if he taught proſe-writing in any part of *Cyrus*'s life, the objection is removed.

Further: that *Pherecydes* did not teach in the 62d Olympiad is evident; becauſe he died before *Thales*, who died in the 58th Olympiad, as is generally agreed.

There is another paſſage in *Pliny*, which, with regard to the pointin queſtion, deſerves to be remarked. In L. 36. c. 9. he ſpeaks of an *Egyptian Obeliſk*, that was made by King *Semneſerteus*, *in whoſe reign* (he ſays) Pythagoras *was in* Egypt. *Is autem obeliſcus exciſus eſt à Rege Semneſerteo, quo regnante Pythagoras in Ægypto fuit.* *F. Harduin*, poſſeſſed with the opinion, that *Pythagoras* flouriſhed not ſo early as *Pliny* repreſents him in L. 2. c. 8. and therefore that *Pliny blundered in that part of his work*, ſuppoſes, that he is *right here*, when he ſays that the philoſopher was in *Egypt* in the reign of King *Semneſerteus*. But who is King *Semneſerteus?* According to *F. Harduin*, *Pliny* can mean no other than *Pſamminitus* the ſucceſſor of *Amaſis*. And why muſt *Pliny*, by *Semneſerteus*, mean the ſucceſſor of *Amaſis?* Becauſe *Laertius* and *Tzetzes* ſay, that *Pythagoras* went into *Egypt* in the reign of *Amaſis* [who reigned long, and died about the beginning of the 64th Olympiad.] So we are to underſtand, that *Pliny* knew this, and means to ſay, that *Pythagoras* was ſtill in *Egypt* when *Pſammenitus* came to the throne. Now I obſerve,

1. That *Cambyſes* was preparing to invade *Egypt*, before *Amaſis* died, and in 6 months after his death, diſpoſſeſſed his ſucceſſor *Pſamminitus*, who therefore, it is highly probable, had no leiſure to attend to the making *Obeliſks*. See Prideaux. Part. 1. B. 3. p. 169.

2. That it ſeems ſomewhat extraordinary, that *Pliny* ſhould take occaſion, from the mention of *Pſamminitus*, *who can hardly be ſaid to have reigned at all*, to ſpeak of *his reign*, as the time, when *Pythagoras* was in *Egypt*. If *Pliny* had believed that *Pythagoras* went into *Egypt* in the reign of *Amaſis*, and during that reign continued there many years, as he is repreſented by other writers to have done, it is natural to think, he would have taken occaſion, rather from the mention of *Amaſis*, than from the mention of his ſucceſſor, an half year King, to ſpeak of *Pythagoras* being in *Egypt*.

I rather conclude therefore, that, by *Semneſerteus*, *Pliny* means *Pſammitichus*, who courted the *Greeks* and encouraged ſtrangers to ſettle in his country, and was the firſt King of *Egypt* who did ſo. He reigned long and died in the 3d year of the 40th Olympiad. *Pythagoras*, who is ſaid to have gone *very young* into *Egypt*, may have ſtudied there ſome years in the latter part of this King's reign; and this will ſuit with what *Pliny* ſays of his obſerving the nature of the ſtar *Venus* in the 42d Olympiad. Diod Sic. L. 1. c. 67. Herod. L. 2. c. 154.

N. B. When Sir *Iſaac Newton* places the building of *Rome* about the 38th Olympiad, it is by a reckoning backward from the regifuge, (which was about the firſt year of the 68th Olympiad) and by allowing, to the 7 Kings, 17 years a-piece, one with another. Nevertheleſs, as four or five of theſe Kings were ſlain and one depoſed, he thinks that at a moderate reckoning the 7 reigns may be computed at 15 or 16 years a-piece. Now, computing them at 15 years a-piece, we ſhall bring down the building of *Rome* to the 41ſt Olympiad, and of courſe the acceſſion of

Numa

L. 1. c. 18. *LIVY* agrees with *Dionyſius*, as to the time of *Pythagoras* being in *Italy*, and makes uſe of the ſame argument againſt the old tradition. "It is "manifeſt (ſays he) that *Pythagoras* in the time of *Servius Tullius* kept a "ſchool of young ſtudents in the remoteſt coaſt of *Italy* in the neigh- "bourhood of *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, and *Crotona*." Be it ſo. It may nevertheleſs be true that *Pythagoras* was contemporary with *Numa*. For if the Reigns of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, *Ancus Martius* and *Tarquinius Priſcus* were very ſhort, as from many particulars in the hiſtory there is great reaſon to believe they were, *Pythagoras*, who is ſaid to have lived to the ages of 80. 90. 99. 104, may very well have been contemporary with both *Numa* and *Servius Tullius*.

See *Bayle* Art. Pythag. (P.)

When *Livy* adds "that the School kept by *Pythagoras* was above * "100 years after *Numa*, *centum amplius poſt annos*," it is to conform himſelf to the received chronology of the Kings of *Rome*; of which chronology I ſhall preſently ſhew, that in his own mind he made little account, notwithſtanding any thing he ſays. And indeed, if one conſiders the reaſons which he gives, why *Pythagoras*, *ſuppoſing him contemporary with* Numa, could not be his inſtructor, they muſt incline one to think that the hiſtorian is not ſerious in his oppoſing the common tradition. "How (ſays "he) could the Fame of *Pythagoras* reach from the ſouth eaſt coaſt of "*Italy*, where *Pythagoras* kept ſchool, into *Sabinia?* By an intercourſe "in *what language*, could *Pythagoras* excite in *Numa* a deſire of learn- "ing? Under what protection could the one paſs to the other through ſo "many nations of different languages and manners? I am *rather* of opi- "nion *therefore*, that *Numa*'s mind was naturally virtuous, and was "improved, not ſo much by ſcience acquired from abroad, as by the "ſevere doctrines and diſcipline of the ancient *Sabines*."

L. 4. c. 29. As to the want of a common language in which the King and the Philoſopher might converſe, it is to be obſerved, that *Livy*, when he relates (after the prior hiſtorians) the diſcovery of *Numa*'s books under ground, does not object to that part of the ſtory which ſaid, that ſeven of thoſe books were *written in Greek*, but to what *Valerius Antias* adds, namely, *that thoſe Greek books contained the doctrines of* Pythagoras. "In this, "(ſays *Livy*) *Valerius* ſuited his Faith to the common opinion, *That* Numa "*was a diſciple of* Pythagoras; a lie which has *an appearance of truth:* "*Vulgatæ opinioni qua creditur Pythagoræ auditorem fuiſſe Numam* Mendacio "probabili *accommodata fide*.

That this lie, if it be a lie, has *an appearance of truth*, muſt doubtleſs be admitted on account of the *conſtancy* of the tradition concerning the

Numa (allowing to *Romulus* 17 years) to the 45th Olympiad: and on this ſuppoſition *Pythagoras* may have been in *Italy* early enough to be *Numa*'s inſtructor, *before his acceſſion to the throne*.

* It is to be obſerved, that *Livy* affects no exactneſs in his reckoning. When he ſays *above* 100 *years after*, if he counts from the death of *Numa* to the acceſſion of *Servius*, the ſpace of time is but 94 years: if he counts from the beginning of *Numa*'s reign, to the acceſſion of *Servius*, the years are 137, by old chronology.

inter-

intercourſe between *Numa* and *Pythagoras*, and on account of the *undiſputed conformity* of the King's tenets with thoſe of the Philoſopher. And there is one particular which gives this *pretended* lie ſo great an appearance of truth, that I ſhould think we may admit it for a truth without being over credulous.

By *Livy*'s report, *Numa*'s books were diſcovered under ground in the conſulſhip of *Cornelius Cethegus* and *Bæbius Tampbilus*, which, according to the common reckonings, was in the year of *Rome* 571 or 573. *Plutarch* and *Pliny* place this diſcovery in the ſame conſulſhip, and *Pliny* reckons 535 years from the *beginning* of *Numa*'s reign to this *diſcovery* of his books, which reckoning places the latter in 573 of *Rome*, ſuppoſing *Numa*'s reign to begin with the 39th of the city. L. 13. c. 13.

It being certain, as was before obſerved, that *Numa*'s tenets reſembled thoſe of *Pythagoras*, they muſt without queſtion have been contrary to the religion, which had been long eſtabliſhed by law, at *Rome*, when his books were found; and accordingly theſe were, by order of the ſenate, burnt as heterodox: So *Livy* informs us; but at the ſame time tells us, that, before they were burnt, they had been *read by ſo many perſons*, that they were in a manner *publick:* Now, tho' *Livy* cites no authority on this occaſion but *Valerius Antias*, we learn from *Pliny*, that the hiſtorians *Lucius Piſo Cenſorius*, and *Caſſius Hemina* (who adhered to the old Tradition) reported that *Numa*'s *books contained the tenets of* Pythagoras. And theſe authorities are very conſiderable in this caſe: becauſe *Piſo* being a tribune of the people in the conſulſhip of *Manilius* and *Cenſorinus*, about 33 years after finding the books; and *Caſſius Hemina* flouriſhing in the conſulſhip of *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Mummius Achaicus*, about 37 years after the ſame diſcovery; thoſe two hiſtorians were near enough to the time of the diſcovery, to have very good means of informing themſelves, concerning the contents of the books, from ſome of the many perſons who had peruſed them. Cic. in Brut. & L. xi. de Off. Cenſorinus Cap. xvii.

Ovid in his XVth book of Metamorphoſis repreſents *Numa* as inſtructed by *Pythagoras*, which ſhews at leaſt that this was ſtill the popular and prevailing opinion in the time of *Auguſtus*.

The aim of all that has been ſaid on the ſubject of *Pythagoras*, is to ſhew, that Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computations, which bring down *Numa* to the time of *Pythagoras*, have the ſupport of traditional and hiſtorical Facts.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

TO THIS Third King of *Rome* the hiſtorians allot a reign of 32 years, and he is repreſented to us as a prince of a more fierce, reſtleſs, enterprizing ſpirit than even *Romulus*, and as ſeeking every where pretences for war: *Ferocior etiam Romulo fuit: Tum Ætas vireſque, tum avita quoque gloria animum ſtimulabat.—undeque materiam excitandi belli quærebat.* Yet the reduction and demolition of *Alba*, in the beginning of his reign, and one victory which he ſoon after obtained over the *Sabines*, are the whole ſum of his military exploits. Liv. L. 1. c. 22.

Not long after his Victory he is ſeized with ſome lingering diſtemper, his ſpirit ſinks, he falls into ſuperſtition, and is killed by *Jupiter* for not performing a ſacrifice in due form [that is to ſay, is privately murdered by *Ancus Martius* who ſucceeded him.]

If *Livy* after this account of him, had not told us that he reigned 32 years, we ſhould hardly have imagined that he reigned 2.

ANCUS MARTIUS.

THOUGH MORE action be aſcribed to this King, whoſe character is both martial and pacific, than to his predeceſſor, it does not ſeem that all his performances could require a fourth part of the 24 years, that are given to his reign.

This remark however, and that, made on the hiſtory of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, are not offered as *ſufficient proofs*, that theſe Kings did not reign 32 and 24 years reſpectively, but only as *probable arguments*, which, in conjunction with others, will have a degree of force. And thus much at leaſt is certain, that the reigns of theſe two Kings *may have been very ſhort*, notwithſtanding any atchievements aſcribed to them.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

THE Hiſtorians repreſent the elder *Tarquin* as very rich when he comes firſt from *Hetruria* to *Rome*, as very proſperous in war after his aſcending the throne, and as having a taſte for magnificence. This taſte and his ability to gratify it, carry him to deſign and begin ſeveral great works. He does not live to finiſh theſe, nor even to make any conſiderable progreſs in them: which affords ſome ground to conjecture that he did not reign 38 years. But without laying any greater ſtreſs on this argument than it will bear, I proceed to another of more force, with regard to the preſent purpoſe.

Whether this 5th King of *Rome* was the *Father*, or the *Grandfather* of *Tarquinius Superbus*, the 7th King, is a queſtion conſidered, and with full confidence determined by *Dionyſius*. He decides, *contrary to the report of* Fabius and all the other prior hiſtorians (except *L. Piſo*) that *Priſcus* was the *Grandfather* of *Superbus*. And he imputes the ſuppoſed error of the hiſtorians, from whom he differs, to their not being aware of the *Abſurdities* in which their opinion involved them.

Thoſe *abſurdities* he thus expoſes:

IT is agreed that *Priſcus* with his wife *Tanaquil* came to *Rome* in the time of *Ancus Martius*.

Gellius places the arrival of *Priſcus* in the *firſt* year of King *Ancus*; *Licinius* in the *eighth*: But both agree, that he was employed as general of the horſe to *Ancus*, in the *ninth* year of his reign: the arrival therefore of *Priſcus* at *Rome* could not be *later* than the *eighth* of *Ancus*.

As *Priſcus*, before he came to *Rome*, had aſpired to dignities and high offices in his own country, he was doubtleſs 25 years old at leaſt, when

he arrived: And as, after his arrival, *Ancus* reigned 17 years and *Priſcus* 38, *Priſcus* was 80 when he died.

Tanaquil was *probably* 5 years younger than her huſband; conſequently 75 at the time of his death.

She cannot be ſuppoſed to have borne children after the age of 50.*

Aruns, the brother of *Superbus*, was two years younger than he; conſequently, if *Superbus* was the ſon of *Tanaquil*, ſhe could not be more than 48 when ſhe bore him. And if ſo, *Superbus* muſt have been at leaſt 27, when his *father* died, his *mother* being then 75.

But if *Superbus* was 27, when his father *Priſcus* died, then, as *Servius Tullius*, the ſucceſſor of *Priſcus*, reigned 44 years, *Superbus* muſt have been 71 at the time of his own acceſſion to the Throne: And as he reigned 25 years, he muſt have been 96 at the time of his dethronement. And, as, after his dethronement, he maintained a war againſt the *Romans* 14 years, he muſt have lived to the age of 110.

Now, (ſays *Dionyſius*) would *Tanaquil*, (the wife of *Priſcus*) had ſhe been the mother of *Superbus*, have placed a ſtranger on the Throne preferably to her own ſon, if her own ſon had been of an age to govern? A ſtranger, who was but 3 years older than her ſon? (For *Servius Tullius* was then but 30.) Or would *Superbus*, a man of ſo much ſpirit, have quietly ſuffered it?

Can we believe that *Superbus* was 71 years old, when with ſo much ſtrength and vigour he ſeized *Servius Tullius* by the waiſt, hurried him in his arms through the ſenate houſe and caſt him headlong from the top of the ſteps at the entrance of it?

Or is it credible, that he was 96 years of age, when at the head of an army he perform'd all the functions of a General, as it is agreed he did, in the ſiege of *Ardea*, at the time of his dethronement?

Or, ſince it is agreed, that *Superbus* after his dethronement, maintained a war againſt the *Romans* 14 years, and was in every action of that war, can it be admitted that he was 96 when that war commenced? Could he poſſibly keep the field till he was 110?

Theſe things, ſays *Dionyſius*, are incredible: and hence he concludes, that the *ſecond Tarquin* was the Grandson, and not the son of the *firſt*.

But, notwithſtanding all the force of this reaſoning, we do not find that *Plutarch* was convinced by it. He only tells us, that *Superbus* was either the *ſon* or *grandſon* of *Priſcus*; without declaring for either opinion.

And *Livy*, who, being no ſtranger to the reaſons which determined *Dionyſius*, ſays, *the matter is not clear*, yet declares, that he adheres † to the opinion, *That* Superbus *was the* Son *of* Priſcus.

* Mr. *Bayle* obſerves, that *Dionyſius*, by making *Brutus* to be the ſon of *Tarquinia* a daughter of *Tanaquil*, has fallen into one of the abſurdities he imputes to thoſe who differ from him concerning the birth of *Tarquin* the proud: For by his own way of reaſoning it will appear, that *Tanaquil* muſt have been 54, when ſhe bore that daughter.

† Hic L. Tarquinius, Priſci Tarquinii Regis filius, nepoſne fuerit, parum liquet: pluribus tamen auctoribus *Filium ediderim*. L. 1. c. 46.

Now which way can we account for *Livy*'s rejecting the concluſion in *Dionyſius*'s argument, but by ſuppoſing that he did not believe what he himſelf, as well as *Dionyſius*, relates, namely, that *Priſcus* reigned 38 years, *Servius Tullius* 44, and *Tarquin* the proud 25? Indeed, as *Livy* does not ſay in what year of King *Ancus Martius*, *Priſcus* arrived at *Rome*, it is poſſible, he might, in his own mind, place that arrival ſome years *later* than *Dionyſius* (following *Licinius*) has done; in which caſe, *Superbus* need not have been 27 years old when his father died. Yet, ſince *Livy* repreſents *Priſcus* ſo great a favourite of *Ancus*, as to be by him left guardian of his children, the hiſtorian could not but allow a conſiderable time for *Priſcus* to ingratiate himſelf with the King to that degree. Let us ſuppoſe, that *Priſcus* came to *Rome* about 6 years only before the death of *Ancus*, the conſequences will be, that *Superbus* was at leaſt 17 when he loſt his father, 86 when dethroned, and near 100, at the battle of the *Regillus*, in which battle (according to *Livy*) he rode briſkly up to attack the *Roman* general hand to hand.

"Is it not aſtoniſhing (ſays Mr. *Bayle*) that, conſidering the abſurdities which attend the ſuppoſition, *that* Superbus *was the* SON *of* Priſcus, *Dionyſius* could find but one writer who makes him the GRANDSON? This writer was *Lucius Piſo*, whoſe opinion *Dionyſius* has adopted. *Livy* had not the ſame *diſcernment:* he has choſen to follow the crowd of authorities, and thereby loaded himſelf with a heap of difficulties, that diſhonour his memory." *Artic. Tanaquil (F.)*

This charge upon *Livy* of *wanting diſcernment* I apprehend to be entirely groundleſs. Suppoſing him to believe that the *Roman* chronology was true, he could not but be aware of the inſuperable objections to his opinion concerning the birth of *Superbus*. But I take the caſe to be this, *That* Superbus *was the* ſon *of* Priſcus, is *a ſimple fact*, which could eaſily be preſerved by tradition; much more eaſily than the *ages* of ſucceſſive Kings or the *numbers of years* they reigned. Tradition univerſally ſupported *that ſimple fact*; and there was nothing to bring the truth of it in queſtion, but ſuch reaſonings as *Dionyſius* has employed, founded on the received but uncertain *chronology* of the regal ſtate of *Rome*. *Livy* believed the *fact*, and did not believe the *chronology*; Yet knowing that it would be unpopular and offenſive, ſhould he, in his hiſtory, lower the antiquity of the *Roman* ſtate *explicitly* and *expreſly*, he has avoided that, and at the ſame time, by declaring for the opinion, *that* Superbus *was the* ſon *of* Priſcus, has diſcovered * to his attentive readers, his diſbelief of the chronology commonly received.

Nor

* *Virgil* ſeems to have acted the like part in making *Æneas* and *Dido* contemporary. Without giving offence, he has covertly inſinuated, that the reckonings of the chronologers were very erroneous. Mr. *Rollin* (Hiſt. Anc. vol. 1. p. 238. 242.) ſeems to admit that *Carthage* was built by *Dido* 883 years before the Chriſtian Æra and 300 years after the fall of *Troy*; and the voyage of *Æneas:* and he ſuppoſes *Virgil* to have known himſelf guilty of a great

Nor is it only by relating *facts*, inconſiſtent with the truth of the common chronology, that he diſcovers his diſregard to it, but by one of his reckonings. For in L. 1. c. 40. he ſpeaks of the 38th year of *Tarquinius Priſcus* as being ALMOST 100 years after the reign of *Romulus*, tho', by the common chronology, it was 137 years after *Romulus*'s death.

It is remarkable, that *Livy* does not tell us how long any one of the *Roman* Kings *lived*; nor does he mention the lengths either of the *lives* or *reigns* of the 14 *Latine* Kings who preceded them.

With regard to *ſeveral* of the Kings of *Rome*, I ſhould conjecture, that the firſt *Annaliſts*, who pretended to fix the number of years which each of them reigned, did, either through miſtake or deſign, give the lengths of their *lives* for the lengths of their *reigns*. What has been already remarked concerning *Romulus* and *Tullus Hoſtilius* affords ſome ground for this conjecture; and the hiſtory of *Servius Tullius* ſeems to favour it with regard to him; or at leaſt to furniſh a very good argument for ſhortning the duration of his government.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

DIONYSIUS tells us in the very beginning of his hiſtory of *Servius*'s reign, (and he plainly ſpeaks of the *beginning* of this Prince's reign) That the *Patricians* being much diſſatisfied to find, that *Servius* having taken the reins of government into his hands only as a *Regent*, intended to hold them as a *King*, came to this reſolution; That the very firſt time he aſſembled the *Senate*, they would oblige him to lay down the *faſces* and all the other enſigns of royalty, and would chuſe *Inter-Kings*, in order to proceed to a legal election of a ſucceſſor to *Tarquin:* That *Servius* being appriſed of their deſign, applied himſelf to gain *the People* to ſupport him; and, that to this end, having aſſembled *the People*, he promiſed, among other benefits, *to eaſe them with regard to the publick taxes, by aſſeſſing every one in proportion to his ſubſtance, it being unreaſonable (as he ſaid) that the poor ſhould contribute equally with the rich to the expences of the ſtate.* *Servius* in conſequence of his PROMISE, when they had choſen him King, and he had made ſome previous regulations, inſtituted the *Cenſus*,

great Anachroniſm, in bringing *Æneas* and *Dido* together; yet, with many others, he excuſes the poet by the doctrine of *poetic licence*, "it being, (he ſays) a great beauty, in the "*Æneid*, to repreſent the implacable enmity "between *Rome* and *Carthage* as taking its "riſe in the remoteſt origin of the two "ſtates." But in reality, is *Virgil* more excuſeable, than a modern poet would be, who ſhould imagine a war between *Conſtantine* the firſt Chriſtian emperor, and *Mahomet* the founder of the Muſſulman Religion? Would any body pardon ſuch a licenſe on account of any beauties whatſoever? Surely reaſon will carry us to believe, that *Virgil* knew, he was not guilty of any conſiderable Anachroniſm with regard to *Æneas* and *Dido*.

The Jeſuits *Catrou* and *Rouillé* who likewiſe take for granted, that *Æneas* and *Dido* lived at a great diſtance of time from each other, and that *Virgil* knew it, yet obſerve, that none of the critics who were contemporary with *Virgil*, or who lived after him, till *Macrobius*'s time [in the end of the 4th century] ever charged him with any Anachroniſm. And they farther obſerve that *Cedrenus* and ſeveral other hiſtorians have brought *Æneas* and *Dido* under the ſame roof.

dividing

dividing the Citizens into *Claſſes* and *Centuries*, *&c.* by which inſtitution the burden of the taxes was thrown all upon the great and the rich.

As the Senate obſtinately refuſed to confirm the *People*'s choice of *Servius* to be King, and as *Servius* depended wholly on the *People*'s affections for the preſervation of his authority, is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he put 24 years diſtance between ſo important a promiſe and the performance? Now if the *Cenſus*, which was to be renewed every 5 years, and to be always cloſed by a *Luſtrum*, was inſtituted in the beginning of *Servius Tullius*'s reign, How came it to paſs that there were no more than four *Luſtra* during the 44 years of this Prince's adminiſtration? That this was the number of *Luſtra* in *Servius*'s time, *Pighius*, (p. 48.) ſays, may be collected from the Capitoline Marbles; and we have alſo *Val. Maximus*'s authority for it, *B.* 4. Would *Servius* neglect the obſervance of his own inſtitution? An inſtitution that was his maſterpiece of policy, and his chief glory? To have four *Luſtra* in his reign required ſtrictly but 16 years, the firſt *Luſtrum* being at the time of the inſtitution; and ſhould we ſuppoſe that he was killed juſt before a new *Cenſus* ſhould have been taken, ſtill the four *Luſtra* could demand but 20 years. And this therefore is as long a ſpace of time as can reaſonably be allowed for his reign.

It muſt be confeſſed, that *Livy*, in his account of *Servius Tullius* differs conſiderably from *Dionyſius*, and, upon the whole, is more conſiſtent, and more worthy of credit[a]. The *Latine* hiſtorian reports, that *Servius* took the crown with the conſent of *the Fathers*. And if we conſider, that,

[a] The ingenious author of *The Diſſertation on the Uncertainty of the Roman Hiſtory*, has with great judgment compared the differing accounts given by the two hiſtorians of *Servius*'s reign; and has clearly ſhewn, that *Livy*'s is the more credible, not only with regard to the diſpoſition of the Senate toward the King at the time of his acceſſion, but with regard to that plan of republican government, which the King had formed ſometime before he died. *Dionyſius* would have us believe, that the Senators combined with *Tarquin* the Proud to deſtroy *Servius*, becauſe this latter intended to change the government into a *Democracy*. Now it is manifeſt from the King's own eſtabliſhments, that he prefer'd *ariſtocratical* government to *democratical*. And therefore what *Livy* reports is highly credible, that the meditated change regarded only the *monarchy*. Id ipſum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium, tamen quia UNIUS eſſet, deponere eum in animo habuiſſe quidam auctores ſunt. (l. 1. c. 48.) The ſame hiſtorian relates, that when two annual Conſuls were firſt created to govern the ſtate, this creation was according to the plan of *Servius Tullius*. DUO CONSULES inde Comitiis Centuriatis à Præfecto urbis ex COMMENTARIIS Servii Tullii creati ſunt. (l. 1. c. 60.) What was it then that induced the *Senators* to ſide with *Tarquin*, ſince *Servius*'s new plan of government was ſo favourable to their ambition? *Livy* has anſwer'd this queſtion. They were diſſatisfy'd with the *diviſion* which the King had made *of the public lands among the people*. For tho' he did not think it expedient that the lower ſort ſhould *govern*, yet he thought it reaſonable they ſhould live free, and be made eaſy in their inferiority; whereas it was the conſtant policy of the nobles of *Rome* to keep the commons in indigence, and of courſe in a ſlaviſh dependence. *Tarquin* ſeized the favourable opportunity of the Senate's fit of anger, ſuddenly to perpetrate the murder of *Servius* and ſeat himſelf in the throne. Yet we find, that the uſurper, when he had got power in his hands, and when the anger of the Senate againſt *Servius* was ſubſided, would not truſt to their good will to ſupport him in poſſeſſion: He would not put his crown

that, by the inſtitution of the *Cenſus*, and the *Centuriate Comitia*, the King threw all the power of the general aſſemblies into the hands of the nobles, it is not very probable, that the nobles were his enemies. It ſeems more probable, that when he poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne, he did it in concert with the Senators, and that he engaged them to ſupport him by letting them into the ſecret of his intentions.

Be this as it will, it was abſolutely neceſſary that *Servius*, in order to a quiet poſſeſſion, ſhould conciliate to him by ſome ſpeedy meaſures both Senate and People. And this we find he did by his new regulation of the government, pleaſing the ambition of the *Nobles*, and relieving the indigence of the *Plebeians*. His ſituation, I ſay, required that his meaſures to gain the hearts of his ſubjects ſhould be ſpeedy; and therefore it is not to be queſtioned, but his inſtitution of the Cenſus, and his diviſion of the citizens into claſſes and centuries, *&c.* were in the *beginning* of his reign. And, if ſo, I aſk again, how came it to paſs, that there were no more than four *Luſtra* in 44 years? It is againſt all reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the King neglected an inſtitution of his own invention, and which, giving ſatisfaction to both orders in the ſtate, gained him their eſteem and affection, and eſtabliſhed his authority.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

As to the 25 years which this King is ſaid to have reigned, I ſhall only obſerve, that if his reign was really of that length (which does not ſeem improbable, ſince he began and finiſhed the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and the famous Common Sewers) it aids the argument againſt the long reign of *Servius Tullius*. For if *Servius* reigned 44 years, and *Superbus* 25, the *latter*, let him be the grandſon of *Priſcus*, as *Dionyſius* will have it, could not be far from 90 years of age, at the battle near the lake *Regillus*, 14 years after his dethronement: And, accordingly, the *Greek* hiſtorian gives him that age, and infers from it, that *Gellius* and *Licinius* (whom *Livy* has followed) and all the other hiſtorians, who ſay, that *Superbus* fought on horſeback in that battle, are not to be credited, becauſe a man 90 years old could not fight on horſeback. Now ſurely the juſter way of reaſoning would have been this: *Tradition* and *Hiſtory*,

crown to the hazard of an election. He did not ſeek to be *elected* King by the Senate, more than by the people. Supported by foreign troops he deprived both orders of their privileges, cruelly oppreſs'd the nobles, but ſooth'd the Plebeians, (as more to be dreaded on account of their greater ſtrength) by his liberalities, and by ſharing among them the rich ſpoils acquired in war. *See Hiſt. p.* 178. The nobles languiſh'd after that liberty and authority of which *Servius* had given them a taſte; and the ſhocking atrocious deed of *Sextus Tarquinius*, which awaken'd the *people*, and made them thoroughly feel the ſlavery they were in, furniſhed the nobles with an opportunity of drawing them at once into meaſures for recovering the common freedom. This ſeems to be the true ſtate of things with regard to *Tarquin* and the Revolution. And the quick ſettlement of the new government, without any oppoſition, ſufficiently indicates, that *Brutus* and his aſſociates went upon a plan already formed, and to which the chief men of the *Plebeians* were no ſtrangers, namely, that of *Servius Tullius*.

uncontradicted,

uncontradicted, tell us that *Superbus* fought on horſeback in the battle near the *Regillus*; therefore he could not be *then* 90 years of age: But, according to the common Chronology, which gives 44 years to the reign of *Servius Tullius*, and 25 to that of *Superbus*, the latter was 90 years old at that battle; conſequently the common Chronology is falſe.

It appears, that *Dionyſius* (a critic by profeſſion) had laid it down as a fundamental principle, that the received Chronology of the regal ſtate of *Rome* was true and exact; and therefore, let a fact be never ſo well atteſted, he rejects it, if he cannot make it ſquare with that Chronology.

Tradition and Hiſtory ſaid, that *Superbus* was the ſon of *Priſcus*; that *Superbus* fought on horſeback at the battle of *Regillus*; that *Collatinus* (the huſband of *Lucretia*) was the ſon of *Egerius* (nephew of the elder *Tarquin.*) No, ſays *Dionyſius*, none of theſe things can be true; for they are not conſiſtent with the long reigns of the Kings. He produces no authority againſt the facts; nor does he know who was the father of *Superbus*, or the father of *Collatinus*: But he reaſons from the received Chronology, and concludes, contrary to all hiſtorical teſtimony, that *Superbus* was not the ſon, but the grandſon of *Priſcus*; that he did not fight on horſeback at the abovementioned battle; and that *Collatinus* was not the ſon, but the grandſon of *Egerius*.

Livy on the other hand, though he durſt not openly contradict the received Chronology, ſeems to have been fully perſuaded, that it was not ſo well vouch'd, as many hiſtorical facts, that were incompatible with it. He therefore adheres to the facts, and leaves it to ſuch notable critics as *Dionyſius* to reconcile them with the Chronology as well as they can.

AS I HAVE ventured thus far in an attempt to ſupport Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s opinion concerning the duration of the regal ſtate of *Rome*, it ſeems fit, that before I quit the ſubject, I ſhould take ſome notice of what the learned Dr. *Shuckford* has ſaid in anſwer to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s arguments, and in defence of the old Chronology.

In the Preface to the ſecond volume of his *Sacred and Profane Hiſtory of the World connected*, he writes thus:

P. xix. ‘ Our great and learned author remarks, that the ſeven Kings of *Rome* ‘ who preceded the Conſuls, reigned one with another, 35 years a-piece. ‘ I am ſenſible that it may be obſerved, that the reigns of theſe Kings ‘ not falling within the times I am to treat of, I am not concerned to ‘ vindicate the accounts that are given of them; but I would not in‘ tirely omit mentioning them, becauſe the lengths of their reigns may ‘ be thought an undeniable inſtance of the inaccuracy of the antient com‘ putations, more eſpecially becauſe theſe Kings were all more modern ‘ than the times of *David*; for ſuppoſing *Rome* to be built by *Romulus*, ‘ A. M. 3256. [*Uſher*'s *Annals*] we muſt begin *Romulus*'s reign 300 years ‘ after the death of *David*, and the lives of men in theſe times being re‘ duced to what has been eſteem'd the common ſtandard ever ſince, it ‘ may perhaps be expected, that the reigns of thoſe Kings ſhould not be ‘ longer, one with another, than the reigns of our Kings of *England*, from

from *William* the Conqueror; or of the Kings of *France*, from *Pharamond*; or of any other ſeries of Kings mentioned by our illuſtrious author: But here I would obſerve, that theſe ſeven Kings of *Rome* were not deſcendants of one another. *Plutarch* remarks of theſe Kings, that not one of them left his crown to his ſon. Two of them, namely *Ancus Martius* and *Tarquinius Superbus*, were deſcendants from the ſons of former Kings, but the other five were of different families.

'The ſucceſſors of *Romulus* were *elected* to the crown, and the *Roman* people did not confine their choice even to their own country, but choſe ſuch as were moſt likely to promote the public good. It is evident therefore, that the lengths of theſe Kings reigns ought not to be eſtimated according to the common meaſure of ſucceſſive monarchs, *&c.*

'I might remark farther that there were *Interregna* between the reigns P. xxi.
of ſeveral of them.—Each of theſe *Interregna* might perhaps take up ſome years. The hiſtorians allot no ſpace of time to theſe *Interregna*, but it is known to be no unuſual thing for writers to begin the reign of a ſucceeding King from the death of his predeceſſor, tho' he did not *immediately* ſucceed to his crown."

We ſee here that the learned writer, to get rid of the objection, drawn from the courſe of nature, againſt the long reigns of the ſeven *Roman* Kings, ſuggeſts two conſiderations by which we may account for them.

I. He obſerves that the *Roman* Kings were *elected*. Very true; but it is likewiſe true, that *Reigns* will naturally be *ſhorter* in elective monarchies, than in hereditary. And I obſerve, that this circumſtance of *election* ſerves our learned writer to account for *ſhort* reigns when he has occaſion ſo to do. For when he would account for the *ſhort* reigns of the firſt Kings of *Egypt*, he has recourſe to *election*.

" The firſt twelve Kings of the *Egyptian* kingdoms, according to Sir P. xix.
" *John Marſham*'s tables, did not reign full ſo long." [as the firſt twelve Kings of *Aſſyria*, *i. e.* not full 40 years a-piece] " But it muſt be re-
" member'd, that in the firſt times the Kings of *Egypt* were frequently
" *elected*; and ſo, many times, ſons did not ſucceed their fathers."

According to Sir *John Marſham*'s tables, the firſt twelve Kings of no one of the *Egyptian* kingdoms reigned 34 years a-piece one with another. And yet theſe *Egyptian* Kings are ſuppoſed to have reigned, when men lived to the ages of 400, 300, 200. But, as the learned writer ſuppoſes that the *Romans* were induced by the circumſtances of their affairs to *elect* men, who were *in the prime of life*, to be their Kings, which ac- P. xxi.
counts for the great *length* of their reigns; ſo doubtleſs he ſuppoſes, that the *Egyptians*, on account of the circumſtances of their affairs, *elected old men* to be their Kings, men of about 300, 200, or 180 years old, by which ſuppoſition the whole difficulty ariſing from the *ſhort reigns* of the firſt Kings of *Egypt* is removed.

I muſt here obſerve, that the learned writer thinks it very reaſonable to believe, that the *eight* firſt Kings of *Edom*, who reigned between the times of *Moſes* and *Saul*, might reign above 48 years a-piece, one with another,

Vol. 2. p. 172. another, [as they are represented to have done] *in because it suits very well with the length of men's lives in those times.*" Now in *those times*, the lives of men were not half so long as *in the times of the first Egyptian Kings*, who by the tables did not reign 34 years a-piece one with another. And the difficulty which arises from the computation will not be solved by the doctrine of *election*; because it is pretty evident, that the *eight* first Kings of *Edom* were *elected*, not one of them being the son or brother of his predecessor.

Gen. xxxvi.

To return to the Kings of *Rome*: The learned writer observes,

II. That, "between the reigns of several of the *Roman* Kings, there "were *interregna*, and that each of these *interregna* might perhaps take "up some years, and that the historians allot no space of time to these "*interregna*."

Now *Livy* tells us expressly, that the *interregnum* which follow'd the death of *Romulus* was of *one year*, and the reason he gives for its being then terminated, was the jealousy of the people, who apprehended an intention in the Senate to reduce the government to an aristocracy; a reason which would naturally operate with like force in all future *interregna*.

Upon the death of *Numa*, the same historian[b] relates that there was an *interregnum*, and that then *Tullus Hostilius* was chosen King, but says nothing to make us think that the *interregnum* lasted longer than was necessary for the ceremony of the election.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* it would seem by *Livy*'s[c] words, that there was but *one interrex* before a successor to the crown was chosen.

After the death of *Ancus Marcius* we are told by the same[d] historian, that *Tarquin*, who was left guardian to the sons of *Ancus*, brought on the election of a successor *with all expedition*, and got himself chosen King.

After the death of *Tarquin* there was no *interregnum*. Nor after the death of *Servius Tullius*.

And the learned writer takes no notice, that most of the seven Kings of *Rome* were slain, which consideration is an over ballance both for his *elections* and his *interregna*.

As the learned writer, tho' the *Roman* Kings did not fall within the times he was to treat of, judged it proper nevertheless to take notice of what Sir *Isaac Newton* has remark'd concerning those Kings, "Because "the lengths of their reigns might be thought an undeniable instance of "the inaccuracy of the antient computations," perhaps I may be excused, if for a like prudential reason, I take notice of some things which the learned writer has said in support of the antient computations, with

[a] Annuum intervallum regni fuit. Lib. 1. c. 17.

[b] Numæ morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium —— Regem populus jussit. C. 22.

[c] Mortuo Tullio, res, ut institutum jam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat. hique *interregem* nominaverant. Quo comitia habente Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit. c. 32.

[d] Jam filii [Anci] prope puberem ætatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. C. 35.

regard to the kingdoms of *Egypt*, *Sicyon*, and *Argos*. For tho' these computations may be true, and that concerning the duration of the regal state of *Rome* be nevertheless false; yet if it appears that the former cannot be supported with any shew of argument, this will certainly go a great way towards discrediting the latter, as it will give ground to suspect that the prophane Chronology regarding the most antient times has been *all* conjectural and technical.

" The catalogues of Kings (says Dr. *Shuckford*) which our great and P. xvi.
" learned author produces to confirm his opinion, are all of later date,
" some of them many ages later than the times of *David*.

" It cannot be inferred from these reigns of Kings mentioned by Sir P. xvii.
" *Isaac Newton*, that Kings did not reign, one with another, a much
" longer space of time *in the ages which I am concerned with*, in which
" men generally lived to a much greater age, than in the times out of
" which Sir *Isaac Newton* has taken the catalogues of Kings which he has
" produced.

" From *Abraham* down almost to *David* men lived, according to the
" scripture accounts of the lengths of their lives, to I think at a medium
" above 100 years, exceeding that time very much in the times near
" *Abraham*, and seldom falling short of it, until *within a generation or*
" *two of David*: But in *David*'s time the length of human life was, at a
" medium but 70 years: Now any one that considers this difference,
" must see, that the lengths of Kings reigns, as well as of generations,
" must be considerably affected by it. Successions in both must come on
" slower in the early ages according to the greater length of mens lives.

" I am sensible I could produce many catalogues of successions from
" father to son, to confirm what I have offered; but since there is one
" which takes in almost the whole compass of *the times which I am con-*
" *cerned in*, and which has all the weight that the authority of the sacred
" writers can give it, and which will bring the point in question to a
" clear and indisputable conclusion, I shall for brevity's sake omit all
" others, and offer only that to the reader's farther examination. From
" *Abraham* to *David* (including both *Abraham* and *David*) were 14 gene-
" rations: Now from *Abraham*'s birth A. M. 2008 * to *David*'s death * Ant. Chr.
" about A. M. 2986 † are 978 years, so that *generations* in these times 1996.
" took up one with another near 70 years a-piece, *i. e.* they were above † Ant. Chr.
" *double the length which Sir Isaac Newton computes them, and which they* 1018.
" *were* (*I believe*) *after the times of David*. We must therefore suppose
" *the reigns of Kings* in these antient times to be longer than his compu-
" tation in the same proportion, and, if so, we must calculate them at
" above forty years a-piece one with another; and so the prophane histo-
" rians have recorded them to be: For according to the lists we have
" from *Castor* of the antient Kings of *Sicyon* and *Argos*, the first twelve
" Kings of *Sicyon* reigned more than 44 years a-piece one with another,
" and the first eight Kings of *Argos* something above 46, as our great
" author has remarked.

"But the reigns of the first twelve Kings of *Sicyon* extended † from "A. M. 1920 to A. M. 2430, so that they began 88 years before the "birth of *Abraham*, and ended in the times of *Moses*.

"And the reigns of the first eight Kings of *Argos* began A. M. 2154, "ended A. M. 2525, so that they reached from the latter end of *Abra-* "*ham*'s life to a few years after the exit of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*.

And let any one form a just computation of the length of mens lives "*in these times*, and it will in no wise appear unreasonable to imagine, "that the reigns of Kings were of this length in these days.

"I might observe, that *the antient accounts* of the Kings of different "kingdoms in these times *agree to one another*, as well as our great author's "more modern catalogues, *&c.*"

We see here, that the learned writer would have it granted him, and reasons all along upon the supposition that it will be granted him, that the first named Kings of *Sicyon* and *Argos* in the old catalogues, reigned in the *times he is concerned with*, that is, in the *times of Longevity*: And he seems not to be aware, that this is begging * the very question in dispute, and that while he begs the question he furnishes reasons to reject his petition. He very justly advances, "That the difference there has been Pref. p. xv. "in the common length of human life in the different ages of the world, "must have had a considerable effect upon the length of both reigns "and generations, both which must be longer or shorter in this or that "age, in some measure, according to what is the common standard of "the length of mens lives in the age they belong to." But this undoubted truth furnishes an argument irresistible against the *long* reigns of the Kings in the catalogues above mentioned.

Sir *Isaac Newton* has never said, that twelve Kings of *Sicyon*, of whom the First began to reign in A. M. 1920. (Ant. Chr. 2084) might not reign 44 years a-piece one with another: or that eight Kings of *Argos*, of whom the first began to reign A. M. 2154. (Ant. Chr. 1850) might not reign 46 years a-piece: But all his reasonings tend to prove, that the kingdoms, said to have commenced at those periods, did not then commence; that *Ægialeus* did not begin to reign in A. M. 1920, nor *Inachus* in 2154, but many centuries after those dates, and *in the times of short life*.

As to *Ægialeus*, Sir *Isaac Newton* has sufficiently shewn by *authorities*, P. 169, 170. that he was the son of *Inachus* and brother of *Phoroneus*, who is counted the second King of *Argos*; the beginning of which kingdom was consequently prior to that of *Sicyon*. And he has likewise shewn it to be highly probable, that *Apis* the 4th King of *Sicyon*, and *Epopeus* the 17th King in the catalogue, were one and the same person, and that the twelve Kings, inserted between those two names, were imaginary. The judicious Mr. *Stanyan*, in his Grecian History, seems much disposed to adopt this opinion. And even Mr. *Whiston* confesses (p. 983.) that "the

† By this reckoning the reigns of the 12 Kings took up 530 years. But Dr. *Shuckford*, vol. 2. p. 41. gives only 38 years a-piece to the first six Kings, the whole time 228 years: so that the second six must have reigned above 50 years a-piece one with another, the whole time 302 years.

* Mr. *Whiston* has made the same petitio principii.

serie

"ſeries of Kings of *Sicyon* is more ſuſpected by the learned, than almoſt any "that pretends to be very antient; and that there are not wanting "ſome plauſible arguments againſt it."

I ſhall therefore take no further notice of the *Sicyonian* Kings, but apply Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s method of reaſoning *from the courſe of nature*, to the ſucceſſion of Kings at *Argos*, of whom the *eight* firſt are ſaid to have reigned above 46 years a-piece one with another.

It is held by ſome learned men, that the life of man became reduced to the preſent ſtandard in the time of *Moſes*; others defer it to within a generation or two of *David*.

Moſes at 80 years of age came out of *Egypt* in the year Ant. Chr. 1491.

David dy'd, at about 70 years of age, A. M. 2986, Ant. Chr. 1018. He was therefore born about ——— Ant. Chr. 1087.

The time between the Exodus and the birth of *David* is 404 years.

Let us take the middle number, 202, and add it to 1087, and this will carry us back to ——— Ant. Chr. 1289.

During theſe 1289 years, preceding the Chriſtian Æra, we are authorized by Sir *Iſaac*'s catalogues to compute (when there is no certainty) the reigns of any conſiderable number of Kings in ſucceſſion at about 20 years a-piece one with another.

Let us then accept Sir *Iſaac*'s allowance of 340 years (inſtead of 622) for the reigns of the 17 Kings, ending with *Leonidas*, who was ſlain in the year Ant. Chr. 480.

If to theſe 480 years we add the 340, this will carry us back to the year 820 Ant. Chr. the time of the return of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponneſus*, and the beginning of the reign of *Euryſthenes* the firſt of the 17 Kings of *Sparta* of that race.

It is generally admitted, that the beginning of the reign of *Euryſthenes*, (who ejected [a] *Tiſamenus*, the ſon of *Oreſtes* and grandſon of *Agamemnon*) was 80 years after the *Fall of Troy*. Theſe 80 years being added to the 820, we are got to the year 900 before Chriſt, the year when *Troy* was taken.

Agamemnon King of *Mycenæ* (who was ſlain juſt upon his return from *Troy*) is given us for the 19th King in ſucceſſion from *Inachus*, the firſt King of *Argos*, (*Perſeus* the 15th King of *Argos* having removed the regal ſeat from *Argos* to *Mycenæ*.)

Now ſuppoſing all theſe 19 Kings in ſucceſſion to have *really* [b] *exiſted*, yet

[a] *N. B. Tiſamenus* was King of *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, and *Sparta*, when the *Heraclides* dethroned him.

[b] Mr. *Stanyan* mentions the following Kings of *Argos*, as ſaid to have reigned in ſucceſſion,

Inachus, *Phoroneus*, *Apis*, *Argus*, *Criaſus*, *Phorbas*, *Iaſus*, *Crotopus*. But as to *Apis*, he tells us (p. 19.) it is not generally aſſented to, that there was ſuch a King of *Argos*. And in p. 22, he has theſe words. "As "*Iaſus* is not generally reckoned in the "number of theſe Kings, ſo it is doubted "whether *Phorbas* and his ſon *Triopas* ought "not to be *excluded*, it being ſaid that they "fled from *Argos* to the Iſland of *Rhodes*: "And the ſame doubt has been raiſed con- "cerning *Crotopus*, becauſe he is likewiſe "ſaid to have left *Argos* and to have built a "new city for himſelf in *Megaris*."

I obſerve

yet if we allow them but 20 years a-piece one with another (and there is no reaſon to allow them more, for we are not yet got to the times of *Longevity*) the ſum will be 380, which being added to 900, carries us back to the year 1280 before Chriſt, about which time we have ſuppoſed the life of man to have been firſt reduced to the preſent ſtandard. And this brings down the commencement of the kingdom of *Argos* 570 years later than where it is placed by the old Chronology.

But as we have here ſuppoſed, what perhaps many perſons will not grant, that the life of man was brought to the preſent ſtandard 202 years before the birth of *David*, let us fix the date of this abbreviation of human life at only 40 years before *David*'s birth, and then it will be in the year before Chriſt 1127. This is I think as low a date as any body contends for; at leaſt Dr. *Shuckford* will be content with it.

Of the 19 Kings it will require 11, at about 20½ years a-piece, to carry us up from the death of *Agamemnon* (which, by the foregoing computation, happened about the year before Chriſt 900) to the 40th year before *David*'s birth, Ant. Chr. 1127: and conſequently, if we will adhere to the *pretended date* of the commencement of the kingdom of *Argos*, *viz.* Ant. Chr. 1850 (or A. M. 2154) we muſt ſuppoſe the 8 firſt Kings to have reigned above 90 years a-piece one with another, and their reigns to have taken up 723 years; for this is the number that muſt be added to 1127 to make 1850.

But if the 8 firſt Kings of *Argos* reigned 90 years a-piece one with another, what the learned writer advances in the following paſſage concerning *monuments*, *ſtone-pillars* and *inſcriptions*, can have no foundation.

Pref. p. LIV. "As to our illuſtrious author's argument from the length of reigns: "I might have obſerved that it is introduced upon a ſuppoſition which "can never be allowed, namely that the antient Chronologers did not "give us *the ſeveral reigns of their Kings* as they took them from *authentic* "*records*, but that they made the lengths of them by *artificial computa-* "*tions*, calculated according to what they thought the reigns of ſuch a "number of Kings as they had to ſet down, would at a medium one "with another amount to: *this certainly never was fact*; but as *Acuſilaus*, "a moſt antient hiſtorian mentioned by our moſt illuſtrious author "wrote his genealogies out of tables of braſs, ſo it is by far moſt

I obſerve that Sir *Iſaac Newton* (p. 170) by placing the beginning of the reign of *Phoroneus*, the ſecond King of *Argos*, about the 12th of *Samuel*, or Ant. Chr. 1088, ſuppoſes, that at leaſt eight or nine of the Kings in the *Argive* catalogue, were fictitious. In p. 172, he has theſe words. "*Acuſilaus* "wrote, that *Phoroneus* was older than "*Ogyges*, and that *Ogyges* flouriſhed 1020 "years before the firſt Olympiad. —— But "*Acuſilaus* was an *Argive*, and feigned theſe "things in honour of his country. —*Inachus* "might be as old as *Ogyges*, but *Acuſilaus* "and his followers made them 700 years "older than the truth; and Chronologers, "to make out this reckoning, have *length-* "*ened the races of the Kings of* Argos *and* "Sicyon, *and changed ſeveral contemporary* "*princes of* Argos *into ſucceſſive Kings*, and "inſerted many feigned Kings into the race "of the Kings of *Sicyon*." If Sir *Iſaac Newton* had not cut off eight or nine of the Kings of *Argos*, he could not have placed *Phoroneus* ſo late as 1088 by his own method of computation.

"probable

" probable that *all* the other *genealogists*, who have given us the lengths " of lives or reigns of their Kings or Heroes *took their accounts either from* " *monuments, ſtone pillars, or ancient inſcriptions, or from other antiquaries* " *of unſuſpected fidelity, who had faithfully examined ſuch originals.*"

To this I further anſwer,

I. If theſe genealogiſts were ſo faithful and had ſuch good vouchers, whence came "thoſe repugnances in their chronological canons (men- " tioned by *Plutarch*) which hundreds of authors correcting have not " been able to conſtitute any thing certain in which they could agree?" For inſtance how came *Ægialeus*, King of *Sicyon*, to be, according to ſome chronologers, 234 years, and, according to others, above 500 years older than *Phoroneus* King of *Argos*, when " *Acuſilaus*, *Anticlides* and " *Plato* accounted *Phoroneus* the oldeſt King in *Greece*; and *Apollodorus* " tells us, *Ægialeus* was the brother of *Phoroneus?* See Sir I. N. Chron. p. 169.

II. Dr. *Shuckford*, in another part of his work, ſeems to admit that the Antients made uſe of *an artificial chronology*; as appears by the following paſſage, vol. 1. p. 207.

1. " He [Sir *John Marſham*] obſerves from *Diodorus*, that *Menes* was " ſucceeded by fifty two Kings whoſe reigns all together took up the ſpace " of above 1400 years. In all which time the *Egyptians* had done nothing " worth the recording in hiſtory.

2. " He ſuppoſes theſe 1400 years to end at *Seſoſtris*; for *Herodotus* is " expreſs that the firſt illuſtrious actions were done in *Egypt* in the time " of *Seſoſtris*; before *Seſoſtris*, ſays he, they had done nothing famous; " and *Diodorus* ſays that *Seſoſtris* performed the moſt illuſtrions actions far " exceeding all before him.

3. He ſuppoſes, with *Joſephus*, that this *Seſoſtris* was *Seſac* who beſieged " *Jeruſalem* in the 5th year of *Rehoboam*, King of *Judah*, about A. M. 3033.

" The only difficulty in this argumentation will be, that it places *Me-* " *nes* or *Mizraim*, above a century earlier than his true age; for if we " reckon backward 1400 years, from the year before named [3033] in " which *Seſac* beſieged *Jeruſalem*, we ſhall place *Mizraim* A. M. 1633, " *i. e.* 23 years before the flood, and 139 years earlier than the true time " of his reign, which began,—A. M. 1772; but this difficulty may be " eaſily cleared: The number 1400 years is a miſtake: *Diodorus* ſays " expreſly, that there were but 52 Kings * from *Menes* to *the time* where " *Seſoſtris*'s reign *is ſuppoſed to begin*; and according to Sir *John Marſham*'s " tables of the *Theban* Kings, from *Menes* to *Seſoſtris* is but 1370 years, " tho' we ſuppoſe *Seſoſtris* the 55th King from *Menes*, and even this num- " ber is too great, if, as *Diodorus* computes, there were fifty two Kings " only.

* " According to *Diodorus*, *Seſoſtris* was " about 80 ſucceſſions after *Menes* or *Miz-* " *raim*. *Diodorus* muſt indeed have made " a miſtake in this computation, for from " the death of *Menes* A. M. 1943 to *Seſac* " about A. M. 3033 are but 1090 years, and " 55 ſucceſſions may very well carry us down " thus far, *&c.* Pref. p. xxxi, Vol. II.

" The

" The Antienrs *generally allowed about 36 years and a half to the reign of* " *a King*" [when they made uſe of an *artificial chronology*] " and therefore " if we deduct 3 times 36 years and an half, or about 110 years from " 1370 (the number of years between *Menes* and *Seſoſtris*, according to " Sir *John Marſham*'s tables) I ſay, if we deduct 3 times 36 years and " an half, or a bout 110 years, (ſuppoſing thoſe tables to have the names " of 3 Kings too many, the number of Kings being, according to *Dio-* " *dorus*, 52, and not 55) we ſhall then make the ſpace of time between " *Menes* and *Seſoſtris* about 1260 years; and ſo it really is according to " the *Hebrew* chronology, *Menes* beginning his Reign, as we before ſaid, " *Anno mundi* 1772; and *Seſoſtris* or *Seſac* beſieging *Jeruſalem* in the 5th " year of *Rehoboam Anno mundi* 3033.

I cannot but obſerve here, that the learned writer, who in imitation of the Antients makes uſe of an artificial chronology, has in the preſent inſtance employed it ſomewhat unluckily; for ſuppoſing he might have allowed 110 years to 3 reigns in any other ſucceſſion of antient Kings, he has no right to make that allowance *here*, where the reigns of the 52 Kings filling only 1260 years, they could reign but about 24 years a-piece one with another. And indeed the *ſhortneſs* of theſe reigns furniſhes a good argument againſt that Catalogue of fifty two Kings, (as well as *Diodorus*'s 80 Kings) and againſt the learned writer's opinion concerning the ancient chronologers, *That they took their ſucceſſions of Kings, and the numbers of years which each of them reigned, from* AUTHENTIC RECORDS.

For is it not highly incredible that 52 *Egyptian* Kings beginning with *Mizraim*, and *reaching thro' the times of longævity* from A. M. 1772 to 3033 ſhould reign but 3 or 4 years a-piece one with another, longer than the like number of ſucceſſive Kings in modern kingdoms? a conſideration that ſeems ſufficient to overthrow all imaginary tables of braſs, ſtone-pillars, monuments, inſcriptions, &c. recording the ſucceſſion of thoſe 52 Kings or 55 Kings between *Mizraim* and *Seſoſtris*.*

Or, if it be credible that the reigns of 52 Kings of *Egypt* in ſucceſſion from *Mizraim* took up but 1260 years, is it not improbable that the reigns of 39 † Kings in ſucceſſion, from *Inachus*, took up 1370 years; that if the former Kings reigned but about 24 years a-piece one with another, the latter ſhould reign 35: eſpecially, if we conſider that the reign of *Mizraim* is ſuppoſed to have begun 382 years before the reign of *Inachus*, and but 116 years after the flood?

Ant. Chr. 2232. *Arphaxad* was coeval with *Mizraim*. Now had *Arphaxad* eſtabliſhed a kingdom A. M. 1772, and the crown had gone in lineal deſcent, it is probable, there would not have been more than 15 Kings in 1260 years, *i. e.* from the beginning of *Arphaxad*'s reign to the time of *Seſoſtris*, who was contemporary with *Solomon*. For from *Arphaxad* to *Solomon* (both

* See in p. xlix, the citation from Mr. *Whiſton*.

† The 19 Kings ending with *Agamemnon*, he 3 between *Agamemnon* and *Euryſthenes*, and the 17 beginning with *Euryſthenes* and ending with *Lecnidas* make up the 39. They reign from Ant. Chr. 1850. to Ant. Chr. 480.

included

included) there were but 23 generations: and, during the firſt *nine* generations, there would have been but *three* Kings, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, and *Eber*: For *Eber* outlived *Abraham*, the 7th in deſcent from him.

And it is to be obſerved, that theſe THREE reigns would have taken up 415 years, (there being from A. M. 1772 to A. M. 2187, the year when *Eber* died, exactly that number) whereas in no ſeries of *Egyptian* reigns in Sir *John Marſham*'s tables, do the TWELVE firſt take up more than 407 years.

And as to the 14 generations, beginning with *Iſaac* and ending with *Solomon*, it is probable, they would not have furniſhed more than 12 Kings: For while the life of man was ſhortning from 180 years to 70, fathers would frequently outlive their ſons, and the reigns would be fewer than the generations.

But ſuppoſing a King for each of the 14 generations from *Iſaac* to *Solomon*, (both included) the whole number of Kings in 1260 years from *Arphaxad* to *Solomon*, would have been but 17.

That the *reigns* of 52 Kings in ſucceſſion from *Mizraim* ſhould take up no longer a ſpace of time, than 23 *generations* from *Arphaxad*, has ſurely at firſt ſight an appearance of improbability. How far the difficulty may be ſolved by the ſuppoſitions of *Election*, *Rebellion* and *King-killing*, I ſhall leave to the reader to conſider.

BUT, in the paſſage above cited (from pref. p. xix.) the learned writer, to ſupport the credit of the old chronologers, obſerves farther, that "the "antient accounts of the Kings of different kingdoms *agree to one another* "as well as Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s more modern catalogues.

Yes, in ſome inſtances, they agree ſo well, as by their agreement to diſcover their *Technical* original. For the 22 firſt Kings of *Thebes*, in Sir *John Marſham*'s tables, take up but 676 years, and the 21 Kings of *Alba* and *Rome* take up juſt the ſame number, tho' the firſt are ſuppoſed to have reigned in the times when men lived to the ages of 400, 300, 200, 120, and the other when the life of man was ſhortned to 70 years.

So, *in the times of* SHORT LIFE, the *twelve* Kings of *Macedonia*, from *Caranus* to *Archelaus*, reign 34 ½ years a-piece. And the *eight* laſt of the *Latine* Kings, from *Amulius* to *Tarquin* the proud, reign 35 ¼.

And *in the times of* LONG LIFE, the twelve firſt Kings of *Aſſyria* reign about 40 years a-piece one with another.

How can theſe things be made to ſquare with that principle, laid down by the learned writer (Pref. p. xv.) that "the difference there has "been in the common length of human life, in the different ages of the "world, muſt have had *a conſiderable effect* upon the length of reigns, "which muſt be longer or ſhorter in this or that age in ſome meaſure, "according to what is the common ſtandard of the length of mens lives "in the age they belong to?"

I ſhould think that the great miſtake of the annaliſts who wrote of the *firſt ages* after the flood is not in allowing ſo many as 100 or 120 years to

three reigns, but in not allowing more*. They ſeem to have known nothing of the fact, that mens lives extended to ſo great a length, during ſome centuries after the flood, as they are repreſented to do in ſcripture: For had they known this, ſurely they would never have made their accounts of King's reigns in the earlier and later ages *agree ſo well together*.

Pref. p. xxii. to p. liii. As to the long argumentation which the learned writer has employed in ſupport of *Cteſias*'s chronology of the *Aſſyrian* monarchs, againſt Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s objections, I ſhall not enter into any conſideration of it; becauſe to my apprehenſion the learned writer does not ſeem to be quite ſatisfied with it himſelf; nor to have a very advantageous opinion of *Cteſias*.

p. lii. "We find (ſays he) from Scripture, that after *Abraham*'s defeating his "armies" [the armies of *Chederlaomer*] "the *Aſſyrian* Kings appear not "to have had any dominion over the nations between the *Mediterranean* "and the *Euphrates*: This indeed ſeems to confine the *Aſſyrian* empire "within narrower bounds, than can well agree with the accounts which "the heathen writers give of it; but then it is remarkable, that theſe "enlarged accounts come from hands comparatively modern. *Diodorus* "informs us, that he took *his* from *Cteſias*; *Cteſias might have* the *num-* "*ber* of his ancient *Aſſyrian* Kings from the *Perſian* chronicles; but as *all* "*writers have agreed to aſcribe no great actions to any of them, from after* "Ninus *to* Sardanapalus; ſo it appears moſt reaſonable to imagine, that "the *Perſian* regiſtries made but a very ſhort mention of them," [probably none at all;] "for ancient regiſtries afforded but little hiſtory, and "therefore I ſuſpect, that *Cteſias*'s eſtimate of the antient *Aſſyrian* grandeur "was rather formed from what he knew to be true of the *Perſian* empire, "than taken from any authentic accounts of the ancient *Aſſyrian*.

And Mr. *Whiſton* ſays, (p. 980.) "I deſire not to be miſunderſtood in "this place as if I believed all the ſtrange ſtories of *Cteſias* either as to the "beginning or ending of this *Aſſyrian* kingdom. I do not depend upon "ſuch legendary relations — — I have not here ſet down the ſeveral years "which each of theſe Kings [in all 32 from *Belus* to *Sardanapalus* out of "*Moſes Chorenenſis*] reigned, becauſe it muſt be acknowledged that the "copies differ much about them: and I ſuſpect ſeveral miſtakes in thoſe "particular numbers of ſucceſſions and of years, tho' the general ſum of "the years, within a little more than a century, is well atteſted by the "antients."

Nor ſhall I meddle with Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s aſtronomical argument for fixing the time of the *Argonautic* expedition, (and of courſe the time of the fall of *Troy*, which was only one generation later) from the poſition

* The fourteen firſt *Egyptian* Kings of *Thebes* are ſaid to have reigned 414 years, *i. e.* from A. M. 1772 to 2186, or till three years after the death of *Abraham*, (who died at the age of 175) and tho' they lived in theſe times of longevity, yet they reigned but 29 years ſome months a-piece; they are not made to reign ſo long as the 14 *Latine* Kings, after the fall of *Troy*, which is ſuppoſed to have happened A. M. 2820, 634 years after the laſt of the fourteen *Egyptian* Kings.

of

of the ſolſtitial and equinoctial points on the ſphere which *Chiron* made for the uſe of the *Argonauts*, I am too little acquainted with the ſcience of Aſtronomy to ſpeak pertinently on the ſubject. I ſhall only obſerve that Mr. *Whiſton* does not agree with Dr. *Shuckford* concerning the grounds of the argument.

"The fallacy of this argument (ſays Dr. *Shuckford*) cannot but appear very evident to any one that attends to it: for ſuppoſe we allow that *Chiron* did really place the ſolſtices, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* repreſents, (tho' I ſhould think it moſt probable that he did not ſo place them) yet it muſt be undeniably plain, that nothing can be certainly eſtabliſhed from *Chiron*'s poſition of them, unleſs it appears, that *Chiron* knew how to give them their true place. Pref. p. iii.

—"If indeed it could be known what was the true place of the ſolſtitial points in *Chiron*'s time, it might be known, by taking the diſtance of that place from the preſent poſition of them, how much time was elapſed from *Chiron* to our days. P. vi.

"But I anſwer, it cannot be accurately known from any ſchemes of *Chiron* what was the true place of the ſolſtices in his days; becauſe, tho' it is ſaid that he calculated the then poſition of them, yet he was ſo *inaccurate* an aſtronomer, that his calculation *might err four or five degrees from their true poſition.*

Mr. *Whiſton* (p. 991.) writes thus.

"As to the firſt argument from the place of the two colures in *Eudoxus* from *Chiron* the *Argonaut*, preſerved by *Hipparchus* of *Bithynia*, *I readily allow its foundations to be true, that* Eudoxus's *ſphere was the ſame with* Chiron's, *and that it was firſt made and ſhewed* Hercules *and the reſt of the* Argonauts *in order to guide them in their voyage to* Colchis. And I take the diſcovery of *this ſure aſtronomical criterion of the true time of that* Argonautic *expedition* (in the defect of eclipſes) to be highly worthy the uncommon ſagacity of the great Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and in its own nature a chronological character truly ineſtimable. Nor need we, I think, any ſtronger argument in order to overturn Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s own chronology, than this poſition of the colures at the time of that expedition, which its propoſer has very kindly furniſhed us withal.

In p. 996: "I now proceed to *Eudoxus*'s *accurate* deſcription of the poſition of the two colures, as they had been drawn on their celeſtial globes, ever ſince the days of *Chiron*, at the *Argonautic* expedition, and as *Hipparchus* has given us that deſcription in the words of *Eudoxus*.

Again (p. 1002.) "Sir *Iſaac Newton* betrays his conſciouſneſs how little *Eudoxus*'s deſcription of *Chiron*'s colures agreed to his poſition of them, by pretending that theſe obſervations of the Antients were *coarſe* and inaccurate. This is true if compared with the obſervations of the Moderns which reach to minutes; and, ſince the application of *Teleſcopick* ſights to *Aſtronomical* inſtruments, to *ten* or fewer ſeconds. But as to our preſent purpoſe this deſcription in *Eudoxus* is *very accurate*, it both taking notice of every conſtellation, through which each of the

" colures paſſed, that were viſible in *Greece:* and *hardly admitting of an*
" *error of half a degree* in angular meaſures, or 36 years in time. Which
" is *ſufficiently exact.*

How far Mr. *Whiſton* has ſucceeded in his argumentation about the *Neck* of the *Swan* and the *Tail* of the *Bear* &c. I muſt leave to others to conſider. I ſhall only obſerve, with regard to the laſt paragraph cited from his diſcourſe, that when Sir *Iſaac Newton* calls the obſervations of the antient aſtronomers *coarſe*, he cannot well be underſtood to uſe that word, but in a comparative ſenſe, that ſenſe in which Mr. *Whiſton* admits it may be juſtly uſed. For otherwiſe Sir *Iſaac* would not have inferred any thing, as CERTAIN, from thoſe antient obſervations. Now, in p. 95, after he has finiſhed his argument from *Chiron*'s ſphere, he thus writes.

" *Heſiod* tells us, that ſixty days after the winter ſolſtice, the ſtar
" *Arcturus* roſe at ſun-ſet: and thence it follows, that *Heſiod* flouriſhed about
" 100 years after the death of *Solomon*, or in the generation or age next
" after the *Trojan* war, as *Heſiod* himſelf declares.

" From all theſe circumſtances, grounded upon the COARSE obſer-
" vations of the antient aſtronomers, we may reckon it CERTAIN, that
" the *Argonautic* expedition was *not earlier* than the *reign* of *Solomon:*
" and if theſe aſtronomical arguments be added to the former arguments
" taken from the mean length of the reigns of Kings according to the
" courſe of nature; from them all we may *ſafely conclude*, that the *Argo-*
" *nautic* expedition was *after the death* of *Solomon*, and moſt probably
" that it was about 43 years after.

" The *Trojan war* was *one generation later* than that expedition—ſeveral
" captains of the *Greeks* in that war being ſons of the *Argonauts*, &c."

By the laſt words here cited, I am brought round again to the point, from whence I ſet out in this diſcourſe, the *Fall of Troy*; the time of which event, if it be rightly ſettled, or pretty near the truth, by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, the received chronology of the regal ſtate of *Rome* is totally diſcredited and overturned. For then the whole ſpace of time, between the taking of *Troy* and the expulſion of *Tarquin* the proud will not have been above 400 years; and of theſe no body, I imagine, will be inclined to give 244 to the 7 Kings of *Rome*, *moſt of whom were ſlain*, and but 156 to the 14 *Latine* Kings their predeceſſors.

To the probable arguments brought by Sir *Iſaac* for ſhortning the duration of the regal ſtate, I have added another, taken from certain traditions which prevailed among the *Romans*, and of which the chronology, framed afterwards, was not able to deſtroy the belief, tho' the truth of thoſe traditions was incompatible with the truth of that chronology.

And I have ſhewn, that in the *Roman* ſtory there are other particulars repugnant to the received chronology, but perfectly conſiſtent with Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computations.

Tradition and the earlieſt *Roman* hiſtorians ſaid;

1. That *Numa* was contemporary with *Pythagoras*.
2. That *Tarquin* the proud was the ſon of *Tarquin* the elder.

3. That *Tarquin* the proud was at the head of his army, and fought on horſeback in his laſt battle with the Romans [about 14 years after his expulſion.]

4. That *Collatinus*, the huſband of *Lucretia*, and created conſul on the expulſion of *Tarquin* the proud, was the ſon of *Egerius*, nephew of *Tarquin* the elder.

Now all theſe Facts are inconſiſtent with the old chronology; and for this reaſon, and this alone, *Dionyſius* rejects them. *Livy*, aware of the inconſiſtency, adheres nevertheleſs to the 3 *laſt* of theſe facts, and ſpeaks of the *firſt* in ſuch a manner as to make one think he really believed *that* too. So that he ſeems to have had little faith in the received chronology, tho' he durſt not openly and expreſly contradict it.

On the other hand, all thoſe facts are conſiſtent with Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computations, which ſhorten the reigns of the Kings. And the ſame computations being admitted, we get rid of other difficulties.

1. We ſee plainly, why the hiſtorians could give no account of any thing done by *Romulus* after the 17th year of his reign, while they tell us that he reigned 37 years.

2. By ſhortning the duration of *Numa*'s peaceful and religious reign, we can account for that martial diſpoſition, which the *Romans* ſtill retained, when *Tullus Hoſtilius* came to the throne.

3. If we ſhorten the reigns of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, *Ancus Martius* and *Tarquinius Priſcus*, we are at no loſs for a reaſon why three ſuch ambitious and active princes did ſo little.

4. By cutting off about 24 years of the 44 given to the reign of *Servius Tullius* we can explain, how it came to paſs that there were no more than 4 *luſtra* in his time; which otherwiſe ſeems very difficult to be accounted for.

It ſurely cannot be denied, that there is a great coincidence of circumſtances, to ſupport Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computations; and that his computations, if admitted, render credible many hiſtorical facts, which are incredible ſo long as we adhere to the old chronology.

A writer, not leſs diſtinguiſhed for his depth of thought, and logical exactneſs, than for his amiable, benevolent fairneſs in argument, obſerves, "That evidence ariſing from various coincidences, which confirm and "ſupport each other, is that kind of evidence upon which moſt queſ-"tions of difficulty in common practice are determined.—And that *probable* "*proofs*, by being *added*, not only *increaſe* the evidence, but *multiply* it."

Suppoſing it eaſy to ſhew, that in the preſent argument, (conſiſting of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s reaſons, and thoſe I have added to them) this or that particular thing, offered in proof, is liable to objection, and of little weight in itſelf; yet the united force of all the particulars, in one view, may perhaps be irreſiſtible; and certainly the concluſion we make from a view of the particulars, ought to be ſuch as reſults from their *united force*.

ERRATA.

PREFACE.	P. XII.	*l.* 8.	of the 2d column,—Numeros	*r.* Numerus
	XIII.	*l.* 40.	of the 2d column,—etiamfi	*r.* etiam fi
	———	*l.* 41.	——————aliis publicis	*r.* aliiſque publicis
	XIV.	*l.* 10.	of the 2d column,—remoute	*r.* remonte
	XV.	*l.* 8.	——————5	*r.* 6
	XVI.	*l.* 14.	of the 2d column,—da gout	*r.* du goût
	XVIII.	*l.* 32.	——————in Hiſtory	*r.* in the Hiſtory
	XIX.	*l.* 1. 4. and 31.	——————129	*r.* 119
	XXI.	*l.* 33.	——————αρχαιας	*r.* αρχαιας
	XXII.	*l.* 24.	——————Pontiff's	*r.* Pontiffs'
	———	*l.* 28.	——————Pontiff's	*r.* Pontiffs'
	XXXIV.	*l.* 2.	of the 2d column,—ΑΠΕΚΕΤΩΣΑΝ	*r.* ΑΠΕΧΕΤΩΣΑΝ
	XXXVI.	*l. ult.*	——————34	*r.* 39
REMARKS, &c.	P. XLIX.	*l.* 9.	——————do	*r.* does
	LVI.	*l. ult.*	——————by old	*r.* by the old
		In the Margin, (againſt *l.* 29.) L. 4. c. 29. *r.* L. 40. c. 29.		
	LVII.	*l.* 42.	——————undeque	*r.* undique
	LXIII.	*l.* 24.	——————Capitolinns	*r.* Capitolinus
	———	*l.* 28.	after the word dethronement, *add*, ſince he was ſome years old at the death of *Priſcus*.	
CONTENTS.	P. XXVI.	*l.* 1.	——————Tribunes	*r.* Tribes
HISTORY.	P. 89.	*l.* 7.	of the 2d column,—Corolianus	*r.* Coriolanus
	144.	*l.* 40.	——————Witneſs	*r.* Witneſſes
	165.	*l.* 5.	——————long	*r.* low
	188. and 189.	in the margins,	291	*r.* 261
	190.	*l.* 15.	of the 1ſt column,—noble	*r.* notable
	193.	*l.* 42.	——————The greater part of	*r.* Moſt of
	198.	*l.* 13.	——————trouble	*r.* troubles
	217.	*l.* 37.	——————both parties	*r.* both orders
	230.	*l.* 1.	——————moſt	*r.* far the moſt
	246.	*l.* 7.	——————In the Campus Martius	*r.* in ſome field near it
	269.	*l.* 4.	in the 1ſt column,—conteſt	*r.* context
	279.	*l.* 30.	——————injured them	*r.* injured him
	282.	*l.* 19.	——————Where diſcord	*r.* When diſcord
	407.	*l.* 6.	in the 2d column,—*dele* Monſieur Dacier, nor.	
	546.	*l.* 36.	——————the Tribes	*r.* the Plebs

ADVERTISEMENT.

It was once intended, and afterwards forgot, to put, in the preſent edition of this volume, the names of the Jeſuit-Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* to the marginal notes borrowed from their work, in order to diſtinguiſh them from the Author's. To ſupply this omiſſion, the reader is here informed, that there is hardly any thing *in the Hiſtory*, by way of *note*, which does not belong to the Jeſuits, except the citations from ſome other modern writers, whoſe names are mentioned; and except the obſervations made by the Author in the pages hereunder marked.

P. 19. Note c. 24. N. a. and b. to the word Senate. 25. N. c. 26. N. a. 46. N. — 48. N. c. 86. N. a. 116. N. b. 132. N. a. 151. N. d. 152. N. a.

From p. 185. to p. 312. all the notes (except N. *. from *F. Rouillé*, in p. 273.) are the author's; as likewiſe thoſe in P. 329. N. *. 407. N. †. 426. N. *. 430. N. †. 431. N. §. 471. N. *. 473. N. ‖. 499. N. *. 507. N. †. 562. N. *. 563. N. † 564. N. *. 566. N. †.

N. B. What is ſaid in the margin of p. 146. namely, that *what follows in the text to the year of* Rome 371. *is* chiefly *taken from* Mr. Vertot's *Hiſtory of the Revolutions, which happened in the government of the Roman Commonwealth*, was heedleſsly inſerted before the author knew the alterations he ſhould make in reviſing that part of the Hiſtory. The moſt, that can now be ſaid, with truth, is, That *A Great Part of what follows*, &c. *is taken from Mr.* Vertot.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

FIRST BOOK.

THE REGAL STATE of *ROME*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Original of the *Romans*, and the Building of *Rome*.

SECT. I. *The firſt* Romans *were of* Trojan *extraction*. §. II. Æneas's *voyage to* Italy. §. III. *The ancient inhabitants of that country*. §. IV. Æneas's *reception by* Latinus, *King of* Latium. *He marries* Lavinia *the daughter of* Latinus, *and builds* Lavinium. §. V. *He ſucceeds to the Kingdom of his father-in-law*. §. VI. *The death of* Æneas, *who is ſucceeded by his ſon* Aſcanius. §. VII. Aſcanius *founds* Alba Longa, *and yields* Lavinium *to* Æneas Sylvius, *the ſon of* Æneas *by* Lavinia. §. VIII. *The* Latines *upon the death of* Aſcanius *unite* Lavinium *and* Alba *into one* DOMINION, *which they decree to* Æneas Sylvius, *but give the ſovereign power in affairs of* Religion *to* Iulus *the ſon of* Aſcanius. §. IX. *The ſucceſſion of the Kings of* Alba *from* Æneas Sylvius *to* Amulius, *who dethrones his elder brother* Numitor. §. X. *The birth, education and adventures of* Romulus *and* Remus. *They dethrone* Amulius, *and reſtore their Grandfather* Numitor. §. XI. Numitor *ſends his two grandſons to plant a colony. They quarrel about the ſpot of ground where the new city ſhall ſtand.* Remus *is ſlain.* §. XII. ROME *is* BUILT. Bef. *J. C.* 753.

CHAP. II.

ROMULUS.

§. I. Romulus *is choſen King of* Rome. §. II. *He puts on a robe of diſtinction, and appoints* 12 LICTORS *to attend him.* §. III. *He divides his colony into* 3 TRIBES *and theſe into* 30 Curiæ. §. IV. *He diſtinguiſhes the people into* TRIBES. *to* CURIÆ. *R.* of *R.* 1.

Patrons. *to* PATRICIANS *and* PLEBEIANS, PATRONS *and* CLIENTS. §. V. *He con*
SENATE. *ſtitutes a* SENATE. §. VI. *He appoints himſelf a guard of* 300 *horſemen called*
Celeres. Celeres. §. VII. *He ſettles the reſpective prerogatives of the King, Senate, and People.* §. VIII. *The religious laws of* Romulus. §. IX. *His civil laws.*
Aſylum. §. X. *To augment his colony, he opens an* Aſylum *for fugitive ſlaves and outlaws.* §. XI. *The rape of the* Sabine *women.* §. XII. *The* Sabines *endeavour to recover their women by a treaty. In the mean time* Romulus *defeats the* Cœninenſes, *ſlays* Acron *their King in ſingle combat, and decrees himſelf*
TRIUMPH. *a* TRIUMPH *for his victory. He reduces* Cruſtuminum *and* Antemnæ, *and gains other advantages.* §. XIII. Romulus's *war with the* Sabines. §. XIV.
King Tatius. *He concludes a peace with them, and admits* Titus Tatius, *their King, to be his partner on the throne. The followers of* Tatius *are tranſplanted to* Rome, *and*
Sabine Sen^tors. *become one people with the* Romans. §. XV. Tatius *creates* 100 *new Senators*
KNIGHTS. *choſen out of the* Sabines. *The creation of the firſt* ROMAN KNIGHTS. *The feſtival of the* MATRONALIA *inſtituted.* §. XVI. *The Death of* Tatius. §. XVII. Romulus *defeats the* Camerini, Fidenates, *and* Veientes. *He re-*
16. *nounces the kingdom of* Alba *upon the death of* Numitor. §. XVIII. *The mur-*
37 or 39. *der of* Romulus *by the Senate, and the artifice of* Julius Proculus *to appeaſe the people.*

CHAP. III.

NUMA.

Interregnum. §. I. *The death of* Romulus *is followed by an* Interregnum. *A deſcription of that ſort of government. The people grow weary of it; whereupon it is unanimouſly reſolved to chuſe a* KING. §. II. *The character of* Numa Pompilius, *a*
40. Sabine *philoſopher.* §. III. *He is elected to ſucceed* Romulus; *but is with difficulty perſuaded to accept of the kingdom. He conſults the will of the Gods by augury.* §. IV. Numa *is no ſooner upon the throne, than he applies himſelf to quiet the diſſentions at* Rome, *and to moderate the warlike ardor of the* Romans
Miniſters of Religion. *by the impreſſions of Religion.* §. V. *He divides the miniſters of Religion into eight claſſes. The* Curiones, Flamines, Celeres, Augurs. §. VI. Veſtals. §. VII. Salii. §. VIII. Feciales. §. IX. Pontifices. §. X. *He directs an eſpecial reverence to be paid to the God* Janus; *and makes a Goddeſs of* Bona Fides. §. XI. *He introduces a new ſort of Gods, called* Termini *or* Boundaries. §. XII. *He amends ſome of* Romulus's *laws; and makes new ones.* §. XIII. *He ſends away the idle ſoldiery to cultivate the lands conquered by* Romulus. §. XIV. *He diſtributes the citizens into diſtinct companies, according to their trades.* §. XV.
82. *He reforms the calendar.* §. XVI. Numa *dies, and his books are buried with him.*

CHAP. IV.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

83. §. I. Tullus Hoſtilius, *a man of a generous and martial diſpoſition, is elected by the* Romans *to ſucceed* Numa. §. II. *The rivalſhip between* Rome *and*
Alba

Alba *for ſuperiority.* §. III. *The diſpute is decided by the famous combat between the three* Horatii *and the three* Curiatii, *in which the latter are all ſlain,* Horatii and Curiatii.
and two of the former. §. IV. *The ſurviving* Horatius, *returning to the city, in triumph, ſtabs his own ſiſter, for reproaching him with the death of her lover. He is tried by the* Duumviri, *and condemned to die. He* appeals to the People, Appeal to the People.
and they mitigate the ſentence. §. V. Tullus, *in conjunction with the* Albans, *engages in a war againſt the* Veientes, *and defeats them. The treachery of the* Albans. Tullus *demoliſhes* Alba, *and tranſplants the inhabitants to* Rome. Alba deſtroyed.
§. VI. *He vanquiſhes the* Fidenates, Sabines, *and* Latines; *and inſtitutes the* Saturnalia. §. VII. *In his old age, he falls into ſuperſtition, and ſtudies magick. He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace.* 113.

CHAP. V.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

§. I. Ancus Marcius, *the grandſon of* Numa, *is choſen to ſucceed* Tullus Hoſtilius. *He declares war againſt the* Latines *in all the forms preſcribed by* Numa. *He vanquiſhes the enemy in ſeveral battles, and takes many of their towns.* §. II. *He ſtrengthens* Rome *by new fortifications, and builds* Oſtia *at the mouth of the* Tyber. *He defeats the* Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes *and* Volſci. 114.
Oſtia built.
§. III. *He dies, leaving two ſons under the tuition of* Lucius Tarquinius, *a foreigner from* Hetruria, *who had ſettled at* Rome. 139.

CHAP. VI.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

§. I. *The politick management of* Tarquinius *to obtain the kingdom. He is elected King, and adds to the Senate* 100 *new Senators choſen out of the* Plebeians. 100 Plebeians brought into the Senate.
§. II. *The* Latines *renew the war againſt the* Romans. Tarquin, *by repeated victories over them, reduces them to ſue for peace. At his return to* Rome, *he builds a* Circus *for the* Roman *games.* §. III. *He totally ſubdues the* 12 Lucumonies *of* Hetruria. §. IV. *He applies himſelf to cleanſe and beautify* Rome. §. V. *He renews the war with the* Sabines. *He increaſes the number of the* Roman *Knights. The adventure of* Navius *the* Augur. §. VI. Tarquin *ſubdues the* Sabines. §. VII. *He marks out the area of a temple to* Jupiter, Juno, *and* Minerva, *on the hill* Tarpeius, *afterwards called the* Capitol. §. VIII. *The ſons of* Ancus *conſpire the death of* Tarquin. *He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace. The ſtratagem of* Queen Tanaquil, *to ſecure the kingdom to her ſon-in-law, who takes poſſeſſion of it, without being legally elected to the throne.* Navius, Augur. 174.

CHAP. VII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

§. I. *The birth and education of* Servius Tullius. *The honours he pays to the*

Goddeſs Fortune *upon his elevation to the Throne.* §. II. *The* Patricians *conſpire to diſpoſſeſs him. He gains the People to his intereſt, is legally elected King by the* Curiæ, *and tho' the Senate refuſes to confirm this election, keeps poſſeſſion.*

A fourth City-Tribe. §. III. Servius *defeats the rebellious* Hetrurians. *He enlarges* Rome, *and adds a fourth Tribe to the three old ones. He inſtitutes the* Compitalia *in favour of*

Ruſtic Tribes. *ſlaves. He divides the* Roman *territory with its inhabitants into* TRIBES. *He marries his two daughters to* Lucius Tarquinius *and* Aruns, *the grandſons of*

Comitia by Centuries. The Cenſus and Luſtrum. *the late King. He ſubdues the* Hetrurians. §. IV. Servius *divides the* Roman *citizens into ſix* CLASSES, *and theſe into* CENTURIES. *He inſtitutes the* CENSUS *and the* LUSTRUM, *and coins money.* §. V. *He gives the* LIBERTI *or* Freedmen *the privilege of* Roman *citizens.* §. VI. *He reforms the regal power and executes a ſcheme for ſecuring to the* Romans *the fidelity and friendſhip of the* Latines *and* Sabines. §. VII. *The wicked intrigues of* Tarquin *and the younger* Tullia. Tarquin *accuſes the King of uſurpation before the Senate.* Servius *pleads his cauſe there, but appeals to the People, and is by them confirm'd on the throne.* §. VIII. Tarquin *regains the King's favour by ſubmiſſions,*

219. *but ſoon after cauſes him to be murdered and uſurps the Kingdom.*

CHAP. VIII.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

§. I. *The tyranny of* Tarquin *who gets the ſurname of the* PROUD. *His haughty treatment of the* Latine *Deputies and treacherous contrivance to deſtroy* Turnus

Feriæ Latinæ. Herdonius. §. II. *The* Latine *aſſociation, and the inſtitution of the* FERIÆ LATINÆ. Tarquin *aſſiſted by the* Latines *defeats the* Volſci *and ſubdues the*

CIRCUS. Sabines. *He finiſhes the* COMMON-SEWERS *and* CIRCUS MAXIMUS *at* Rome. §. III. *His war with the People of* Gabii, *and the cruel ſtratagem whereby he*

Sybil's Books. *becomes maſter of that city.* §. IV. *The adventure of the woman with the* SYBIL'S BOOKS. *The riſe of the written civil law.* Tarquin *builds the temple of* JUPITER

LUCRETIA. CAPITOLINUS. §. V. *He ſends two of his ſons with* Brutus *to conſult the oracle at* Delphos. §. VI. *The rape of* LUCRETIA. *The* Tarquins *are baniſhed,*

CONSULS. *and a* COMMONWEALTH *eſtabliſhed at* Rome, *under* TWO CONSULS *to be annually choſen.*

243.

SECOND BOOK.

From the eſtabliſhment of the ROMAN COMMONWEALTH in the year of *Rome* 243, to the re-building of the City in 365, after the burning of it by the *Gauls.*

CHAP. I.

244. SECT. I. *The ſtate and condition of* Rome *on the abolition of the regal power.* §. II. Tarquin *prevails with the Magiſtrates of* Tarquinii *in* Hetruria *to ſend an Embaſſy to* Rome *in his favour, with a letter from him to the* Roman

Roman *People.* §. III. *A ſecond Embaſſy from the* Tarquinienſes *to the* Romans. *The Ambaſſadors engage ſome of the young* Patricians *in a plot againſt the new Government. It is diſcovered by* Vindicius *a ſlave.* Brutus *condemns his own ſons to death and ſees the execution.* §. IV. Collatinus *is forced to abdicate the Conſulſhip; and* Valerius *is choſen to ſucceed him.* §. V. Tarquin *having ſtirred up the* Tarquinienſes *and* Veientes *to take arms in his cauſe, they come to a battle with the* Romans, *in which* Brutus *is ſlain.* §. VI. *The People entertain a jealouſy of* Valerius's *ambition, but ſoon after give him the name of* Poplicola *or Popular, on account of the laws he makes in their favour, to the diminution of the Conſular Authority. He creates two treaſurers with the title of* QUÆSTORS. BRUTUS's ſeverity. Lex Valeria. QUÆSTORS.

CHAP. II.

§. I. Poplicola *is choſen Conſul a ſecond time, and* T. Lucretius *appointed to be his Collegue.* Porſena, *King of* Cluſium *in* Hetruria, *ſends a threatening embaſſy to* Rome. *The* Romans *chuſe* Poplicola *Conſul a third time, and give him* Horatius Pulvillus *for a Collegue.* §. II. Porſena *in conjunction with ſome of the* Latine *ſtates, marches an army into the neighbourhood of* Rome. *The remarkable bravery of* Horatius Cocles. §. III. *The deſperate enterprize, and wonderful reſolution of* Mucius Scævola. Porſena *intimidated by the courage of the* Romans, *deſiſts from his demand of having the baniſhed King reſtored. He makes a truce with the* Romans, *who refer it to his judgment, whether they ſhall reſtore to* Tarquin *his paternal eſtate or not. The adventure of* Clælia *during the pleadings.* Porſena *renounces the cauſe of* Tarquin *entirely, and makes a peace with the* Romans. §. IV. *The temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus *is conſecrated.* Sp. Lartius *and* T. Herminius *choſen Conſuls. The* Romans *ſhew their gratitude to* Porſena. 245. Porſena. 246. Horatius Cocles. Mucius Scævola. 247.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *The* Romans, *in the Conſulſhip of* M. Valerius, (*brother of* Poplicola;) *and* P. Poſthumius, *make war againſt the* Sabines, *and twice defeat them.* §. II. *The* Sabines *unite in a national body againſt* Rome, *where* Poplicola *is choſen Conſul a fourth time.* Appius Claudius *leaves the* Sabines *and comes over to the* Romans, *with all his followers and dependents. The* Sabines *are again defeated.* §. III. Poplicola *dies. The* Sabines *upon his death take courage, and renew the war, in the Conſulſhip of* P. Poſthumius *and* Menenius Agrippa, *who obtain a ſignal victory over them.* §. IV. *An* OVATION *only is decreed* Poſthumius, *but a* Triumph *to* Menenius. §. V. *The* Sabines *are* ſubdued *in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip of* Sp. Caſſius *and* Opiter Virginius. 248. 249. APPIUS CLAUDIUS. 250. OVATION. 251.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. *The* Latines (*in the Conſulate of* Poſthumius Cominius *and* T. Lartius) *declare for King* Tarquin *againſt the new Republick; but, before they take the field, ſend an Embaſſy to* Rome *with propoſals for an accommodation.* §. II. *A* 252. 253.

conſpiracy is there formed by ſome of Tarquin's *Emiſſaries, who accompany the* Latine *Ambaſſadors. The plot is diſcover'd and prevented, by the Conſuls* Servius Sulpitius *and* Manius Tullius; *and the Ambaſſadors are diſmiſſed with a*
255. *refuſal of their demands.* §. III. *The* Latines *diſpatch a ſecond Embaſſy to* Rome *with offers of peace, upon new conditions; theſe are alſo rejected by the Senate. The* Romans *prepare for war: but when the Conſuls* Titus Lartius, *and* Q. Clœlius, *would make the neceſſary levies, the poorer citizens refuſe to ſerve.* §. IV. *The cruelty of their creditors is the cauſe of this mutiny. The debtors demand an abſolute remiſſion of their debts. Great diſputes ariſe in the Senate on this occaſion. In ſo dangerous a ſituation of affairs they judge it neceſſary to cre-*
DICTATOR. *ate a* DICTATOR, *(a ſovereign uncontroulable Magiſtrate) and to this they get the People's conſent.* §. V. Titus Lartius *is appointed to that ſupreme dignity. The levies for a war are now carried on without difficulty. After very little*
256. *action in the field, a truce is made with the* Latines *for a year; during which the* Roman *women married into* Latium, *and the* Latine *women married at*
257. Rome, *have leave to return to their reſpective countries.* §. VI. *The truce being expired,* Poſthumius *one of the Conſuls is named Dictator, and has the ſole conduct of the war. He gives the* Latines *an entire overthrow in the battle of* Re-
Battle of *Regillus.* gillus; *after which the whole Nation ſubmits.* Tarquin *being obliged to quit*
TARQUIN dies. Latium, *retires to* Cumæ *in* Campania, *and there, in a few months after, dies.*

CHAP. V.

§. I. *The peace concluded with the* Latines *is followed by domeſtic broils at*
258. Rome; *where the Senate get the Conſulſhip for* Appius Claudius *and* P. Servilius. §. II. *The* Volſci *encouraged by the civil feuds among the* Romans, *prepare to fall upon them. The* Plebeians *at* Rome *refuſe to liſt themſelves for the war.* Servilius *with an army of volunteers, who follow him out of perſonal affection, enters the territory of the enemy, and terrifies them into a ſubmiſſion for the preſent; but he has no ſooner led back his army, than they renew their preparations to attack the Republic.* §. III. *While the Senate are conſulting about the levies to be made on this occaſion, a ſudden accident occaſions an inſurrection at* Rome. Servilius *appeaſes the tumult. News comes that the* Volſci *are approaching.* Servilius *by fair promiſes in relation to the debts engages the People to liſt themſelves.* §. IV. *He defeats the enemy, and tho' the Senate refuſe him a triumph at his return, on account of his indulgence to the ſoldiers, he triumphs in ſpight of their oppoſition.* §. V. *After this he takes the field again, and defeats the* AURUNCI. §. VI. *The debtors at his return from the war claim the performance of his promiſes.* Servilius, *not having power to make them good, is treated by the People with contempt. He thereupon becomes their enemy, and the ſedition increaſes.*

CHAP. VI.

259. §. I. *The People refuſe to obey the ſummons of the new Conſuls* (A. Virginius *and* T. Veturius,) *to liſt themſelves for a war againſt the* Sabines, Æqui *and* Volſci. *The Senate, after ſome diſpute among themſelves, agree to create a Dictator.*

tator. Manius Valerius, *a brother of* Poplicola, *is named to that dignity.* §. II. Valerius *prevails with the People to ſerve, by promiſing them full ſatisfaction in relation to their complaints when the war ſhall be over, and by ſuſpending in the mean time all proſecutions for debt. Three armies are raiſed, to be commanded by the Dictator and the two Conſuls. The enemy are defeated on all ſides.* §. III. *The Dictator at his return home demands of the Senate to diſcharge his engagements to the debtors. His demand is rejected. He excuſes himſelf to the People and reſigns the Dictatorſhip.*

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *The diſcontent among the People augments. The Conſuls, to give the mutineers a diverſion, lead their two armies, which they had not yet diſbanded, again into the field. The ſoldiers deſert their Generals, and by the advice of* Sicinnius Bellutus, *retire to a hill three miles from* Rome. §. II. *The Senate diſpatch a deputation to them to perſuade them to return; but in vain.* Poſthumus Cominius *and* Spurius Caſſius *are choſen Conſuls. Warm debates in the Senate. A ſecond deputation is ſent to the mutineers in ſpite of the remonſtrances of* Appius Claudius. §. III. *The artful management of* Sicinnius Bellutus, *and* Junius Brutus, *the two heads of the ſedition, in their conference with the Deputies.* §. IV. Menenius Agrippa *by ſoft words, and by his famous* apologue, *overcomes the obſtinacy of the mutineers; but when they are juſt ready to go back to the city,* Brutus *puts a ſtop to their march till the Senate have agreed to the creation of ſome new officers choſen out of the* Plebeians *to be the future protectors of the People. Theſe officers, ſtiled* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE, *being elected, and their perſons declared* ſacred, *the mutineers return to* Rome.

SECESSION. 260. TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *The* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE *obtain of the Senate, that two officers be annually elected (out of the* Plebeians) *to be their Miniſters and Aſſiſtants; who are afterwards called* ÆDILES. §. II. *The war is renewed againſt the* Volſci. *The* Roman *arms prevail.* Caius Marcius Coriolanus *ſignalizes his courage in this war.* §. III. T. Geganius *and* P. Minucius *are choſen Conſuls.* Rome *ſuffers extremely by a famine, and this calamity revives the civil diſſentions. The Senate, to diſburthen the City, ſend away great numbers of the People to plant two Colonies. The* Plebeians, *who remain at* Rome, *grow more mutinous, in proportion as the famine increaſes.* §. IV. *The* Tribunes *give out, that the dearth of proviſions is owing to the malice of the Senate. The* Conſuls *convene the People to undeceive them. The* Tribunes *diſpute with the* Conſuls *the right of ſpeaking in the Aſſembly. The next day,* A LAW *is paſſed by the People,* Tribuno rogante, *whereby it is made penal to interrupt the* Tribunes *when they are ſpeaking in the* Comitia. Coriolanus, *at the head of ſome volunteers, takes the field and ravages the enemy's territory, ſharing all the ſpoil among his ſoldiers.*

Pleb. Ædiles. 261.

CHAP. IX.

262. §. I. *Plenty of corn being brought to* Rome *from* Sicily (*in the Conſulate of* M. Minucius *and* A. Sempronius) *freſh diſputes ariſe in the Senate about the diſtribution of it.* Coriolanus *is for taking advantage of the people's diſtreſs to get the* Tribuneſhip *aboliſhed. The younger Senators applaud the motion.* §. II. *The* Tribunes, *who had been preſent at this debate, go away in a fury and ſtir up the people to revenge. They cite* Coriolanus *to appear before them. He refuſes. They endeavour to ſeize him as he comes out of the Senate-houſe, but are repulſed by thoſe who attend him. The Conſuls appeaſe the tumult.* §. III. *Early the next morning the* Tribunes *hold an Aſſembly of the People on this affair.* Minucius *the Conſul by gentle words diſpoſes the multitude to peace; but* Coriolanus *ſpoils all by a freſh declaration of the ſame ſentiments which had before offended them. The* Tribunes *condemn him to death. The* Patricians *oppoſe the execution of this raſh ſentence, and the People ſeem not to approve it. The* Tribunes *therefore reſolve to proſecute* Coriolanus *in a legal way, and to convene the People by* Tribes *for his trial. The Aſſembly is adjourned.*

CORIOLANUS.

CHAP. X.

§. I. *The Conſuls endeavour by remonſtrances to allay the heat of the* Tribunes, *and bring them to conform to the ancient uſages, which did not allow* the People *to take cognizance of any affair till it was referred to them by a decree of the Senate. The* Tribunes *conſent to obſerve this rule, and deſire they may be heard by the* Fathers *in relation to their charge againſt* Coriolanus. § II. *The* Tribune Decius *makes a long ſpeech in the Senate, inveighing bitterly againſt the accuſed, and contending for the People's right to judge him.* §. III. Appius Claudius *in very ſtrong terms oppoſes this pretenſion.* §. IV. *But* Valerius *in terms no leſs ſtrong, urges the expediency of the Senate's compliance. He exhorts* Coriolanus *in the moſt pathetic manner to ſubmit himſelf to the People's judgement; and he adds a diſcourſe in behalf of a balance of power between the* Patricians *and* Plebeians. §. V. *It is carried by a majority of votes that* Coriolanus *ſhall be tried by* THE PEOPLE. Coriolanus *having aſſurances given him, that the Accuſers charge ſhall be confined to the ſingle crime of Tyranny, conſents to the drawing up of the decree.*

CHAP. XI.

§. I. *The day being come for* Coriolanus's *trial, a diſpute ariſes between the Conſuls and* Tribunes, *whether the People ſhall give their ſuffrages by* CENTURIES, *according to the ancient cuſtom, or by* TRIBES, *which had never yet been practiſed. The* Tribunes, *who are for the latter, prevail.* §. II. Coriolanus's *cauſe is heard. He is condemned to baniſhment, and leaves* Rome.

COMITIA BY TRIBES.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

§. I. *The* Plebeians *exult upon the victory they have gained over the* Patricians *in the affair of* Coriolanus. *The* Romans *having now no war abroad, nor ſquabble at home to employ them, turn their minds wholly to ſuperſtition, during the Conſulate of* Q. Sulpicius *and* Sp. Lartius. §. II. *The* Tribunes *from a political view perſuade the People at the next election of* Conſuls *to chuſe men of little ſpirit, and mean abilities for war. Their choice falls upon* C. Julius *and* P. Pinarius Rufus. §. III. *In the mean time,* Coriolanus *retires privately to* Antium, *one of the principal cities of the* Volſci, *diſcovers himſelf to* Attius Tullus, *General of that Nation, offers him his ſervice againſt* Rome, *and is nobly received by him.* §. IV. *Theſe two Generals concert a ſtratagem to ſtir up the* Volſci *to renew the war with the* Romans. Coriolanus *is introduced by* Tullus *into the Aſſembly of the* Volſcian *States, and there makes a ſpeech, which is highly applauded. They reſolve upon war, and to commit the conduct of it to* Tullus *and* Coriolanus; *but firſt, by the advice of the latter, ſend an embaſſy to* Rome, *to make ſuch demands of the Republic, as they are ſure will be rejected. The* Volſcian *Ambaſſadors are diſmiſſed by the* Roman *Senate with a haughty anſwer.* 263. 264.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. Coriolanus *at the head of a* Volſcian *army recovers from the* Romans *all the towns they had taken from the* Volſci; *carries ſeveral cities in* Latium *by aſſault, and then leads his troops within five miles of* Rome; *where new Conſuls are choſen,* Sp. Nautius *and* Sex. Furius. §. II. *The People terrified at his approach cry out to have the ſentence of his baniſhment reverſed. The* Patricians *oppoſe it. He marches to* Rome *and inveſts it. The Senate and People agree to ſue to him for peace. Three Deputations are ſent to him ſucceſſively, to perſuade him to deſiſt from his demands in favour of the* Volſci; *but all in vain.* §. III. *The Mother and Wife of* Coriolanus *go attended by all the* Roman *Ladies of diſtinction to make a fourth attempt upon his reſolution.* §. IV. *The interview and conference between* Coriolanus *and his Mother, who prevails upon him to raiſe the ſiege of* Rome; *after which he is aſſaſſinated by the* Volſci. 265.

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *Two brave and able Captains,* Aquilius Tuſcus *and* Sicinius Sabinus, *being promoted to the Conſulate, they recover the reputation of the* Roman *arms by the victories they obtain over the* Volſci *and* Hernici. § II. *They are ſucceeded by* Sp. Caſſius (*now a third time Conſul*) *and* Proculus Virginius. Caſſius *concludes an alliance with the* Hernici *upon terms which diſpleaſe the Senate.* §. III. *He aſpires to make himſelf King of* Rome; *and to gain the People, propoſes for the firſt time the* Agrarian Law (*or the law for dividing the conquered lands among the citizens of* Rome) *and that the* Latines *and the* Hernici (*newly* 266. 267. Sp. Caſſius. Agrarian Law.

(*newly become allies of* Rome, *and admitted to the rights of citizenſhip*) *ma ſhare with the* Romans *in that diſtribution.* §. IV. *The oppoſition of the Nobles to the paſſing of this law, with the reaſons of that oppoſition.* §. V. *The Conſul* Virginius *and even the* Tribunes *oppoſe it.* §. VI. *The artful conduct of the Tribune* Rabuleius *to draw an advantage to the People from the diſpute between the Conſuls.* §. VII. Caſſius *to get his law paſſed brings great numbers of* Latines *and* Hernici *to* Rome *to vote for it. His Collegue orders them to leave the city.* §. VIII. *The Senate, to quiet the contention, decree a* Partition *of the conquered*
268. *lands, but poſtpone the execution of their decree till the Conſuls elect* (Q. Fabius *and*
Death of Caſſius. Serv. Cornelius) *ſhall have entered upon their office.* §. IV. Caſſius *is arraigned before the People for treaſon, condemned and executed.*

CHAP. XV.

§. I. *The People regret the death of* Caſſius. *The Senate find means to divert*
269. *them a while from the affair of the* AGRARIAN LAW. §. II. L. Æmilius *with* Cæſo Fabius, *and* M. Fabius *with* L. Valerius *are ſucceſſively choſen*
270. *Conſuls. In the Conſulſhip of the latter the war with the* Volſci *breaking out afreſh, the Tribune* Mænius *proteſts againſt any levies for the ſervice, till ſomething effectual be done in relation to the* Agrarian Law. *The Conſuls by a ſtratagem get the better of his oppoſition.* §. III. *The Senate at the next Aſſembly for*
APPIUS CLAUDIUS II. *chuſing Conſuls endeavour to obtain that dignity for* Appius Claudius (the ſon of the firſt *Appius* ſo often mentioned.) *The* Tribunes *to hinder it excite ſuch a tumult, that there is no poſſibility of proceeding in the election. The Republic falls into an* Interregnum. Sp. Lartius *being* Interrex *quiets the contention between*
271. *the two parties. They agree to give the Faſces to* C. Julius *and* Q. Fabius, *the firſt a creature of the* Tribunes, *the ſecond a man zealous for the Senate. Theſe Conſuls take the field againſt the* Veientes; *and for a while all is quiet at* Rome.
272. §. IV. *The next election raiſes new diſputes.* Sp. Furius *and* Cæſo Fabius (*a ſecond time*) *are choſen, each party having a Conſul to its liking. The Tribune* Icilius, *in imitation of* Mænius, *oppoſes the neceſſary levies for a war with the* Æqui *and* Veientes. Appius Claudius *ſuggeſts a ſtratagem to the Senate by which they carry their point againſt* Icilius. *The Conſuls take the field.*

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. *The Troops commanded by* Cæſo Fabius, *not liking their General, will*
273. *not ſuffer him to gain any honour in the compaign.* §. II. M. Fabius (*a ſecond time*) *and* Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus *are elected to the Conſulate. They obtain a ſignal victory over the* Hetrurians, *chiefly by the bravery of the* Fabii, *who from*
274. *this time become popular.* §. III. Cæſo Fabius (*a third time*) *and* T. Virginius
Fabian family. *are choſen Conſuls.* Cæſo *defeats the* Æqui *and* Veientes. §. IV. *The* Fabian *family undertake alone to guard the frontiers againſt the* Veientes. Cæſo *as*
275. *ſoon as he has reſigned the Faſces* (*to* L. Æmilius *and* C. Servilius) *joins the reſt*
PROCONSUL. *of his family in quality of* PROCONSUL, *a new invented dignity.* §. V. *The* Romans *carry on the war againſt the* Æqui, Volſci *and* Veientes. Æmilius *af-*

ter a ſucceſsful campaign againſt the laſt is refuſed a triumph. He ſeeks to revenge himſelf on the Senate. §. VI. *In the ſucceeding Conſulſhip (of* C. Horatius *and* T. Menenius) *all* Hetruria *declares war againſt* Rome. *The miſerable fate of the* Fabii. *The* Hetrurian *arms prevail. But the next year's Conſuls* (A. Virginius *and* P. Servilius) *give the enemy an entire overthrow.* 276. 277.

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. *The* Tribunes *not being able to carry their point in relation to the* AGRARIAN LAW, *turn their rage againſt ſome* Conſulars, *who when in power had oppoſed them.* Menenius, *the laſt year's Conſul, is accuſed before the People, and condemned in a fine.* §. II. *His ſucceſſor* Servilius *is maliciouſly proſecuted as ſoon as he has reſigned the Faſces to* P. Valerius *and* C. Nautius, *but he is honourably acquitted. In this and in the following Conſulſhip (of* Aulus Manlius *and* L. Furius) *war is carried on with ſucceſs againſt ſeveral of the neighbouring States.* §. III. *The ſucceeding Conſuls,* L. Æmilius *(a third time choſen) and* Vopiſcus Julius, *are publickly called upon by the Tribune* Genucius, *to name the Commiſſioners for the* Partition of the Lands. *Finding that the Conſuls ſhun meddling in that affair, he begins a criminal proceſs againſt their predeceſſors* Manlius *and* Furius, *for having neglected the naming of thoſe Commiſſioners. The trial is prevented by the ſudden death of* Genucius. 278. 279. 280.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the Conſuls after the Death of* Genucius, *in relation to* P. VOLERO; *whom, tho' he had been an Officer, they would oblige to liſt himſelf for a common ſoldier. The People riſe, and the Conſuls hide themſelves.* §. II. L. Pinarius *and* P. Furius *ſucceed to the Conſulate, and* VOLERO *is choſen a Tribune of the People.* VOLERO *propoſes a Law for electing the* Tribunes *in the* Comitia by Tribes. *The Diſputes on this head are interrupted by a plague.* §. III. *The Senate get the Conſulſhip for* Appius Claudius *and* T. Quinctius. *The two Collegues differ about the means to defeat* VOLERO's *project.* §. IV. VOLERO *renews the propoſal of his Law in an Aſſembly of the People.* Quinctius *by ſoft words diſpoſes the People to reject it: But* Appius *by a Speech full of pride and heat, ruins the effect of what his Collegue had ſaid. The Tribune* Lætorius *commands* Appius *to leave the Aſſembly, and even orders him to be led to priſon. A ſcuffle enſues. Night puts an end to the Diſorder.* §. V. *The Tumult is renewed the next morning.* Quinctius *by prudent management quiets it, and prevails with the Senate to let* VOLERO's *Law paſs.* 281. VOLERO's LAW. 282. Lætorius.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *The Conſuls lead two armies into the field againſt the* Æqui *and* Volſci. Appius's *troops, that he may have no claim to a* TRIUMPH, *refuſe to fight the enemy. He puniſhes them with the utmoſt ſeverity, and returns to* Rome. §. II. *The affair of the* Agrarian Law *being revived in the Conſulſhip*

283. *of his ſucceſſors* (L. Valerius (*a ſecond time Conſul*) *and* T. Æmilius) *he oppoſes the* Tribunes *with more heat than ever. They cite him before the* People, *as an enemy to the public liberty. He kills himſelf.* §. III. *The* Tribunes *reſume the affair of the* Conquered Lands, *but drop it again till the cloſe of the next Conſulſhip* (*of* A. Virginius *and* T. Numicius) *when no* Plebeian *appears in the*
284. *Comitia, where* T. Quinctius (*a ſecond time*) *and* Q. Servilius *are choſen to that*
285. *dignity. Theſe Conſuls, to keep things quiet at home, buſy the People in various*
286. *wars.* §. IV. *The domeſtic diſſentions begin afreſh in the Conſulſhip of* T. Æmilius (*a ſecond time Conſul*) *and* Q. Fabius. Æmilius *favours the People in relation to the* Agrarian Law. Fabius *without promoting that affair falls upon an expedient to ſtop their complaints.* §. V. *He then takes the field, and reduces*
287. *the* Æqui *to aſk peace; who nevertheleſs in the next Conſulate of* Sp. Poſthumius *and* Q. Servilius (*now a ſecond time Conſul*) *begin to ſtir again; and in the fol-*
288. *lowing year, when* T. Quinctius (*a third time*) *and* Q. Fabius (*a ſecond time*)
289. *are Conſuls, the war breaks out anew; it is continued by their ſucceſſors,* A. Poſthumius *and* Sp. Furius, *to the advantage of the* Romans. §. VI. *In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* P. Servilius Priſcus *and* L. Æbutius Elva, *a moſt dreadful plague rages in the city. The* Æqui *and* Volſci *appear before* Rome, *but ſoon retire; and the* Romans *the next year, under the command of the new*
291. *Conſuls* (L. Lucretius *and* T. Veturius) *give them an entire overthrow.*

CHAP. XX.

TERENTIAN LAW.

§. I. *During the abſence of the Conſuls from* Rome, Terentius Arſa, *one of the* Tribunes, *propoſes to the People, that there ſhould be an eſtabliſhment of* FIXED LAWS to be the RULE to the Magiſtrates in deciding cauſes between man and man. §. II. Q. Fabius, *Governor of the City, warmly oppoſes it, and ſends to the Conſuls to return to* Rome. Terentius *on their arrival ſuſpends the purſuit of his deſign.* §. III. *But the affair is revived in the ſucceeding*
292. *Conſulate of* P. Volumnius *and* S. Sulpitius. *Great conteſts about it. A ſtop put to it by prodigies and ill omens.* §. IV. *The Law is again propoſed. The contending parties come to blows.* Quinctius Cæſo, *the ſon of* Quinctius Cincinnatus, *is cited before the* Commons *for the violent part he had acted in thoſe ſcuffles.* §. V. *He has not courage to appear on the day appointed for his trial. His uncle* T. Quinctius *appears for him.* Cæſo *is falſly acuſed of murder. The deciſion of the cauſe is deferred to another day; before the coming of which,* Cæſo *baniſhes himſelf.*

CHAP. XXI.

§. I. *Notwithſtanding the violent proceedings of the* Tribunes *againſt* Cæſo,
293. *the* Patricians *keep ſteady in their oppoſition to the* Terentian Law; *and the bet-*
C. Claudius. *ter to maintain their ground, they get* C. Claudius (*brother of that* Appius Claudius, *who killed himſelf*) *into the Conſulſhip.* (P. Valerius, *now a ſecond time Conſul, is given him for a Collegue.*) *The* Tribunes *deſpairing of victory in a fair open conteſt, combine together to deſtroy the better part of the* Senate; *and in order thereto, pretend to have diſcovered a Plot upon the public liberty.* Claudius

expoſes

expoſes their malice and forgeries before the People, *and thereby quaſhes their wicked deſign.*

CHAP. XXII.

§. I. *Theſe civil broils among the* Romans *encourage one* HERDONIUS *a private* Sabine *to attempt the conqueſt of* Rome. *At the head of* 4000 *men he ſurpriſes the* CAPITOL. *The* Tribunes *take advantage of this public diſtreſs, and before they will conſent to let the People arm, inſiſt upon a promiſe from the Conſuls, that they will not oppoſe the paſſing of the* Terentian Law. Claudius *rejects the condition, but* Valerius *makes the promiſe required, and prevails with the People to march againſt the enemy, and take an oath not to lay down their arms without the Conſuls leave.* Valerius *is killed in the attack of the* Capitol. *Nevertheleſs the* Romans *carry the place, and* Herdonius *is ſlain.* HERDONIUS ſeizes the Capitol.

CHAP. XXIII.

§. I. C. Claudius *is cited by the* Tribunes *to perform the promiſe of his deceaſed Collegue. He defers it under various pretences; and at length refuſes to do any thing in the affair, till a new Conſul be elected in the room of* Valerius. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus *is choſen to that dignity in his abſence, to the terror of the People who had ſo lately baniſhed his ſon* Cæſo. *The Deputies from the Senate who carry* Quinctius *the news of his election, find him driving the plough.* Quinctius Cincinnatus.
§. II. *He comes to* Rome, *convenes a general Aſſembly, reproves both Senate and People for their paſt behaviour, and threatens the latter (whoſe oath of obedience to the Conſuls was ſtill binding) to lead them into the field, and make them paſs the winter there. By this and other arts, which he employs, he makes the* Tribunes *deſiſt from their purſuit of the* Terentian Law. §. III. Virginius Volſcius, *and the other* Tribunes, *get themſelves continued in their employment for another year, notwithſtanding a Decree of the Senate expreſsly made to hinder any citizen from ſtanding two years together for the ſame office. The Senate hereupon are for continuing* Quinctius *a ſecond year in the conſulate, but he rejects the motion with indignation, and reprimands them for ſhewing ſo little regard to their own Decrees. The Faſces are transferred to* Q. Fabius *and* L. Cornelius; *and* Quinctius *returns to his plough. The Quæſtors commence a proſecution againſt* Volſcius, *for having born falſe witneſs againſt* Quinctius's *ſon* Cæſo; *but the* Tribunes *put a ſtop to it, and the Senate make this a pretext for continuing their oppoſition to the* Terentian Law. 294.

CHAP. XXIV.

§. I. *The Conſuls of the preſent year are ſucceſsful in war againſt the* Æqui *and* Volſci. *But the next year, when* C. Nautius *and* L. Minucius *are Conſuls, the latter having the conduct of the war againſt the* Æqui, *ſuffers himſelf to be ſo ſhut up by the enemy in a valley, that his whole army is in danger of periſhing by hunger. His Collegue being employed againſt the* Latines, *and therefore unable to aſſiſt him, names* Quinctius Cincinnatus *Dictator. This great man being fetched again from his plough, puts himſelf at the head of a ſtrong army,*

my, expeditiously marches against the Æqui, blocks them up in their camp as closely as they had blocked up Minucius, and reduces them to surrender on his own terms. He then degrades Minucius from the Consulate, and refuses to let the soldiers, whom he had rescued from danger, have any part of the enemies spoils. They nevertheless in gratitude to him, make him a present of a crown of gold. He has a triumph at his return to Rome; and the 16th day after his promotion to the Dictatorship, resigns that office, and retires once more into the country, his son Cæso being first recalled from banishment. §. II. The Senate in the next Con-
296. sulate (of C. Horatius and Q. Minucius) recal Quinctius again to Rome to set him up against the Tribunes, who refuse the necessary levies for a war with the Æqui and Sabines, unless the Terentian Law be first passed. Quinctius advises the Senate and the whole body of the Patricians to take arms: They accordingly repair all armed to the Forum, where Horatius convenes an Assembly of the People, and reproaches them with their baseness and cowardice. The Tribune Virginius seeing the multitude moved by the Consul's speech, consents to drop the affair of the Law, and to wave his opposition to the levies, provided the Senate will suffer the number of the Tribunes to be augmented to ten. C. Claudius opposes this motion, but Quinctius declaring that he thinks it may turn to the Senate's advantage to comply with it, his opinion prevails, and the People are allow-
Ten Tribunes. ed to chuse TEN TRIBUNES.

CHAP. XXV.

§. I. Icilius, chief of the Tribunes, proposes that mount Aventine may be yield-
297. ed to the People. The Consuls M. Valerius and Sp. Virginius looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the Agrarian Law, and deferring therefore to convene the Senate for the hearing and debating it, Icilius sends an Officer to them, commanding them to assemble the Senate forthwith, and to repair to it themselves. The messenger, by order of the Consuls, is chastised for his insolence by one of their Lictors. The Tribunes cause the Lictor to be seized, and the Senate, to save his life, are obliged to yield to the People the ground they demand. §. II. The concessions of the Senate make the Tribunes still more pre-
298. sumptuous. T. Romilius and C. Vaturius (Consuls for the next year) attempting to force the citizens to list themselves for a war in spite of the opposition of the Tribunes, the latter order the Ædiles to seize those supreme Magistrates and lead them to prison. The Patricians hinder by force the execution of this order. The Tribunes hereupon cite the Consuls to appear before an Assembly of the People. Their citation being disregarded, they apply to the Senate for a Decree, empowering the People to try the Consuls. Romilius answers them with reproaches and menaces, and nothing is determined that day. §. III. The Tribunes without any further soliciting a Senatus-consultum, resolve to get the Consuls condemned by the People in a fine; but when the day for the Assembly comes, they drop that de-
Sicinius Dentatus. sign, and propose anew the Agrarian and Terentian Laws. Sicinius Dentatus, an old soldier, makes a notable speech in relation to the former. The Assembly is adjourned to the next day; and then the Patricians by violence hinder the suffrages from being collected. The following day the People being again assembled, empower

empower their Tribunes *to make enquiry after the Authors of the Tumult. The miſdemeanour is charged upon three eminent* Patrician *families; and the Senate, to pacify the People, ſuffer the eſtates of the delinquents to be confiſcated without oppoſition.* §. IV. *During theſe contentions, the Conſuls are obliged to lead an army into the field againſt the* Æqui. Sicinius Dentatus *ſerves as volunteer in this war at the head of* 800 *Veterans.* Romilius *orders him with his company upon a deſperate enterprize.* Sicinius *remonſtrates againſt it, but nevertheleſs obeys; and he ſucceeds ſo well, as to occaſion the total defeat of the enemy by the Conſuls; afterwards he marches to* Rome, *complains to the People of the General's tyranny, and prevails with them to refuſe him a triumph. And in the following Conſulate (of* Sp. Tarpeius *and* A. Æternius) Sicinius *being choſen* Tribune, Romilius *and* Veturius *are accuſed before the People for miſconduct during their Magiſtracy, and fined. A Law is alſo paſſed empowering any Magiſtrate to impoſe a fine for diſobedience.* 299.

CHAP. XXVI.

§. I. *The* Tribunes *finding they cannot by any means bring the Conſuls to hear of the* Agrarian Law, *return to the purſuit of the* Terentian. Romilius, *whom the People had lately fined, takes part with them on this occaſion. At his motion both Senate and People agree to ſend Deputies to* Athens *to copy out the Laws of* Solon *and of the other Law-givers of* Greece, *in order to form thereby a body of* Roman *Law, to be the future rule to the Magiſtrates in all the parts of their adminiſtration. The next year (when* Sextus Quintilius *and* P. Horatius *are Conſuls) there is neither war abroad, nor contention at home, but* Rome *is dreadfully afflicted by a plague.* 300. §. II. *In the following Conſulate of* P. Seſtius *and* T. Menenius, *the Deputies return from* Greece. *The People preſs the nomination of the ten Commiſſioners or* Decemvirs, *who are to compile the new Laws. The Conſuls, to avoid proceeding in this affair, inſiſt upon a previous election of their ſucceſſors, under whoſe adminiſtration it is to be ſettled.* Appius Claudius *(ſon of that* Appius *who killed himſelf, and grandſon of the firſt* Appius*) is choſen with* T. Genucius. *After this* Menenius *pretends ſickneſs. The Conſuls elect, to pleaſe the People, offer to forego their pretenſions to the Conſulate, rather than hinder the immediate nomination of the* Decemvirs. Seſtius, *the Collegue of* Menenius, *aſſembles the Senate, where it is carried by a majority, to create* Decemvirs, *and the* Tribunes, *after ſome ſtruggle, conſent to let them be all* Patricians. 301. Appius Claudius III. §. III. *The election is made in the* Comitia *by* Centuries, *where* Appius *is the firſt named. The* Decemvirs *having entered upon their office, behave themſelves much to the ſatisfaction of the People. They compoſe* Ten Tables of Laws, *which are approved by the* Centuries aſſembled. 302. Decemvirat. Government and Laws.

CHAP. XXVII.

Fragments of the Ten Tables *of Laws beforementioned, as they have been collected and digeſted by the learned Jeſuits* Catrou *and* Rouillé, *and alſo of the* Two Tables *of Laws ſoon after added to the* Ten.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

§. I. *The* People *and* Senate *agree to have the ſame ſort of government continued for another year, in order to the adding two tables of Laws to the ten already eſtabliſhed. The Collegues of* Appius *ſuſpecting him of ambitious views, declare him Preſident of the Aſſembly where the ſecond election of* Decemvirs *is to be made, thinking thereby to hinder him from being one of the candidates. But* Appius, *in ſpite of all decency, names himſelf the firſt, and not only gains the voices of the Aſſembly in his own favour, but in favour of nine men (three of them* Plebeians) *all devoted to his will; to the excluſion of all his late Collegues, and of*
303. *the beſt men in the Republic.* §. II. *The new* Decemvirs *privately agree to make their authority perpetual. They exerciſe an abſolute and cruel tyranny.* C. Claudius, *the uncle of* Appius, *would reprove him for his conduct, but cannot get admittance to him. Two new tables of laws are drawn up.* §. III. *The*
304. *year of the* Decemvirs *Government being expired, they continue themſelves in office by their own authority. They convene the Senate in order to obtain a levy of troops to oppoſe the incurſions of the* Æqui *and* Sabines. Valerius, *an avowed enemy of the* Decemvirs, *in the warmth of his zeal, riſes up to ſpeak before his turn.* Appius *commands him ſilence, and not being obey'd, threatens to puniſh him as an incendiary.* Horatius *anſwers the* Decemvir *in a bold ſpeech, which makes him ſoften his tone and manner.* Appius *deſires his uncle* C. Claudius *to give his opinion. The uncle with great frankneſs reproves his nephew for all his vices and tyranny, and exhorts him to diveſt himſelf of a power which he held only by uſurpation, and which in the end would prove fatal to him. He concludes with declaring againſt any levies of troops till the* Conſulſhip *be reſtored. The* Quinctii, *and all the other eminent members of the Senate are of the ſame opinion. The majority is nevertheleſs for empowering the* Decemvirs *to raiſe troops and to command them; which* Appius *perceiving, then calls upon* Valerius *to ſpeak his opinion.* Valerius *declares for naming a Dictator, and moves to have the queſtion put, and this motion is ſeconded; but the other party cry out that the affair is already determined, and the care of the war given to the* Decemvirs. *A Decree to that effect is accordingly drawn up.* §. IV. Valerius *and* Horatius, *to ſecure themſelves from being inſulted by the* Decemvirs, *keep guards about their perſons. Many of the Senators and other principal citizens retire into the country.* Appius *confiſcates their eſtates.* §. V. Fabius, *with two other of the* Decemvirs, *leads an army againſt the* Sabines. *Five other* Decemvirs *lead five legions againſt the* Æqui. Appius *and* Oppius *ſtay with a body of troops in* Rome. *Nothing ſucceeds in the two camps, the ſoldiers being reſolved not to conquer.* Sicinius Dentatus, *that old ſoldier, who had been in* 120 *battles, publickly gives out at* Rome, *that the misfortunes of the campaign are owing to the incapacity of the Generals.* Appius *hereupon contrives, in concert with the* Decemvirs *who command againſt the* Sabines, *to get him treacherouſly murdered. The diſcovery and report of ſo deteſtable a villany diſpoſes the ſoldiers to a revolt.*

Sicinius Dentatus treacherouſly murdered.

CHAP. XXIX.

§. I. Appius *(at* Rome) *falls in love with* Virginia, *the daughter of a* Plebeian *named* Virginius, *a centurion in the army employ'd againſt the* Æqui. *To get her into his power, having in vain tried to corrupt her nurſe, he concerts a ſtratagem with* M. Claudius *one of his clients.* Claudius *ſeizes the girl as a ſlave belonging to him, and leads her before the* Decemvirs *Tribunal, there to have his right legally confirmed to him. He pretends that* Virginia *was born of one of his ſlaves, and that* Numitoria, *the wife of* Virginius, *had (in concert with the mother of the girl) impoſed her upon* Virginius *as her own child, ſhe herſelf being barren.* §. II. Numitorius, *the uncle of* Virginia, *demands that the deciſion of the affair may be ſuſpended, and his niece left under his care till her father can be fetched from the camp. The* Decemvir *finds reaſons for refuſing this requeſt: But* Icilius, *to whom* Virginia *had been promiſed in marriage, coming into court juſt in this inſtant, ſpirits up the People to ſuch a pitch of fury, that* Appius *thinks fit to comply.* Virginius *is ſent for, and arrives at* Rome, *notwithſtanding the ſecret meaſures taken by* Appius *to intercept him on the road.* §. III. *The cauſe is heard, and the impoſture of* Claudius *made manifeſt to all preſent.* Appius *nevertheleſs making himſelf a witneſs in the affair, and pretending conſcience, decrees* Virginia *to his client. The father hereupon, to hinder his daughter from being diſhonoured, ſtabs her, and then haſtens back to the army, leaving the city in a great commotion, which* Valerius *and* Horatius *take care to augment.* §. IV. *The ſoldiers upon hearing the tragical ſtory from* Virginius *revolt from their Generals, return to* Rome, *and encamp on Mount* Aventine. §. V. *The Senate being convened by the Decemvir* Oppius, *diſpatch three of their body to them, to queſtion them upon their deſertion. The ſoldiers unanimouſly cry out, to have* Valerius *and* Horatius *ſent to them, and they give no other anſwer. This army is ſoon after joined by all the ſoldiers of the other, who are equally incenſed againſt the* Decemvirs, *by the complaints of* Icilius. *The Senate is for ſending* Valerius *and* Horatius *to the mutineers; but thoſe two Senators refuſe to go unleſs the* Decemvirs *depoſe themſelves. The latter reject this condition, 'till they hear that the armies are marched to the* Mons Sacer; *they then promiſe to lay down their authority.* §. VI. Valerius *and* Horatius *repair to the* Mons Sacer, *and prevail with the army, upon a promiſe of the ancient Government's being reſtored, to return to* Rome; *but the ſoldiers before they ſeparate chuſe their* Tribunes; *and ſoon after* Valerius *and* Horatius *are named* Conſuls. §. VII. *Theſe popular Magiſtrates get ſeveral new laws paſſed in favour of the People.* §. VIII. Virginius *being now one of the* Tribunes, *impeaches* Appius *for his conduct as a Judge in relation to* Virginia; *and inſiſts upon his making his defence immediately, or being impriſoned till the day of trial.* Appius *appeals to the* People, *but in vain. He is carried to priſon. His uncle* C. Claudius *ſollicits for his enlargement without ſucceſs.* Appius *dies in priſon. His Collegue* Oppius *being tried and condemned dies alſo in priſon the day of his commitment. The other* Decemvirs *all baniſh themſelves.* Claudius *the client and miniſter of* Appius *is condemned to death, yet ſuffers only baniſhment. The*

VIRGINIA.

Tribune Duilius *puts a ſtop to all further proſecutions, relating to the tyranny of the* Decemvirs.

CHAP. XXX.

§. I. *The Conſuls take the field.* Valerius *defeats the* Æqui *and* Volſci, *and* Horatius *the* Sabines. *Nevertheleſs the Senate, being diſſatisfied with their too popular adminiſtration, and being eſpecially moved by a ſpeech of* C. Claudius, *who inveighs bitterly againſt them, reject their petition for a triumph. Hereupon they apply to the People, and obtain of them, by means of the* Tribunes, *what the Senate had refuſed.* §. II. *The* Tribunes *form a deſign of getting themſelves perpetuated in the Tribuneſhip, and* Horatius *and* Valerius *in the Conſulate.* Duilius *diſliking this project of his Collegues, contrives to defeat that part of it which related to the Conſuls, by engaging theſe to declare publickly, that they will not* hold over *after their year is expired, though the People ſhould deſire it. He then holds the Aſſembly for electing* Tribunes; *and by his influence, joined with the Senate's, five new ones are choſen; after which, finding that he cannot prevail with the Tribes to fill the other five places with new Magiſtrates, he diſmiſſes the Aſſembly, referring the completion of the whole number of ten* Tribunes *to the five already elected. Theſe five, among thoſe they aſſociate with them in their office, name two* Patricians. (Lartius Herminius *and* T. Virginius *are choſen Conſuls.* TREBONIUS ASPER, *one of the* Plebeian Tribunes, *ſhortly after gets a Law paſſed, forbidding the* Tribunes *the practice of* Co-optation. §. III. *The next year (when* M. Geganius *and* C. Julius *are Conſuls) produces nothing remarkable. But in the ſucceeding Conſulate (of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus *and* Agrippa Furius) *the old diſſentions are renewed; inſomuch that though the* Æqui *and* Volſci, *taking advantage of theſe diſorders, ravage the country to the very gates of* Rome, *the* Tribunes *oppoſe the neceſſary levies of troops to repulſe them: But* Quinctius *gets the better of this oppoſition, by a ſpeech he makes to the People. The Conſuls rout the enemy, and make a great ſlaughter of them.* §. IV. *The* Roman People *diſhonour themſelves by a judgment they give in a cauſe referred to their arbitration by the cities of* Ardea *and* Aricia.

Co-optation.

305. Trebonian Law.

306.

307. Quinctius Capitolinus.

Unjuſt decree of the Roman people.

CHAP. XXXI.

§. I. *The* Commons *of* Rome (*in the Conſulate of* M. Genucius *and* C. Curtius,) *demand that* Plebeians *may be admitted into the Conſulſhip, and that the law prohibiting* Patricians *and* Plebeians *from inter-marrying may be repealed.* Canuleius *one of the* Tribunes *declares to the Senate in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he will conſtantly oppoſe all levies of troops, let the want of them be never ſo preſſing, till theſe conceſſions are made to the* People. §. II. C. Claudius *in a private Aſſembly of the oldeſt Senators, moves to have recourſe to arms and violence, rather than yield to theſe demands. But* T. Quinctius *and the majority of the Aſſembly think it better to comply than come to a rupture with the* People. Claudius *hereupon, to hinder the debaſing of the Conſulſhip, makes this new*

308.

Canuleius.

new propoſal, that inſtead of Conſuls, a certain number of MILITARY TRIBUNES *be choſen partly out of the* Senate, *and partly from among the* Commons; *and that theſe new Magiſtrates be inveſted with Conſular power. This project being approved, the* Senate *is aſſembled, and the* Tribunes *are called to it, to give their reaſons in behalf of the new laws which they demand.* Canuleius, *inſtead of ſpeaking to the matter in hand, inveighs againſt the Conſuls for holding ſecret Aſſemblies, from which* Horatius *and* Valerius *are excluded. The Conſul* Genucius *gives a ſatisfactory anſwer to this complaint. After* Valerius *and* Horatius *have ſpoken in favour of the* People, *and* Claudius *againſt them, the Conſul's brother* T. Genucius *makes the propoſal which had been ſuggeſted by* C. Claudius. *In concluſion it is approved by* Senate *and* People, *and ſix* MILITARY TRIBUNES (*three of each order*) *are to take the place of two* Conſuls. §. III. *But when the day of election comes, the* People *will not give their voices to any but* Patricians; *and only three* Military Tribunes *are elected. Theſe are obliged ſoon after to abdicate on account of ſome defect in their inauguration; and two* Conſuls (L. Papirius *and* L. Sempronius) *are choſen to govern the Republic the remainder of the year.* §. IV. *Under the ſucceeding adminiſtration of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus (*a fifth time Conſul*) *and* M. Geganius (*a ſecond time*) *the* CENSORSHIP *is eſtabliſhed.*

MILITARY TRIBUNES. 309.

CENSORS. 310.

CHAP. XXXII.

§. I. *The* Romans *put an end to the civil war among the* Ardeates. §. II. *The next year's Conſuls,* M. Fabius *and* Poſthumius Æbutius, *make the* Ardeates *ſome amends for the wrongs the* Romans *had done them on occaſion of their conteſt with the* Aricians. *This year proves a year of peace, as does alſo the following year, when the Government is in the hands of* C. Furius *and* M. Papirius. §. III. *But in the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Proculus Geganius *and* L. Menenius, a Roman *Knight named* Sp. Mælius *aſpires to the ſovereign power. Being a rich corn-merchant, he during a dearth of proviſions wins the meaner ſort of people by a free diſtribution of corn, and ſome of their* Tribunes *by money. He cauſes great quantities of arms to be brought into his houſe by night. His deſigns are diſcovered by* Minucius, *Superintendant of proviſions, in the Conſulate of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus (*now a ſixth time Conſul*) *and* Agrippa Menenius. Quinctius *on this occaſion names his brother* Quinctius Cincinnatus *Dictator, who appoints* Servilius Ahala *to be his General of the Horſe.* Mælius *being ſummoned to appear before the* Dictator's *Tribunal, and not obeying, is ſlain by* Servilius. *Three of the* Tribunes, *provoked at this action, ſtir up the* People *to mutiny; and the* Patricians, *to pacify them, conſent to the creation of* Military Tribunes *for the next year. None but* Patricians *are choſen to that office.*

311.

312.

313.

Sp. Mælius, the corn-merchant.

314.

315.

CHAP. XXXIII.

§. I. Fidenæ *revolts from the* Romans, *and puts itſelf under the protection of* Tolumnius, *King of the* Veientes. *The* Romans *prepare for war, and thinking it adviſeable to have conſuls to conduct it,* M. Geganius (*a third time*) *and* L. Ser-

316. L. Sergius *are choſen; but theſe ſoon reſign the care of the war to a* Dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, *who defeats the enemy in a pitched battle, wherein* Cornelius Coſſus *a legionary* Tribune *kills* Tolumnius *and ſtrips him of his armour.*

317. §. II. *In the following Conſulate of* M. Cornelius *and* L. Papirius, *a* Tribune *named* Sp. Mælius *commences a proſecution againſt* Servilius *and* Minucius, *for the death of* Mælius *the corn-merchant. The hiſtorians are not agreed about the iſſue of it.* §. III. *The* Veientes *and* Fidenates *renew the war during the*

318. *Conſulate of* Julius Iulus *and* L. Virginius, *when the* Romans *are ſorely diſtreſſed by a plague.* Q. Servilius Priſcus *being named* Dictator, *routs the enemy and takes* Fidenæ. *It is uncertain what Magiſtrates were choſen to govern the*

319. *Republic, the next year, but whoever they were, they reſigned their authority to* Mamercus Æmilius, *who is again named to the* Dictatorſhip, *upon a rumour that all* Hetruria *is preparing for war. This rumour proves groundleſs,* Æmilius, *through zeal for the public liberty, gets a law paſſed reſtraining the office of* Cenſor *to* 18 *months duration. He then reſigns the* Dictatorſhip. C. Furius *and* M. Geganius, *the Cenſors, in revenge deprive him of the Common privileges of a citizen.* Æmilius *nevertheleſs protects thoſe his bitter enemies from the fury of the populace, who are ready to murder them.* §. IV. *The* Senate *are*

320. *obliged to humour the* People, *by ſuffering* Military Tribunes *to be created for the next year. However none but* Patricians *are choſen. Nothing memorable happens during their adminiſtration, but a plague, which ceaſes in the following year,*

321. *when the Republic is again governed by* Military Tribunes *all* Patricians. *The rich* Plebeians *complain of the poorer ſort for their having conſtantly refuſed to elect any of* them *to that Magiſtracy. A Law is paſſed, forbidding thoſe who ſtand for offices to wear garments of an extraordinary whiteneſs: The* Senate, *fearing leſt ſome of the chief* Plebeians *ſhould get into the* Military Tribuneſhip, *determine if poſſible to reſtore the Conſulſhip (from which* Plebeians *are excluded.) A war with the* Æqui *favours this deſign.* T. Quinctius (*ſon of* Lucius) *and*

322. C. Julius *are choſen Conſuls; but theſe diſagreeing, through jealouſy, the Senate judge it neceſſary to have a* Dictator. *The Conſuls refuſe to name one. The Senators provoked hereat, raſhly apply to the* Tribunes *to interpoſe in the affair. The* Tribunes *threaten the Conſuls to have them carried to priſon if they don't comply.* Poſthumius Tubertus *is named* Dictator. *He defeats the enemy, and*

323. *returns triumphant to* Rome. §. V. *The* Æqui *in the following Conſulate of* C. Papirius *and* L. Julius *obtain a truce for eight years. (A regulation is made,*

324. *that fines ſhall for the future be paid in money inſtead of cattle.) The* Romans *continue in peace during this and the ſucceeding Conſulate of* L. Sergius (*a ſe-*

325. *cond time Conſul) and* Hoſtus Lucretius. *The next year, when* T. Quinctius (*a ſecond time*) *and* A. Cornelius Coſſus *are Conſuls,* Rome *is afflicted by a famine and a plague which occaſions the* People *to have recourſe to foreign ſuperſtitions, but theſe are ſoon prohibited.* §. VI. *The* Veientes *in the following Con-*

326. *ſulate of* L. Papirius (*a ſecond time Conſul*) *and* Servilius Ahala, *make incurſions on the* Roman *lands. Diſputes ariſing between the* Senate *and* People *about*

327. *the prerogative of proclaiming this war, the* Romans *do not take the field 'till the next year, when the* People *prevail to have* Military Tribunes *in the Government, but they are all* Patricians. *Theſe not acting in concert are defeated*

by

by the enemy; whereupon Mamercus Æmilius *(who had been degraded by the Cenſors) is a third time raiſed to the* Dictatorſhip. *He gives the* Veientes *a total overthrow, and takes their camp, as alſo* Fidenæ, *which had again revolted from the* Romans.

CHAP. XXXIV.

§. I. Military Tribunes *are choſen to the Government the two following years; but the choice falls only on* Patricians. *The* Tribunes *of the* Commons *uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the* People *from this preference of the Nobles to them, in the elections. The* Senate *to counterplot them, before the new elections come on, contrive to ſend away the principal of the* Plebeians *into the field againſt the* Volſci. *In their abſence* Appius Claudius *(ſon of the* Decemvir) *one of the* Military Tribunes, *holds an Aſſembly for electing Conſuls, and* C. Sempronius *and* Q. Fabius *are choſen.* §. II. Sempronius *brings the whole* Roman *army into danger of being cut to pieces by the* Volſci. *An Officer of horſe named* Tempanius, *by his bravery and prudence, prevents the defeat of the* Romans. *He arrives at* Rome *before the Conſul, and gives teſtimony in favour of his conduct.* §. III. *The* People *condemn* Poſthumius (*one of thoſe* Military Tribunes, *who by their diſunion had loſt a battle in the year* 327,) *in a fine.* Tempanius *is made one of the* Tribunes *of the* Commons. *His General* Sempronius *being proſecuted by the* People *for his miſconduct, he takes his part, and engages the* Tribune Hortenſius, *the accuſer, to drop the proſecution.*

328. 329. Appius Claudius IV. 330. 331.

CHAP. XXXV.

§. I. *The next year, in the Conſulate of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus *and* Numerius Fabius, *new diſſentions ariſe in the Republic, on occaſion of a propoſal to add two Quæſtors to the two already eſtabliſhed. The* Tribunes *inſiſt that of the four one half ſhall be always* Plebeians. *The* Senate *oppoſe this, but are willing to leave the* People *free in their choice. The* Tribunes *not content, proteſt, by way of revenge, againſt holding the Comitia for electing* Conſuls. *The two parties come at length to this compromiſe, that* Military Tribunes *ſhall be elected to the Government, and that the* People *ſhall be free to chuſe* Patricians *or* Plebeians *to the Quæſtorſhip. Notwithſtanding all that the* Tribunes *of the* Commons *can do, the* People *chuſe not only the* Military Tribunes *but the* Quæſtors *too out of the* Patricians *only. The* Tribunes *of the* Commons, *to vent their rage, renew the proſecution againſt* Sempronius (*whoſe kinſman* A. Sempronius, *one of the new* Military Tribunes, *had preſided in the Aſſembly for chuſing* Quæſtors) *and they get him fined.* §. II. *The following ſix years, to the year of* Rome 340, *the State is governed by* Military Tribunes. *In* 334 *a conſpiracy of the ſlaves is diſcovered and prevented. In* 335 *the* Romans *have a war with the* Labicani *and* Æqui *united. The three* Military Tribunes *quarrel about the command of the army, one of the three being to ſtay in the city.* Q. Servilius, *formerly* Dictator, *the father of one of them, orders his ſon to remain at* Rome. *The other two take the field, and command alternately. The* Roman

332. 4 Quæſtors. 333. 334. 335.

man *army is routed. Young* Servilius *names his father to the* Dictatorſhip : *This great man in eight days recovers the affairs of the Republic, and then reſigns his*
336. *office. The year* 336 *is a year of peace. In* 337 *the* Tribunes *revive the old*
337. *quarrel about the diſtribution of the conquered lands.* Appius's *advice to the Senate, to raiſe a diviſion among thoſe Magiſtrates, is followed with ſucceſs. Six of them ſide with the* Patricians. *The like good underſtanding is main-*
338. *tained the next year* (338) *between the Nobles and ſome of the* Tribunes. §. III.
339. *But in* 339 *the affair of the* AGRARIAN LAW *is revived.* Poſthumius, *one of the* Military Tribunes *and General of the army, having promiſed the ſoldiers the plunder of* Bola *taken from the* Æqui, *afterwards breaks his word with them.* Sextius, *one of the* Tribunes of the Commons, *to make the ſoldiers amends, propoſes that a colony of them ſhall be ſettled at* Bola, *and its territory divided among them.* Poſthumius (*who had been called to* Rome *to oppoſe* Sextius's *proceedings*) *threatens that it ſhall be the worſe for his men if any ſuch ſtep be made in their favour. The* Tribune *takes advantage of this proud and imprudent menace to incenſe the* People *againſt the General; and a report of it being made in the camp, the ſoldiers mutiny and wound one of the Quæſtors; and* Poſthumius, *at his return to the camp, attempting to puniſh the guilty, is ſtoned by the ſoldiers. The Senate, fearing leſt the* People, *in order to ſcreen the murderers, ſhould chuſe* Plebeian Military Tribunes *for the next year* (340) *uſe all their endeavours to get Conſuls elected, and they prevail. The Faſces are*
340. *transferred to* A. Cornelius Coſſus *and* L. Furius Medullinus, *who ſhew great moderation and prudence in the proſecution of the criminals.* §. IV. *Nothing very memorable, except a plague and famine, happens in the three following*
344. *Conſulates. But in the year* 344, *when* Cn. Cornelius *and* L. Furius (*a ſecond time*) *are Conſuls, three* Tribunes *of the name of* Icilius *prevail with the* People
PLEBEIAN QUÆSTORS. *to chuſe three of the four* Quæſtors *out of the* Plebeians. *The* Senate *is likewiſe forced to conſent to the chuſing of* Military Tribunes *for the next year, but find means to diſappoint the* Icilii *in their expectation of being raiſed to that dignity.*
345. *Three* Patricians *are choſen. Theſe being ordered by the* Senate *to name a* Dictator, *on occaſion of a war with the* Volſci, *two of them refuſe. The* Senate *hereupon has recourſe, as formerly, to the* Tribunes; *but theſe return a diſdainful anſwer, and will not meddle in the diſpute.* Servilius Ahala, *the third* Military Tribune, *names* P. Cornelius *Dictator, who quickly puts an end to the war.* Servilius's *two Collegues in anger againſt the* Senate *propoſe* Military Tribunes
346. *at the next election : However* Patricians *are choſen, and ſo likewiſe the next year.*
347. *The* Tribunes *of the* Commons, *provoked to the utmoſt, revenge themſelves by oppoſing the levies for a war with the* Veientes, *who had inſulted the* Roman *Ambaſſadors; and they make the old affair of the* Agrarian Law *their pretence.*
PAY allowed to the INFANTRY. *The* Senate *get the better of this oppoſition, by decreeing that the infantry ſhall hereafter have* PAY *out of the public treaſury during the ſervice. The* People *joyfully confirm this Decree, and readily offer themſelves to be inliſted.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

§. I. *The* Romans *inveſt* Veii. *In the two firſt years of the ſiege (which laſted ten) there is little action. The third year,* (350 *of* Rome) *the* Tribunes *of the* Commons *make a ſtir about the hardſhip the ſoldiers ſuffer by being detained in the camp all the winter.* Appius Claudius, Military Tribune, (*grandſon of the* Decemvir) *aſſembles the People and inveighs againſt their* Tribunes *for their ſeditious behaviour. His harangue has little effect; but a loſs which the beſiegers ſuſtain before the place, animates the* Plebeians *with a zeal to puſh on the ſiege with vigour. The Senate for the firſt time allow* PAY *to* THE HORSE. 348. 350. APPIUS CLAUDIUS V.

§. II. *The year following,* Sergius *and* Virginius (*two of the* Military Tribunes) *having the conduct of the ſiege, quarrel and divide the troops between them. The* Faliſci *and* Capenates (*People of* Hetruria,) *come to the aſſiſtance of the* Veientes, *and fall upon one ſide of* Sergius's *camp, while the beſieged ſally out and attack the other.* Virginius *refuſes to aſſiſt his Collegue; the troops of the latter are routed. Hereupon the two Generals are both recalled. All the Military* Tribunes *of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are choſen. The* Tribunes *of the* Commons *raiſe ſuch diſturbances at* Rome *about the levies, that in the election of thoſe Magiſtrates the People cannot agree in the choice of more than eight. The majority of thoſe eight name two more, in defiance of the* Trebonian Law. C. Trebonius, *one of the preſent* Tribunes, *draws the hatred of the People upon three of his Collegues on this account, but they artfully divert it from themſelves by turning it againſt* Sergius *and* Virginius (*the Generals of the laſt year*) *who are both fined for miſconduct.* PAY allowed to the HORSE. 351. 352.

§. III. *The* Tribunes *renew the domeſtic broils: But all is quieted by the chuſing ſome* Plebeians *into the* Military Tribuneſhip. *At the next elections the Comitia chuſe five* Plebeians *to that dignity, and only one* Patrician. *The arms of the Republic proſper, but there happens a great mortality among men and cattle. To avert this evil the ceremony of the* Lectiſternium *is obſerved.* PLEBEIAN MILITARY TRIBUNES. 353. 354.

§. IV. *The Senate take advantage of the People's fears and ſuperſtition, to get the* Military Tribuneſhip *for* Patricians *only; pretending that the Gods were angry at the choice, which had been made of* Plebeians *to that Magiſtracy. The lake of* Alba *overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, and an old* Veientan *ſoldier having delivered a prophecy, that* Veii *ſhould not be taken before the water of that lake was all run out, Deputies are ſent from* Rome *to conſult the Oracle of* Delphos. *Theſe return the next year with an anſwer agreeable to the old man's prophecy. Canals are made to drain the lake. Some defect being diſcovered in the inauguration of the preſent* Military Tribunes, *they all abdicate, and ſix new ones are choſen all* Plebeians. *Their adminiſtration not being proſperous,* Camillus *is named* Dictator. 355. 356. 357.

§. V. *He takes* Veii *by ſap.* Camillus takes Veii.

CHAP. XXXVII.

§. I. *The People are much diſpleaſed with* Camillus *on account of ſome ſingularities in the pomp of his triumph; but much more for demanding back from them a tenth part of the ſpoil of* Veii, *to diſcharge a vow which he had made to* Apol-

lo

lo *juſt before the aſſault, and which he had afterwards forgot. The* Roman *La-*
358. *dies contribute their Jewels to make a golden vaſe for* Apollo. §. II. *The next year (the Republic being under the Government of ſix* Military Tribunes, *all* Patricians) Sicinius Dentatus, *a* Tribune *of the* Commons, *propoſes that half of the Senators, Knights and* People *of* Rome *ſhould remove to* Veii, *and ſettle there. After much ſtruggle* Camillus *and the other Senators bring this project to nothing.*
359. §. III. Camillus *is choſen one of the ſix* Military Tribunes *for the year following, and to him is committed the conduct of the war againſt the* Faliſci. *He beſieges* Falerii *their capital city. A ſchool-maſter to whom the ſons of the chief inhabitants of the place are committed for education, betrays his truſt, and puts all the children into the hands of* Camillus. *The* Roman *deteſting both the treachery and the traytor, makes the boys whip him back again into the town. The* Faliſci *moved by this generous action, ſubmit to the* Romans, *who grant them peace on the condition only of paying the expences of the Campaign. During this tranſaction, two of* Camillus's *Collegues gain a victory over the* Æqui. §. IV. *The* People, *when the time comes for electing their* Tribunes, *chuſe to the ſame office thoſe of the old ones who had appeared for the propoſal of removing half the* People *to* Veii. *On the other hand, the* Patricians *get Conſular Government reſtored.*
360. L. Lucretius *and* Servius Sulpicius *are elected Conſuls.* Sicinius *the* Tribune, *Author of the project of going to* Veii, *gets two of his late Collegues fined for having oppoſed it. This project is debated in an Aſſembly of the* People, *and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The Senate decree ſeven acres of the*
361. *lands of* Veii *to every freeman of* Rome. §. V. L. Valerius *and* M. Manlius *are choſen Conſuls for the next year. The* Volſinienſes, *a* People *of* Hetruria, *take arms againſt* Rome. *The Conſuls being ſeized with a contagious diſtemper, reſign the Faſces to ſix* Military Tribunes. *The proſperous ſtate of* Rome *at this time.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

362. §. I. *A malicious accuſation is brought againſt* Camillus, *for having taken*
CAMILLUS baniſhed. *to his own uſe ſome part of the ſpoil of* Veii. *To avoid the diſgrace of a condemnation, he baniſhes himſelf.* §. II. *Shortly after,* Cluſium *in* Hetruria, *be-*
King BRENNUS. *ing beſieged by the* Gauls *under King* Brennus, *the Inhabitants implore the aſſiſtance of the* Romans. *Three brothers of the name of* Fabius *are ſent Ambaſſadors from* Rome *to mediate a peace between the contending powers.* Brennus *gives them a haughty reception. The* Fabii *young and indiſcreet, having entered the town, put themſelves at the head of the* Cluſians, *and make a ſally with them againſt the beſiegers.* Q. Fabius *with his own hand kills one of their Captains.* Brennus *provoked at this breach of the law of nations, raiſes the ſiege, and marches ſtrait towards* Rome. *He ſends a Herald, and demands that the Ambaſſadors be delivered up to him. The* Romans, *inſtead of complying with this demand, chuſe the* Fabii *to the* Military Tribuneſhip, *and*
363. *place them at the head of the army which is to act againſt the* Gauls. §. III. Brennus *gives the* Romans *a total overthrow on the banks of the* Allia. *The fourth day after the Battle, he enters* Rome, *the gates of it being left open, moſt of the citizens fled, and the Senate, with all they were capable to bear away, retired into*

into the Capitol. Brennus *finds about* 80 *venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to death, ſitting in the* Forum *in robes and chairs of ſtate. They are all ſlain. The* Capitol *is inveſted, and the City burnt.* §. IV. Camillus (*who in his exile reſided at* Ardea) *puts himſelf at the head of the* Ardeates, *ſurprizes and cuts off ſome detachments of* Gauls *ſent out to plunder the country. Upon the report of this action, the* Romans, *who were diſperſed about the territory of* Rome, *aſſemble, and ſend a requeſt to him to be their General. He declines it; till a young man, diſpatched away to the* Capitol *for that purpoſe, brings him from the* Senate *a commiſſion, which conſtitutes him* Dictator. §. V. *While* Camillus *is aſſembling an army, the* Gauls *attempt to ſcale the* Capitol *in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is diſcovered by the cackling of ſome geeſe. The aſſailants are repulſed, chiefly by the bravery of* M. Manlius. Camillus *hinders all proviſions from coming to the enemy.* §. VI. *Both beſiegers and beſieged being diſtreſſed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The* Romans *are to purchaſe a peace with* 1000 lb. *weight of gold. While the gold is weighing,* Camillus *arrives: He breaks off the treaty, and forces the* Gauls *to raiſe the ſiege and quit the country.* §. VII. Rome *being deſtroyed, the* Tribunes *renew the propoſal of removing to* Veii. Camillus (*who is continued in the* Dictatorſhip *the whole year*) *oppoſes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a Centurion is what determines the* People *to ſtay and rebuild the city.* Manlius *is rewarded.* Q. Fabius *the Ambaſſador, who by his blameable conduct had provoked the* Gauls *againſt* Rome, *kills himſelf to avoid a publick condemnation.* §. VIII. *Before the end of the next year* (*during which the Commonwealth is governed by ſix* Military Tribunes) *the* CITY *is entirely* REBUILT.

M. Manlius. 364. ROME burnt. 365. ROME rebuilt.

THIRD BOOK.

From the year of ROME 365, when the CITY was REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the year 489, when the ROMANS, having ſubdued ALL ITALY, began the firſt PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The Nations bordering upon the* Roman *State reſolve, if poſſible, to cruſh it before it can recover its former ſtrength. The* Military Tribunes *march an army againſt the* Volſci *and* Latines, *but by ill conduct ſuffer it to be incloſed by the enemy.* Camillus *hereupon is, a third time, named* Dictator; *he raiſes new forces, reſcues the army in diſtreſs, and forces the enemy's camp, after which he takes the capital city of the* Æqui, *ſubdues the* Volſci, *and recovers* Sutrium *from the* Hetrurians. §. II. *The next year* (*when the Commonwealth is again governed by* Military Tribunes) *the* Roman *arms proſper abroad. The* 366.

4 New Tribes. *year following is a year of peace.* FOUR NEW TRIBUNES *are added to the*
367. TWENTY-ONE. §. III. *The expectation of a new war makes the* Romans
368. *chooſe* Camillus *to be one of the ſix* Military Tribunes *for the next year. He leads the* Roman *troops, firſt againſt the* Volſci *of* Antium, *and then againſt the* Hetrurians; *and has ſucceſs in both expeditions. The* Latines *and* Hernici *ſubmit.*

CHAP. II.

369. §. I. *The next year* Military Tribunes *being again choſen to the Government,* Manlius *(who ſaved the Capitol) envious of* Camillus's *glory, and moved by an exorbitant Ambition, uſes ſuch methods to make himſelf popular, as alarm the* Senate. *They name* A. Cornelius Coſſus Dictator. *He ſummons* Manlius *to appear before him, and anſwer for ſome ſeditious diſcourſes he had uttered.* Manlius *not anſwering directly to the* Dictator's *queſtion is committed to priſon,* Coſſus *ſoon after reſigns the* Dictatorſhip. *The* Senate *fearing the rage of the* People, *who are devoted to* Manlius, *ſet him at liberty.* §. II.
370. Camillus *is choſen one of the* Military Tribunes *for the next year.* Manlius *renews his factious intrigues. Two of the* Tribunes *of the* Commons *impeach him of Treaſon, and, by ſentence of the* People, *he is thrown headlong from the* Tarpeian *rock.*

M. Manlius put to death.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *During the ſix following years, and the beginning of the ſeventh,* Rome *is almoſt entirely free from civil diſſenſions; but wars are carried on abroad againſt the* Prænestini *and* Volſci, *with very little interruption.* Camillus *being one of the* Military Tribunes *in the year* 373, *gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when diſreſpectfully treated by one of his Collegues.*

CHAP. IV.

377. §. I. *The lower ſort of the* People *of* Rome *are over awed and oppreſs'd by the Great and the Rich; and the* Commons *in general loſe that ſpirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the Nobles.* §. II. *In the midſt of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman ſets three bold and enterpriſing men at work to raiſe the fortune of the* Plebeians *higher than ever, and to obtain even the dignity of the* Conſulſhip *for perſons of that order. The three who form this deſign are,* M. Fabius Ambuſtus, *the Lady's Father (a* Patrician) C. Licinius Stolo, *her Huſband (a* Plebeian) *and* L. Sextius, *another* Plebeian *of great diſtinction. The two latter having obtained the office of* Tribunes of the People, *propoſe a law for the reſtraining of Uſury, another to prohibit any citizen from poſſeſſing more than* 500 *acres of land, and a third to reſtore the* Conſulate, *and make it an eſtabliſh'd rule for the future, that of the two* Conſuls *one ſhall indiſpenſably be a* Plebeian. *The* Senate *and* Patricians *on this occaſion gain over to them eight of the* Tribunes, *who pronouncing the word* Veto *when the affair is brought before the* Tribes, *quaſh the whole project for the preſent.*

LICINIAN LAWS.

§. III. Licinius *and* Sextius *in revenge, and to gain their point, being continued in the office of* Tribunes *of the* Commons, *oppoſe and hinder for four years ſucceſſively any election of* Military Tribunes; *and the Republic falls into a kind of anarchy. But, in the fifth year, a new war breaking out obliges them to deſiſt from their oppoſition; and then ſix* Military Tribunes, *all* Patricians, *are choſen to the government. The war continuing,* Military Tribunes *are again elected, and theſe too are ſix men of the* Patrician *order. Nevertheleſs, as* Fabius Ambuſtus *happens to be one of the number,* Sextius *and* Licinius, *having his countenance and aſſiſtance, take this opportunity to renew their propoſal of the three Laws; to which they add a fourth, importing, that Ten Guardians, inſtead of Two, ſhall have the care of the* Sybilline *Books, and that of theſe ten, five ſhall be* Plebeian. *The determination of the whole affair is ſuſpended on account of the abſence of ſo many Citizens as are employed in the war.* 378.

§. IV. *The next year the Republic has again ſix* Patrician *Governors, but the* Senate *is obliged to have recourſe to a* Dictator, *and* Camillus *is rais'd (a fourth time) to that dignity. He diſperſes by his authority an aſſembly of the Tribes, which the* Tribunes *had convened in order to get the Laws paſſed; and preſently after reſigns his poſt.* 382.

§. V. P. Manlius *is choſen* Dictator *in his room. This* Dictator *names a* Plebeian *to be his* General of the Horſe, *the firſt inſtance of ſuch a nomination. The* Tribunes *having a ſupreme magiſtrate ſo favourable to them, think of puſhing their affair with freſh vigour; but the* People *themſelves grow cold and indifferent as to that part of the project which relates to the* Conſulate. *Sextius and* Licinius, *enraged hereat, tell them plainly in a general aſſembly, that either that law, which qualifies* Plebeians *for the* Conſulate, *ſhall paſs, or none; and that if they perſiſt in ſuch ingratitude to their protectors, they will no longer ſerve in the office of the* Tribuneſhip. Appius Claudius (*grandſon of the* Decemvir) *makes a ſpeech, expatiating on the inſolence ſhewn in ſuch a declaration. The deciſion of the affair is put off. Soon after the* Commons *obtain the Law concerning the* Sybils *Books, and then ſuffer new* Military Tribunes *to be choſen, all* Patricians. 383.

Plebeian General of the Horſe.

§. VI. *The conteſt relating to the other Laws is revived with great heat, but is again ſuſpended by the approach of an army of* Gauls. Camillus *is appointed* Dictator (*a 5th time.*) *He defeats the enemy, and has a Triumph at his return to* Rome. 386.

§. VII. *The* Tribunes Sextius *and* Licinius *being reſolved to carry their point, ſummon the Tribes, and proceed immediately to take the voices. Upon the* Dictator's *oppoſing their meaſures, they ſend an officer to ſeize him and carry him to priſon. This cauſes a great commotion and ſtruggle. The* Dictator *and* Senate *retire to the* Senate-houſe *to conſider what is beſt to be done, and they come to a reſolution to concede that one of the Conſuls may be* Plebeian. *Hereupon the Centuries chuſe* L. Æmilius *and* L. Sextius (*the* Tribune) *to the* Conſulate. *But now the* Senate *refuſes to confirm the election of the latter, which occaſions new and warm contentions. The* Dictator, *to quiet them, propoſes, that the prerogative of judging in civil cauſes be taken from the* Conſulate, *and* Prætors *be appointed to perform that function, and that theſe* Prætors *be always* Patricians. *Hereto both parties agree, and the* Senate *acquieſce in having a* Plebeian Conſul. 384.

PLEBEIAN CONSUL.

PRÆTORS.

§. VIII. *The* Curule Ædileſhip *is eſtabliſh'd in favour of the* Patricians, *The* Tribunes *ſoon* 385.

CURULE ÆDILES.

ſoon after obtain, that Plebeians *may be choſen to the Curule Ædileſhip,*
388. §. IX. *The next year,* L. Genucius *and* Q. Servilius *being* Conſuls, *a dreadful plague in* Rome *carries off many perſons of diſtinction, among whom is the great* Camillus.
CAMILLUS dies.

CHAP. V.

389. §. I. *In the following* Conſulate (*of* C. Sulpicius *and* C. Licinius Stolo) *the plague continuing, and the* Romans, *to remove it, having in vain tried the ſuperſtitious ceremony of the* Lectiſternium, *they endeavour to appeaſe the Gods by inſtituting to their honour the* Scenic Shows. *This expedient alſo failing, they*
390. *try another the next year* (L. Æmilius (the 2d time) *and* Cn. Genucius *being* Conſuls) *which is, to create a* Dictator *to* drive a Nail *into the wall of the Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus. *The plague ceaſes; but* L. Manlius Imperioſus *the* Dictator *is unwilling to reſign his authority, and uſes violence to make the* People *liſt themſelves for a war with the* Hernici. *The* Tribunes *however oblige him to abdicate; and in the following Conſulate of* Q. Servilius *and* L. Genucius
391. (*both* Conſuls *a 2d time*) *he is cited by the* Tribune Pomponius *to anſwer for his miſconduct during his* Dictatorſhip, *and particularly for his cruelty to his own ſon, named* Titus. *The ſon, who was in the country, hearing of what paſs'd, comes to* Rome, *ſurprizes* Pomponius *in his bed, and by threatening to ſtab him, makes him ſwear to deſiſt from the proſecution. The* People, *pleaſed with the filial piety of young* Manlius, *give him ſoon after the poſt of* Legionary Tribune (*or Colonel.*) §. II. *In this ſame year the earth opens on a ſudden in the midſt*
CURTIUS. *of the* Forum, *and continues open, to the great terror of the City.* M. Curtius, *a young* Patrician, *moved by an obſcure anſwer of the* Augurs, *who had been thereupon conſulted, leaps into the gulph compleatly armed and on horſeback. Some authors ſay, that the earth immediately cloſed.* §. III. *The* Conſul Genucius,
PLEBEIAN GENERAL. *the* FIRST PLEBEIAN Rome *had ever placed at* the head of an Army, *conducts the war againſt the* Hernici. *He falls into an ambuſh, his Legions are routed, and he himſelf ſlain. This diſaſter is imputed by the* Patricians *to the anger of the Gods on account of the profanation of the Augural Ceremonies, by inaugurating a* Plebeian. *The ſurviving* Conſul *names* Appius Claudius Dictator, *who carrying on the war, gains a victory, but with great loſs.* §. IV.
392. *The* People, *notwithſtanding the clamours of the* Patricians, *chuſe* Licinius Stolo (*that famous* Plebeian) *a 2d time to the Conſulate. They give him for a Collegue* C. Sulpicius Peticus. *But the* Tyburtes *revolting ſoon after, and it being ſuſpected that they were encouraged to this revolt by a ſecret promiſe of aſſiſtance from the* Gauls, *it is thought neceſſary to create a* Dictator. T. Quinctius Pennas *is named to that dignity. The* Gauls *advance within three miles of* Rome, *encamping on the banks of the* Anio. *The* Romans *pitch their camp on the oppoſite ſide, a bridge parts the two armies. On this bridge young* Manlius
T. Manlius Torquatus. *in ſingle combat ſlays the mightieſt champion of the* Gauls, *a man of a gigantic ſtature; which accident ſo diſcourages them, that they leave their camp in the*
393. *night and in confuſion. The next year (in the Conſulate of* M. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* C. Pœtelius Libo) *the* Gauls *appear again in the neighbourhood of* Rome; *and*

and the Romans (*under the conduct of* Servilius Ahala, *created* Dictator) *once more defeat them. The two* Conſuls *make war with ſucceſs againſt the* Tyburtes *and the* Hernici.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *The* Faſces *are transferred to* M. Popilius Lænas *and* Cn. Manlius. *A domeſtic ſedition, ſoon quell'd, an incurſion of the* Tyburtes, *ſoon repulſed, and the commencement of a new war againſt* Rome *by the* Tarquinienſes, *are the chief events of this* Conſulſhip. §. II. *The ſucceeding* Conſuls *are* C. Fabius Ambuſtus, *and* C. Plautius Proculus. *The* Gauls *appear on a ſudden in the plains of* Prœneſte. *Hereupon* C. Sulpicius *is named* Dictator, *who with an army ſtrengthen'd by the* Latines (*who now renew their antient treaties with* Rome) *marches againſt the* Gauls. *The* Dictator *for prudential reaſons avoids an engagement with the enemy, till he is forced to it by the mutinying of his ſoldiers, impatiently ardent to fight. By the help of a new ſtratagem he obtains a compleat victory. He has a triumph at his return, and then reſigns the Government to the Conſuls.* Plautius *ſubdues the* Hernici, *but* Fabius *is vanquiſhed by the* Tarquinienſes. §. III. TWO NEW TRIBES *are form'd. A Law is paſs'd againſt openly canvaſſing for votes. Another* (*in the following adminiſtration of* C. Marcius Rutilus *and* Cn. Manlius, *who is now a 2d time* Conſul) *fixing the legal intereſt of money at One* per Cent. Licinius Stolo, *author of the law againſt any man's poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is paſſed againſt holding the* Comitia *in any place but* Rome. §. IV. *New* Conſuls *are choſen.* M. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* M. Popilius Lænas (*both a 2d time*;) *but the* Faliſci *and* Tarquinienſes *having engaged all* Hetruria *to take part with them againſt* Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, *the* PLEBEIAN Conſul *of the laſt year, is named* DICTATOR *by* Popilius *the* Plebeian Conſul *of this, to the great diſpleaſure of the Nobles. He obtains a compleat victory over the enemy, and has a Triumph, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the* Senate. *However, he is not ſuffered* (*becauſe a* Plebeian) *to hold the* Comitia *for the new election of Conſuls. The aſſembly is held by an* Inter-rex, *and then* TWO Patricians (C. Sulpicius Peticus (*a third time*) *and* M. Valerius) *are choſen to the Conſulate, contrary to the intent of one of the* Licinian *laws, and the cuſtom for eleven years paſt. The next year the* Faſces *are again in the hands of* two Patricians. *Theſe are* M. Fabius Ambuſtus (*a third time* Conſul) *and* T. Quinctius Pennas. *The former ſubdues the* Tyburtes, *the latter defeats the* Tarquinienſes. (*The* Samnites *conclude an alliance with the* Romans.) *The Nobles prevail once more to have only* Patricians *in the Government.* C. Sulpicius Peticus (*a fourth time*) *and* M. Valerius (*a ſecond time*) *are promoted to the* Conſulate. *The former is appointed to lead an army into* Hetruria *againſt the* Tarquinienſes *and* Faliſci; *the latter another againſt the* Volſci; *and ſoon after* T. Manlius (who had never been CONSUL) *is named* DICTATOR *to conduct a third army againſt the* Cœrites. *The* Cœrites *ſubmit. The* Conſuls *act only on the defenſive.*

394. 2 new Tribes. 396. 397. PLEBEIAN DICTATOR. 398. 399. 400. DICTATOR who had not been Conſul.

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *The* Tribunes of the People *oppoſe the holding of the* Comitia *for electing new Magiſtrates, till the* Dictatorſhip *of* Manlius *and the* Conſular *Year are expired; and during the* Inter-regnum, *that follows, they prevail to have*
401. C. Marcius Rutilus, *a* PLEBEIAN, *raiſed (now a 2d time) to the* Conſulate *with* P. Valerius. *Theſe Magiſtrates take effectual meaſures to relieve the Debtors, in order to maintain peace at home.* §. II. *Upon a falſe rumour that the Twelve* Lucumonies *of* Hetruria *are preparing for a war with* Rome, Julius Iulus *is named* Dictator. Julius *employs his influence to get two* Patricians *choſen to the* Conſulate *for the next year. The* People, *tho' they oppoſe this deſign, and hinder the meeting of the* Centuries *during his* Dictatorſhip,
402. *ſuffer* C. Sulpicius (*now a 5th time*) *and* T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, *both* Patricians, *to be declared* Conſuls, *when the* Comitia *are afterwards held by an* Inter-rex. *Nevertheleſs, in this very* Conſulate *the* Commons *prevail for the*
PLEBEIAN CENSOR. *firſt time to have a* PLEBEIAN *choſen to the* CENSORSHIP. *This was the ſame* C. Marcius Rutilus *who had been created* Dictator *in* 397. §. III. *And notwithſtanding that the preſent* Conſuls *name a* Dictator *to hold the* Comitia *for the election of their ſucceſſors, in order to get two* Patricians *choſen,* M. Po-
403. pilius Lænas, *a* Plebeian, *is promoted (now a 3d time) to the* Conſulate *with* L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius *falling ſick, the* Plebeian Conſul *has the ſole*
A PRÆTOR commands an army. *conduct of a new war with the* Gauls. M. Valerius *the* PRÆTOR *of* Rome *is placed at the head of an army to defend the City; this being the firſt inſtance of a* PRÆTOR's *acting as a* GENERAL. Popilius *defeats the* Gauls *in battle; but being diſabled from doing buſineſs, by a wound, and his Collegue continuing ſick, they name* Furius Camillus Dictator, *to hold the* Comitia *for the new*
404. *Elections, where the* Dictator *himſelf, with* Appius Claudius Craſſus (*both* Patricians) *are choſen* Conſuls. Appius *dying ſhortly after,* Camillus *is ſuffer'd to govern the Republic without a Collegue. He marches a powerful army againſt the* Gauls, *who had ſpread themſelves on the ſea coaſt of* Latium. M.
Valerius Corvus. VALERIUS (*afterwards ſurnamed* CORVUS) *a Legionary* Tribune, *kills in ſingle combat a champion of the* Gauls, *and this occaſions a general action, in which the* Romans *obtain the victory.* Camillus *being obliged ſtill to keep the field, in order to hinder the deſcent of ſome* Greek *pirates on the coaſt, names* T. Manlius Dictator, *to hold the* Comitia *for the new Elections.* Manlius, *pleaſed*
Conſul twenty-three years old. *with the exploit of* Valerius, *reſembling what he himſelf had formerly done, influences the* People *to chuſe him, tho' but twenty three years of age, to be one of the* Conſuls. *The Collegue given him is* Popilius Lænas, *now promoted the*
405. *fourth time to that dignity.* §. IV. *The* Romans *conclude a Treaty with the*
Treaty with Carthage. Carthaginians. §. V. *In the following* Conſulate *of* C. Plautius Hypſæus
406. *and* T. Manlius Torquatus *the Intereſt of Money is lower'd to* Half per Cent. *A new war with the* Volſci *breaks out during the adminiſtration of their ſucceſ-*
407. *ſors,* Valerius Corvus (*now a 2d time* Conſul) *and* C. Pœtelius Libo. Valerius *defeats the enemy, takes from them* Satricum, *and burns it. The* Secular Games *are celebrated for the ſecond time according to* Faſt. Cap. §. VI. *The*

next

next year's Conſuls, M. Fabius Dorſo *and* S. Sulpicius Camerinus, *name* L. Furius Camillus *to be* Dictator (*a* 2*d time*) *on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the* Aurunci. Furius *overthrows them in battle, and at his return builds a Temple, which he had vowed during the action, to* Juno Moneta. *The year following, the* Romans *imagining that the Goddeſs, conformable to her name* MONETA, admoniſh'd *them by Prodigies of the impending wrath of the Gods,* C. Marcius Rutilus (*now* Conſul *a* 2*d time*) *and* T. Manlius (Conſul *a* 2*d time*) *appoint* P. Valerius *to be* Dictator, *to order the Celebration of the* Feriæ Latinæ. 408. 409.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *In the ſucceeding adminiſtration of* M. Valerius Corvus (3*d time* Conſul) *and* Cornelius Coſſius Arvina, *happens the* FIRST RUPTURE *between the* ROMANS *and* SAMNITES, *on occaſion of a war which the latter had carried on with ſucceſs againſt the people of* Capua *in* Campania. *The* Campanians, *to engage the* Romans *to ſuccour them in their diſtreſs, make a ſurrender of themſelves and their country to the Republic. Hereupon* Valerius *is directed to march an army into* Campania, *and* Cornelius *to carry the war into* Samnium. Valerius, *in an action with the* Samnites, *has the advantage.* §. II. Cornelius, *on the other hand, by an imprudent march, brings his army into danger of being intirely cut off by the enemy; however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by a ſtratagem, ſuggeſted and executed by a Legionary* Tribune *named* P. Decius Mus; *and preſently after, following the advice of the ſame* Decius, *he gains a victory over the* Samnites, *who loſe* 30,000 *men in the action.* Decius *is rewarded with many honours.* §. III. Valerius *obtains a ſecond victory over the* Samnites *in* Campania. *Theſe ſucceſſes make the* Romans *reſpected abroad.* 410. SAMNITE WAR. Decius Mus.

CHAP. IX.

§. I. C. Marcius Rutilus *is elected* (*the* 4*th time*) *to the* Conſulate, *and with him* Q. Servilius Ahala. *The former marches an army into* Campania. *He finds a general depravation of manners in ſome Cohorts of* Roman *ſoldiers, who had been left in* Capua *all the winter; and diſcovers that they had plotted to make that delightful City their own, and to ſettle there. To diſappoint this ſcheme, he artfully contrives to ſend away the moſt mutinous and enterpriſing, without treating them diſgracefully, or letting his deſign appear. The ſoldiers at length ſuſpecting it, are alarmed with the apprehenſion of puniſhment. All the ſoldiers of one Cohort deſert. Theſe having poſted themſelves advantageouſly near* Anxur, *are ſoon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the City and the Camp. They force one* Quinctius, *an old ſoldier, whom they find employed in huſbandry, to be their leader to conduct them to* Rome. Valerius Corvus *is hereupon named* Dictator, *to march an army againſt the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from* Rome, *comes to a parley with them, and being a man extremely beloved by the ſoldiers, prevails with them to ſubmit; yet the Rebels, beſides pardon, obtain ſome conceſſions from the Republic.* 411.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

§. I. *The* Romans, *by theſe condeſcenſions to the Rebels, loſe credit among*
412. *their neighbours.* Privernum *revolts, but is quickly reduced by* C. Plautius Hypſæus (*now the 2d time* Conſul.) *His Collegue* L. Æmilius *lays waſte the country of the* Samnites, *who thereupon ſue for peace, and an alliance with* Rome. *Theſe being obtained, they turn their arms once more againſt the* Sidicini, *who being refuſed ſuccour by the* Senate *at* Rome, *even upon the terms of being ſubject to the Republic, give themſelves to the* Latines, *already in arms, to recover their independence. The* Campanians *follow the example of the* Sidicini. *An army, formed of theſe three nations, enters* Samnium, *but ſoon retires. The* Samnites *ſend an embaſſy to the Republic, to complain of her ſuffering the* Latines *and* Campanians *to commit hoſtilities in* Samnium. *They receive an anſwer unſatisfactory to them, offenſive to the* Campanians, *and which, ſeeming to betray a ſenſe of weakneſs in the* Romans, *elates the ſpirits of the* Latines. Man-
413. lius Torquatus *is promoted* (*a 3d time*) *to the Conſulate, with* P. Decius Mus. (Alexander *King of* Epirus, *uncle of* Alexander *the Great, comes into* Italy *on the invitation of the* Tarentines, *to make war with the* Bruttians, *and concludes an alliance of friendſhip with* Rome. §. III. *The* Romans *ſummon ten of the* Latine *Chiefs to appear at* Rome, *and give account of their preparations for war. The* Latine *Council ſend* L. Annius *with nine more to* Rome, *to demand, as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that* one of the Conſuls and half of the Senate of *Rome* be for the future choſen
LALINE WAR. out of the LATINES. *This demand is rejected with indignation, and war is declared.* §. IV. Manlius *and* Decius *having marched two armies into the field, and encamped near the enemy, dream both of them the ſame dream con-*
Severity of Manlius Torquatus. *cerning the event of the war.* §. V. *The* Conſul Manlius *cauſes his own ſon to be beheaded, for having fought in ſingle combat with one of the enemies officers, tho' he prov'd victorious; becauſe he had fought without leave from his General.* §. VI. *The* Romans *come to a battle with the* Latines. *The wing where the*
Devotement of DECIUS. Conſul Decius *commands beginning to loſe ground, he, to recover the day to his party, and purſuant to the interpretation which had been given of his dream,* devotes *himſelf to death, ruſhing alone into the thickeſt of the enemy. His troops getting freſh courage and ſtrength from ſuperſtition, and* Manlius *conducting the battle with great ſkill, the* Latines *are totally routed, and fly to* Minturnæ. Manlius *gives them a ſecond overthrow, after which both they and the* Campa-
414. nians *ſubmit, and are moſt of them diſpoſſeſs'd of their lands.* §. VII. *In the following Conſulate of* Q. Publilius *and* T. Æmilius *ſome of the* Latines *rebel, and form two armies.* Publilius *ſucceeding in an expedition againſt one of them, is decreed a Triumph.* Æmilius, *not having equal ſucceſs againſt the other, is refuſed that honour. Hereupon he inveighs againſt the* Senate, *and incites the* People *to ſedition; and becauſe the* Senate, *to prevent diſturbances, order him to name a* Dictator, *he in revenge nominates to that dignity his* Plebeian *Collegue. The* Dictator, *during his whole adminiſtration, employs his power and influence for the advantage of the* Plebeians, *and obtains ſome laws*
in

in their favour. The Senate *to pique* Æmilius, *tender of his honour, enable the next year's* Conſuls, L. Furius Camillus *and* C. Mænius, *to finiſh with glory the war which he had left unfiniſhed.* §. VIII. *The* Romans *determine the fate of the ſeveral conquered Cities. The* Latines, *from being* Allies, *are made* Subjects *of* Rome. 415. LATINES ſubjected.

CHAP. XI.

§. I. *In the following Conſulate of* C. Sulpicius Longus *and* P. Ælius Pœtus, PUBLILIUS, *tho' a* Plebeian, *obtains the* PRÆTORSHIP; *ſo that all the great Dignities in the State, except thoſe of the Prieſthood, are now common to the two Orders. From this year* 416, *to the year* 425, *the moſt memorable events are, The invention of moveable Towers and Cover'd Galleries, by the* Conſul Atilius Regulus (*in the year* 418) *at the ſiege of* Cale, *the chief City of the* Auſones, *allies of the* Sidicini. *The Republic's changing the cuſtom of raiſing a new army upon every change of* Conſuls. *The reduction of the* Sidicini (*probably in* 420.) *The addition of* Two *new* TRIBES (*in* 421.) *to the* 27 *old ones. A plot formed* (*in* 422.) *by ſome hundreds of* Roman *Women to poiſon their Huſbands. The revolt of* Privernum (*in* 423.) *the reduction of that City* (*in* 424.) *and the couragious and noble anſwer given by one of the Citizens, when queſtioned by the* Roman Senate *concerning the conduct which the* Privernates *would obſerve for the future.* 416. PLEBEIAN PRÆTOR. 418. 2 new Tribes. 422. Privernates. 424.

CHAP. XII.

§. I. *The next year,* (*in the conſulate of* C. Plautius Proculus *and* P. Cornelius Scapula) *the* Romans *give umbrage to the* Samnites, *by planting a Colony in their neighbourhood. And the* Palæpolitans *make an irruption into the* Roman *Territory.* §. II. *A remarkable inſtance of the* Romans *abhorrence of Malice, in the proſecution of a criminal.* §. III. *The* Faſces *being tranſferred to* Q. Publilius (*now a ſecond time* Conſul) *and* L. Cornelius Lentulus, *the former marches an army againſt the* Palæpolitans. Cornelius *encamps another near* Capua, *to keep in awe the* Campanians, *who are thought to be gain'd over by the* Samnites, *between whom and the Republic there is a new rupture.* §. IV. *The next year's* Conſuls, C. Pœtelius Libo *and* L. Papirius Mugillanus, *having their forces ſtrengthened by the* Lucanians, *and* Apulians, *take ſome Towns from the* Samnites. *And* Publilius (*who with the Title of* PROCONSUL *is continued at the head of the ſame army he had commanded the laſt year when* Conſul) *takes* Palæpolis *by means of a ſtratagem laid and executed by two of the Citizens. For this exploit* Publilius, *tho' but a* Proconſul, *is decreed a* TRIUMPH. §. V. *The* Tarentines *having loſt their protector King* Alexander *of* Epirus, *and being jealous of the growing power of* Rome, *by an artful ſtratagem deprive her of all aſſiſtance from the* Lucanians, *ſeducing them into a league with the* Samnites. §. VI. *About this time the infamous paſſion of a* Roman, *named* Papirius, *for one of his inſolvent Debtors, occaſions the paſſing of a law at* Rome, *whereby* CREDITORS *are diſabled from* ſeizing the Perſons *of their* DEBTORS. 425. 426. 427. A Proconſul triumphs. A Law in favour of Debtors.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. *The* Veſtini, *a* People *on the coaſt of the* Adriatic *ſea, take arms againſt* Rome, *in the Conſulate of* L. Furius Camillus *and* D. Junius Brutus. Brutus
428. *defeats them in battle.* §. II. Camillus, *who was to act againſt the* Samnites,
Papirius Curſor and Q. Fabius. *falling ſick, names to the* Dictatorſhip L. Papirius Curſor, *who appoints* Quintus Fabius Rullianus *to be his General of the Horſe. The* Dictator *having taken the field againſt the* Samnites, *returns ſoon after to* Rome *on account of ſome Religious Scruple, but firſt forbids* Fabius *to hazard a battle with the enemy during his abſence.* Fabius *nevertheleſs attacks the* Samnites, *and gains a notable victory; after which he burns all the ſpoil, that it may not do honour to the* Dictator *by being carried in his Triumphal Proceſſion.* Papirius *haſtens back to the camp to puniſh his diſobedient* General of the Horſe. Fabius *is reſcued out of the hands of the* Lictors, *and eſcapes to* Rome. *His father immediately gets the* Senators *together, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him.* Papirius *arrives on a ſudden, takes his place in the* Senate, *and orders his* Lictors *to ſeize young* Fabius. *The father hereupon appeals to the* People. Papirius, *tho' the thing is unprecedented, does not diſpute the legality of the appeal; but the* People *themſelves, when the affair comes before them, are unwilling to interpoſe their Authority; they chuſe rather to become interceſſors*
429. *with the* Dictator, *who at their requeſt pardons the offender.* §. III. Papirius *returns to the camp with a new General of the Horſe, and finding his army ill affected to him, becauſe of his ſeverity in command, changes his manner on a ſudden, becomes familiar with his ſoldiers, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the* Samnites *to ſue for peace.* §. IV. *The* Senate *grant the* Samnites *only a year's truce, which the latter break ſo ſoon as they hear that* Papirius *has quitted the* Dictatorſhip: *They are joined by the*
430. Apulians. *Little progreſs is made in the war this year, when* C. Sulpicius Longus *and* Q. Aulius Cerretanus *are* Conſuls. *But their ſucceſſors* Q. Fabius
431. *(who had been General of the Horſe to* Papirius*) and* L. Fulvius Curvus, *by ſkillfull conduct obtain a compleat victory over the enemy.* §. V. *The* Samnites *repenting of their breach of the Truce, endeavour to pacify the* Romans *by making reſtitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the Treaty.*

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *The* Samnites *being refuſed a Peace, notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction they have made for the breach of the Truce, prepare to carry on the war with vigour: and they appoint one* Pontius, *an able officer, to be their General. At*
432. Rome T. Veturius *and* Sp. Poſthumius *are choſen* Conſuls. Pontius *by a*
Caudine Forks. *ſtratagem draws theſe Generals with their Legions into a dangerous paſs (called afterwards the* Caudine Forks) *where they are ſurrounded by the* Samnites, *and have no poſſibility of forcing their way out of it. The* Samnite *General being undetermined in what manner to treat the* Romans, *is adviſed by his father, either in a friendly way to ſet them all free, or without mercy to cut them*

all off. The ſon rejecting this advice, will ſpare the lives of the Romans, *but demands as the condition,* That they all paſs unarm'd under the Yoke, Officers and Soldiers; that they engage to draw all their forces out of *Samnium*, and give hoſtages for the performance of this article. *The* Romans, *after ſome demur, ſubmit to the terms impoſed, being exhorted to it by* L. Lentulus, *a conſiderable Officer in the army. The* Conſuls, *at their return to* Rome, *being aſhamed to appear in publick, inſtantly name a* Dictator *to hold the* Comitia *for electing new* Conſuls. *This election however is not made till the Government falls into an* Inter-regnum. §. II. *And then the* Faſces *are given to* Papirius Curſor (*a 2d time*) *and to* Publilius Philo (*a 3d time.*) *The Treaty made with the* Samnites *being laid before the* Senate, Poſthumius (*one of thoſe* Conſuls *who had been parties to it*) *declares that the* Roman People *are not bound by it, as not being made by their orders; that the honour of the Republic will be ſaved by ſurrendering him and the reſt of the Officers concerned in that Treaty to the* Samnites, *which he moves may be forthwith done. This propoſal is approved, and put in execution by a* Fecialis *appointed thereto; but* Pontius, *the* Samnite *General, reproaching the* Romans *with baſeneſs and breach of faith, refuſes to accept the priſoners in ſatisfaction of the Treaty.* §. III. Satricum *revolts from the* Romans; *and the* Samnites *ſurprize* Fregellæ, *a* Roman *Colony, and, after a promiſe of quarter, burn the inhabitants alive.* C. Mænius, *being appointed* Dictator *to take cognizance of treaſonable practices, and alledging all canvaſſing for Offices to be Treaſon againſt the State, cites ſeveral* Patricians *to Tryal on accuſations of that ſort: but he is forced, by the clamour of the whole body of the Nobles, to deſiſt; and being himſelf accuſed of the ſame crime, abdicates his office, ſtands a tryal, and is acquitted.* 433.

CHAP. XV.

§. I. Cornelius Lentulus *being created* Dictator, *leads an army againſt the* Samnites *encamped near* Caudium, *and gives them a great overthrow.* Papirius Curſor, *his General of the Horſe, takes from them* Luceria (*in* Apulia) *and reſcues the* 600 Roman *Knights, who had been given as Hoſtages upon the Treaty with* Pontius. §. II. Papirius *is choſen* (*a 3d time*) *and* Q. Aulius Cerretanus (*a 2d time*) *to the Conſulate. The latter takes* Ferentum, *the former recovers* Satricum *from the* Samnites. *The Character of* Papirius. §. III. *In the Conſulate of* L. Plautius *and* M. Foſlius *a two year's Truce is granted to ſome Cities of* Samnium. *The* Roman *arms proſper in* Apulia. Campania *is turned into a* Roman Præfecture. Two *new* TRIBES *are formed, which make the whole number* 31. §. IV. *The next year* (Q. Æmilius *and* C. Junius *being* Conſuls) *all* Apulia *is ſubdued.* Antium *receives laws from* Rome *for its future government. The ſucceeding* Conſuls, Sp. Nautius *and* M. Popilius, *name a* Dictator *to begin the ſiege of* Saticula, *a* Campanian *City in alliance with the* Samnites; *and notwithſtanding that thoſe two great men,* Papirius Curſor *and* Publilius Philo *are both choſen* (*the 4th time*) *to the Conſulate for the year following, the carrying on of that ſiege is committed to another* Dictator, Q. Fabius, *the enemy and rival of* Papirius. Fabius *having* 434. 435. 2 new Tribes. 436. 437. 438.

taken Saticula, *marches to beſiege* Sora (*in the country of the* Volſci) *which had gone over to the* Samnites. *By an artful ſtratagem he defeats the* Samnites *in the field, but leaves the ſiege of* Sora *to be finiſhed by the next year's* Conſuls,
439. M. Pætilius, *and* C. Sulpicius (*who is now choſen the 3d time.*) *Theſe Generals take* Sora *by means of a ſtratagem ſuggeſted to them by a deſerter from the place.* §. V. *The* Romans *ſurprize three Cities of the* Auſones *in one day.* Luceria *in* Apulia *rebels, and is again reduced. The* Samnites *are once more*
440. *defeated in battle by the* Romans. *The next year, when* L. Papirius Curſor (*a 5th time*) *and* C. Junius Brutus (*a 2d time*) *are* Conſuls, C. Pœtelius Libo *is named* Dictator *to carry on the war. He recovers ſeveral Cities from the* Samnites. *The year following, when* M. Valerius *and* P. Decius *are in the*
441. *Conſulate, the* Romans *being alarmed with the apprehenſions of a war with all* Hetruria, *appoint* C. Sulpicius Longus Dictator *to conduct it; but no hoſtilities enſue on either ſide.*

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *one of the* Cenſors *of* Rome, *diſpleaſes the* Senate *by* admitting the Sons of Freed Men into that Body. *The* People *reform*
442. *this abuſe the next year* (*when* C. Junius (*the 3d time*) *and* Q. Æmilius (*the 2d time*) *are* Conſuls) *and make ſome new regulations.* §. II. Amilius *routs the* Hetrurians. §. III. *During the adminiſtration of* Q. Fabius (*2d time*
443. Conſul) *and* C. Marcius, *the Cenſor* Appius *obſtinately refuſes to quit his office, though his eighteen months* (*the legal time for its duration*) *are expired, preſuming on the favour of the* People, *becauſe he had made an Aqueduct to bring water to* Rome, *and a fine road between that City and* Capua. *He is proſecuted before the* People; *ſeven of the* Tribunes *are againſt him, but the other three taking him under their protection, he carries his point and keeps his poſt.*

Appius Claudius, Censor.

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. *The* Conſul Fabius *defeats the* Hetrurians *in battle near* Sutrium. *He penetrates into the* Ciminian *Foreſt, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a ſecond overthrow.* §. II. *The* Roman *army under the* Conſul Marcius *not having equal ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, *and the* Conſul *falling ſick, the* Senate *orders* Fabius *to name* Papirius Curſor (*the man he moſt hates*) *to be* Dictator *to carry on that war.* Fabius, *after ſome ſtruggle with himſelf, com-*
444. *plies.* §. III. *He continues* (*with the title of* Proconſul) *to conduct the war againſt the* Hetrurians, *and routs them once more, tho' the ſoldiers of their army had bound themſelves by oaths to conquer or die.* §. IV. *The* Dictator Papirius *is no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the* Samnites, *who, to raiſe the courage of their Troops, had given them finer arms than uſual. He returns to* Rome, *and, being*
445. *now very old, retires for the reſt of his life from public buſineſs.* §. V. Q. Fabius (*a 3d time*) *and* P. Decius Mus (*a 2d time*) *are choſen* Conſuls. Fabius *conducts the war with ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, *aſſiſted by the* Marſi *and* Peligni. Decius *reduces the* Hetrurians *to ſue for an Alliance with* Rome, *but they obtain*

obtain only a Truce for one year. He ſubdues all Umbria. §. VI. Appius Claudius, *the* Cenſor, *is choſen to the Conſulate with* L. Volumnius. Appius *ſtays at* Rome, *while* Fabius (*in quality of* Proconſul) *carries on the war proſperouſly in* Samnium, *and* Volumnius *leads an army with ſucceſs againſt the* Salentines. 446.

In the following Conſulate of Q. Marcius *and* P. Cornelius *the* HERNICI *rebel and are ſubdued; and the* SAMNITES *are twice defeated.* 447.

The Faſces *being transferred to* Poſthumius Megellus *and* Tib. Minucius, *the* Romans *gain two more victories over the* Samnites, *but* Minucius *is ſlain in the 2d battle.* 448.

§. VII. *In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Sempronius Sophus *and* P. Sulpicius Saverrio, *the* Samnites *requeſt and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with* Rome. *The* ÆQUI, *who had lately rebell'd, are totally ſubdued.* 449.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The renowned* Q. FABIUS *being* CENSOR *this year, acquires the ſurname of* MAXIMUS, *for his reformation of an abuſe introduced by* APPIUS, *who had diſperſed great numbers of the Freed Men and meaneſt of the* People *into all the Ruſtic Tribes, thereby to influence the Elections according to his own humour.* (*One* Flavius, *who had been a Writing-maſter, is by the ſtrength of this baſe faction raiſed to the* Curule Ædileſhip, *for the merit of having made the* People *a kind of Almanack.*) Flavius Almanack-maker.

Fabius reconfines *thoſe mean fellows to the four City Tribes.* 450.

§. II. *The next year* (*when* Cornelius Lentulus *and* L. Genucius are Conſuls) *is ſpent chiefly in ſending Colonies to the Conquer'd Cities. In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Livius Denter *and* Æmilius Paulus, *the art of Painting is introduced at* Rome *by* C. Fabius, *ſurnamed* PICTOR. 451.

Cleonymus, *ſon of* Cleomenes *King of* Sparta, *brings a fleet upon the coaſt of* Italy, *and makes two deſcents there without ſucceſs.* FABIUS PICTOR.

§. III. *All the following year the Republic is govern'd by two* Dictators *ſucceſſively created,* Q. Fabius *and* Valerius Corvus. 452.

The former quells an inſurrection of the Marſi; *the latter obtains a ſignal victory over the* Hetrurians, *to whom afterwards a Truce is granted for two years.*

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *In the year of* Rome 453, *when* Valerius Corvus *is the fifth time* Conſul, *and has* Q. Apuleius Panſa *for his Collegue, a* LAW *is paſs'd at the motion of two* Tribunes, *of the name of* Ogulnius, *to qualify* PLEBEIANS *for the* Pontificate *and* Augurate. 453.

PLEBEIAN PONTIFICES and AUGURS.

§. II. *The* Lex Valeria *is confirmed anew.* §. III. Q. Fabius Maximus *declines the* Conſulſhip, *to which the* People *would again raiſe him, and at his own requeſt obtains the* Curule Ædileſhip, *in which office he gains new glory.*

CHAP. XX.

§. I. *The* Hetrurians *break the Truce with* Rome *in the Conſulate of* M. Fulvius Pætinus *and* T. Manlius Torquatus. Picenum *obtains an alliance with* 454.

with the Republic. The Conſul Manlius, *who was to act againſt the* Hetrurians, *being killed by a fall from his horſe,* Valerius Corvus *is by every voice in the* Comitia *declared* Conſul (the 6th time) *to ſucceed him. The very preſence of ſo renowned a warrior ſtrikes a terror into the enemy; they quit the field, and retire into their Towns. (This was the laſt Military expedition of that*
455. *great man, who lived to an hundred years of age.)* §. II. *In the cloſe of the following Conſulate of* Cn. Fulvius *and* L. Cornelius Scipio, *a report being ſpread, that both the* Hetrurians *and the* Samnites (*which laſt had broke their alliance with* Rome) *were making mighty preparations to attack the Republic,*
456. *the* Romans *caſt their eyes on the great* Fabius *to be one of their* Conſuls *for the new year, and they oblige him to accept the office contrary to his inclination; but, at his requeſt, give him* P. Decius Mus (*who had been* Conſul *with him in the year* 445) *to be his Collegue. The* Hetrurians, *inſtead of taking the field, come to a reſolution to aſk peace; ſo that the* Conſuls *march their two armies into* Samnium, *and make terrible devaſtations in that country.*

CHAP. XXI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *who two years before had made a fruitleſs attempt to exclude the* Plebeians *from the* Conſulate, *endeavours now with the ſame view to get the* Conſular Faſces *for* Fabius *and himſelf.* Fabius *being preſi-*
457. *dent in the* Comitia, *oppoſes his own re-election; whereupon* Volumnius Flamma, *a* Plebeian, *is joined with* Appius *in the* Conſulſhip. Fabius *and* Decius (*in quality of* Proconſuls) *are continued in the command of their reſpective armies for ſix months longer.* Fabius *binders the* Lucanians *from joining the* Samnites. Decius *gains great advantages over the latter, to compleat whoſe deſtruction* Volumnius *marches a new army into* Samnium. §. II. *But he ſoon*
Appius Claudius and Volumnius. *after leaves that country to go to the aſſiſtance of his Collegue* Appius, *much embarraſſed with a war againſt the* Hetrurians, *ſtrengthened by a body of* Samnites *and another of* Gauls. Appius *pretends to be diſpleaſed with his arrival, upon which* Volumnius *offers to lead back his army into* Samnium: *But the troops of* Appius *oppoſe this motion. The united armies of the two* Conſuls *come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them.* §. III. *After this* Volumnius *returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the* Samnites, *who* (*after* Fabius *and* Decius, *whoſe Proconſulate was expired, were returned to* Rome) *had made an incurſion into* Campania.

CHAP. XXII.

§. I. *The Republic being alarmed by accounts from* Appius, *of extraordinary preparations for war by the* Hetrurians *and their allies, (the* Umbrians, Gauls, *and* Samnites *elect* Fabius (the 5th time) *to the Conſulate, and at his requeſt the* Comitia *grant him* Decius *again for a Collegue, tho' the firſt* Centuries *have already voted for* Volumnius. Volumnius *himſelf approves of the requeſt.*
Fabius and Decius. §. II. *A rivalſhip happens at this time between the* Patrician *and* Plebeian
458. *Ladies for the reputation of ſtrict Chaſtity.* §. III. *When the time comes for the*

the Conſuls *to take the field, the* Senate *decree the conduct of the war againſt the* Hetrurians *to* Fabius. Decius (*to comply with the humour of his party, the* Plebeians) *refuſes to yield that command to his* Patrician *Collegue, unleſs it fall to him by lot; and he appeals from the* Senate's *decree to the* People. *The* People *having heard the pleas of the two competitors, and conſider'd the preſent exigence, determine in favour of* Fabius *as the greater General.* §. IV. Fabius *in his way to the camp being informed that* Appius *has fortified it in ſuch an extraordinary manner as betrays fear, ſends orders before him immediately to level the fortifications: and after his arrival, inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within Lines, he keeps them in conſtant motion by frequent marches and counter-marches. Before he enters upon action, he returns to* Rome, *but for what reaſon is uncertain. The* Senate, *that he may be able to contend with the enemy, judging it neceſſary to ſtrengthen him by a ſecond army,* Fabius *deſires that his Collegue* Decius *may be the General to command it; which requeſt is granted. The* Conſuls, *having ſent* Volumnius *with an army into* Samnium, *and leaving two other armies encamped near the city to cover it on the ſide of* Hetruria, *take the field. The forces of the enemy are divided into two bodies, which encamp ſeparately: One conſiſts of* Samnites (*who had been driven out of their own country*) *and* Gauls, *the other of* Hetrurians *and* Umbrians. Fabius *ordering the two armies he had left near* Rome *to go and ravage a part of* Hetruria, *the* Hetrurians *and* Umbrians *march away to defend it, and in their abſence the* Conſuls *come to a battle with the united* Gauls *and* Samnites. *The left wing of the* Romans, *which* Decius *commands, being terrified and broken by the armed Chariots uſed by the* Gauls, *he, to recover the courage of his men,* devotes *himſelf to death in the ſame manner his father had done on the like occaſion.* Devotement of Decius. *After this* Fabius *obtains a compleat victory.* §. V. *Before the end of the year the* Samnites *raiſe two new armies, which are routed by the forces of* Appius, *now* Prætor *of* Rome, *and the* Proconſul Volumnius. Rome *is afflicted by a Plague, and terrified by Prodigies.*

CHAP. XXIII.

§. I. L. Poſthumius (*the 2d time*) *and* M. Atilius Regulus *are choſen* Conſuls. 459. Poſthumius *falling ſick, the war is carried on againſt the* Samnites *by* Atilius *at the head of only one Conſular army. The* Samnites *have the advantage in this campaign, till* Poſthumius, *being recovered, brings a ſecond* Roman *army into the field; they then retire, and leave their country open to be pillaged. While* Poſthumius *is employed in taking ſome of their Towns,* Atilius *marches to the relief of* Luceria, (*in* Apulia) *beſieged* (*as he was told*) *by the* Samnites. *He meets the enemy in his way, and comes to a battle with them, the ſucceſs of which is ſuch, that neither army cares to try a ſecond engagement. Their ſituation however forces them to it; and then* Atilius, *by ſingular bravery and ſkill, obtains the victory.* §. II. *In the mean time* Poſthumius, without orders from the Senate, *leaves* Samnium *and marches into* Hetruria, *where he reduces three of the* Lucumonies *to ſue for peace. Nevertheleſs the* Fathers, *at his return to* Rome, *refuſe him a Triumph, becauſe of his*

his irregular proceedings. He obtains it however by the favour of the People. §. III. *In the new Conſulate of* L. Papirius Curſor (*ſon of the famous* Papirius) *and* Sp. Carvilius *the* Samnite *war is continued.* 460. *The* Samnites *make* 16000 *of their ſoldiers bind themſelves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. Their whole army conſiſts of* 36000. *While* Carvilius *lays ſiege to* Cominium *in the eaſtern extremity of* Samnium, Papirius *leads his forces againſt the formidable army of the enemy, encamped near* Aquilonia *in* Hirpinia. *He gains the victory by the new ſtratagem of making the Muleteers and other ſervants of his army (whom he mounted upon Mules, and ſent to ſome diſtance) appear in the heat of the action like a new army come to his aſſiſtance.* §. IV. Carvilius *takes* Cominium; *after which the two* Conſuls *join their forces to compleat the deſtruction of the* Samnites. *But the war breaking out afreſh in* Hetruria, Carvilius *leads his army into that country, and reduces the enemy to buy a truce for a year. Both the* Conſuls *have Triumphs. In this* Sun-dial. *year a* Sun-dial *is the firſt time ſeen at* Rome. §. V. *A new regulation is made at* Rome *relating to the* Guardianſhip of Orphans, *and another relating to the* Public *Games.*

CHAP. XXIV.

61. §. I. Q. Fabius Gurges (*ſon of* Fabius Maximus) *is choſen to the Conſulate, tho' his father had oppoſed his promotion. The Collegue given him is* Junius Brutus Scæva. *Neither the one nor the other is well qualified to conduct an army.* Junius *however being well aſſiſted by* Carvilius, *the late* Conſul, *makes a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the* Faliſci *in* Hetruria. *But* Gurges, *through his ill conduct, is ſhamefully vanquiſhed in a battle with the* Samnites. *The* People *of* Rome *having reſolved to puniſh him, old* Fabius *pacifies them, by offering to ſerve under his ſon the remainder of the Campaign.* Gurges, *aſſiſted by his Father's counſel, obtains a glorious victory over the enemy; and* Pontius, *the famous* Samnite *General, is taken priſoner.* §. II. *The* Romans, *to put a* A Snake imported to ſtop the plague. *ſtop to the Plague, ſend Ambaſſadors to bring from* Epidaurus *the God* Æſculapius, *worſhip'd there under the form of a ſerpent.* §. III. *The God arrives in* 462. *the beginning of the next Conſulate of* L. Poſthumius (*now the third time choſen*) *and* Junius Brutus Bubulcus. Poſthumius *proudly aſſumes to himſelf the conduct of the war in* Samnium, *without drawing lots with his Collegue, or waiting for a decree of the* Senate *in his favour. When he comes into the field, he, contrary to the will of the* Senate, *obliges* Fabius Gurges, *now* Proconſul, *to* 463. *deſiſt from the ſiege of* Cominium (*which had been retaken by the* Samnites) *and leave it to him. He takes that town and another. The* Senate *nevertheleſs, to puniſh his diſobedience, mortify him in ſeveral inſtances; and in the ſucceeding Conſulate (of* P. Cornelius Rufinus *and* Manius Curius Dentatus) *he is fined by the* People *for a miſdemeanour during his Magiſtracy.* §. IV. *The* Curius Dentatus. Conſul Curius (*a Hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty*) *reduces the* Samnites *to aſk* Peace, *which is now granted them the 4th time, on the conditions preſcribed by* Curius, *whom they in vain endeavour to bribe.* §. V. *He reduces* Sabinia *to a ſtate of ſubjection to the Republic, and has two Triumphs*

decreed him for his exploits in one year. He is afterwards accuſed of imbezzling ſome of the ſpoil taken from the enemy, but is honourably acquitted. §. VI. *In quality of* Proconſul *he carries the war into* Lucania, *the new* Conſuls, M. Valerius Corvinus *and* Q. Cœdicius Noctua, *ſpending their whole year in works of peace, and in ſending Colonies to the conquer'd Cities. To relieve the* Prætor *of* Rome, *three new judges are created to try Malefactors. The cruelty of a Creditor to his Debtor, for whom he had conceived an infamous paſſion, occaſions great commotions at* Rome *in the ſecond Conſulates of* Q. Marcius Tremulus *and* P. Cornelius Arvina, *and a new* Seceſſion *of the* People *in the following year, when* M. Claudius Marcellus *and* C. Nautius Rutilus *are* Conſuls. *The* Patricians, *to effect a reconciliation, are obliged to make conceſſions.* Fabius Maximus *in his old age is made* Dictator, *to finiſh the accommodation; which done, he preſides in the* Comitia, *where* M. Valerius Potitus *and* C. Ælius Pœtus *are choſen* Conſuls. *He ſoon after dies. The year of the new* Conſuls *proves barren of great events.* 464. 465. 466. 467.

CHAP. XXV.

§. I. *Nothing memorable happens the next year, when* C. Claudius Canina *and* M. Æmilius Lepidus *are* Conſuls. *But in the following Conſulate of* C. Servilius Tucca *and* L. Cæcilius Metellus *the* Tarentines *endeavour privately to ſtir up both old and new enemies againſt* Rome. *The* Gauls *called* Senones *murder ſome* Roman *Ambaſſadors, who had been ſent to perſuade them to deſiſt from the ſiege of* Aretium *in* Hetruria; *and they ſoon after give the* Roman *army, under the conduct of* Cæcilius, *a terrible overthrow.* Curius Dentatus *revenges this defeat by leading an army into the country of the* Gauls, *and laying it waſte.* §. II. *The next year the* Romans, *under the* Conſuls P. Cornelius *and* Cn. Domitius, *vanquiſh in battle the* Senones, *the* Boii, *and the* Hetrurians. *The* Samnites *revolt. In the ſucceeding conſulate of* C. Fabricius *and* Q. Æmilius Papus, *almoſt all* Italy *riſes in arms againſt the Republic.* Fabricius *defeats the confederate forces of the* Lucanians, Bruttians *and* Samnites. *The* Romans *imagine that the God* Mars *had fought in perſon for them.* §. III. *The* Tarentines, *who had not yet openly appear'd againſt* Rome, *fall in a hoſtile manner upon a* Roman *fleet, which chances to come into their port. The* Romans *ſend to demand ſatisfaction. The* Tarentines *inſult the Ambaſſadors in the moſt outragious manner, and then turn their thoughts to ſeek an alliance with* Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus, *and to invite him into* Italy. [*A ſhort account of this Prince, and the ſtate of his affairs at this time.*] §. IV. *The* Senate *of* Rome *having long debated, whether to begin a war immediately with the* Tarentines, *or to defer it, determine for the firſt, and the* People *confirm their Decree.* L. Æmilius (*who, with* Q. Marcius *is now in the Conſulate*) *marches an army directly for* Tarentum. *The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the Citizens on his approach. They reſolve to invite* Pyrrhus *to their aſſiſtance.* Æmilius *endeavours to make them lay aſide this deſign, by generouſly releaſing ſome* Tarentine *priſoners he had taken.* §. V. 468. 469. 470. 471. The Tarentines. 472.

Pyrrhus *accepts the invitation, and ſends before him to* Tarentum *the famous* Cyneas *with* 3000 *men, who take poſſeſſion of the Citadel.*

CHAP. XXVI.

473. KING PYRRHUS arrives in Italy. §. I. P. Valerius Lævinus *and* Tib. Coruncanius *are choſen* Conſuls *at* Rome. Pyrrhus (whoſe character is given) *being arrived at* Tarentum (*after eſcaping ſhipwreck by a ſtorm which diſperſed his Fleet*) *takes meaſures to turn the* Tarentines *from the purſuit of* Pleaſures, *to which they are entirely addicted*; *and he makes himſelf abſolute maſter of the place. In the mean time the* Romans *ſend* Fabricius *to viſit their Colonies and Allies, with whom they are fallen into ſome diſcredit, through the villainous behaviour of a Legion of* Campanian Garriſon of Rhegium. *Soldiers, which had been ſent by the Republic to garriſon* Rhegium *at the requeſt of the inhabitants, and which had maſſacred the Citizens by ſurprize, and ſeized the City for themſelves.* §. II. Pyrrhus *hearing at* Tarentum *that the* Conſul Lævinus *has march'd an army into* Lucania, *takes the field. He ſends a letter to the* Conſul *encamp'd near* Heraclea, *requiring him to ſubmit the quarrel between* Rome *and* Tarentum *to his arbitration.* Lævinus, *in anſwer, returns a defiance.* Pyrrhus *takes a view of the* Roman *camp, and admires the order of it*; *and his confidence of ſucceſs in the war being thereby abated, he reſolves to wait for the junction of his allies before he hazards a battle*; *but the* Romans *force him to fight. He gains the victory by means of his Elephants.* §. III. *After this ſucceſs* Pyrrhus *forms Deſigns upon* Capua *and* Naples. *Diſappointed in theſe deſigns, he marches towards* Rome *with an intention to beſiege it. But hearing that the* Conſul Coruncanius, *who had* ſubdued all HETRURIA, *is coming with his victorious army againſt him, he marches back into* Campania, *where* Lævinus *having recruited his forces, offers him battle once more. The King declines it, and returns to* Tarentum. §. IV. FABRICIUS. *Hither* Fabricius, *and two other* Senators *from* Rome, *come to treat with him concerning the ranſom of Priſoners. He has ſome private converſation with* Fabricius. *The King reſolves to ſend* Cyneas *to* Rome *with propoſals of Peace, one of the conditions of which is to be, a releaſe of the* Roman *Priſoners without Ranſom.* Cyneas *comes to* Rome, *and employs all his arts to effect his deſires*; *but the* Senate, *moved chiefly by a warm ſpeech of* Appius Claudius *the Civilian, (now blind) unanimouſly refuſe to enter into any treaty of Peace with the King while he continues in* Italy. Cyneas *returns to* Tarentum, *full of admiration of the* Romans.
APPIUS CLAUDIUS, THE BLIND.

CHAP. XXVII.

474. §. I. *The next year the* Romans, *under the conduct of their new* Conſuls, P. Sulpicius Saverrio *and* P. Decius Mus, *come to a ſecond battle with King* Pyrrhus, *near* ASCULUM *in* Apulia. *The circumſtances and event of this action are not well known.* Pyrrhus *retires to* Tarentum, *and the* Conſuls *into winter-quarters.* §. II. *The year following, when* C. Fabricius *and* Q. Æmilius 475. Papus (both a 2d time) *are* Conſuls, *the* Carthaginians *ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance*

assistance of the Romans *against* Pyrrhus, *who, they fear, will invade their dominions in* Sicily, *if he should conclude a Peace with the* Romans. (*He had been invited thither by the* Sicilians.) *The* Senate *refuse the assistance offer'd, yet enter into a new Treaty with* Carthage. §. III. *The* Romans *and* Epirots *having again taken the field, and the two armies lying in sight of each other in the territory of* Tarentum, *the* Consuls *send a letter to the King, giving him notice of the treachery of his Physician, who had offer'd to poison him for a reward.* Pyrrhus, *in return for their generosity, releases the* Roman *Prisoners, and once more sends* Cyneas *to* Rome *with proposals of peace, but to no effect.*

§. IV. Pirrhus *leaving a garrison in* Tarentum, *passes with his army into* Sicily. Pyrrhus goes into Sicily.

CHAP. XXVIII.

§. I. *The state of* Sicily *at the time of* Pyrrhus's *arrival there. He makes rapid and extensive conquests in the island.* §. II. *In the mean time the* Romans *chuse* Cornelius Ruffinus *and* C. Junius Brutus *to the Consulate. These Generals lead their forces against the* Samnites, *advantageously posted in their mountains, and suffer a shameful defeat. After this,* Ruffinus *by a stratagem takes* Croton *from the* Bruttians. Locris *submits to the* Romans, *the inhabitants having just massacred the garrison which* Pyrrhus *had left there.* §. III. *The* Romans (*under their new* Consuls Q. Fabius Gurges *and* C. Genucius) *continuing the war with success against the* Samnites, Lucanians, *and* Bruttians, *these nations send to intreat* Pyrrhus *to return to their assistance. The King's affairs in* Sicily *being now in a bad way, he is glad of so honourable a pretext to leave the Island. His fleet, in its return to* Italy, *is dispersed and partly destroyed by the* Carthaginian *fleet. After his landing near* Rhegium, *he is attacked in his marches to* Tarentum, *by a body of* Mamertines (*who had passed the Streights expresly*) *and suffers a considerable loss. He lays waste the territory of the* Locrenses, *and plunders the Temple of* Proserpine. §. IV. Curius Dentatus (*a 2d time*) *and* L. Cornelius Lentulus *are raised to the Consulate at* Rome. *The* People, *from some unaccountable caprice, being unwilling to inlist themselves for the war,* Curius *confiscates the goods of the first man who refuses, and sells the man himself for a slave, and by this example of severity gets the better of the* People's *obstinacy. Two armies are raised. While* Lentulus *leads one into* Lucania, Curius *leads the other into* Samnium, *where he comes to a battle with the* Epirots *in the* Taurasian *fields, and gives them a total overthrow. He takes their camp, and the* Romans *admiring the form of it, resolve to make it the future model of their own.* §. V. Pyrrhus *leaving a strong garrison in* Tarentum, *embarks for* Epirus *under pretence of going to fetch recruits.*

476. Returns to Italy.

477.

478. Embarks for Epirus.

CHAP. XXIX.

§. I. *The* Consul Curius *has a pompous Triumph for his victory over King* Pyrrhus, *but he refuses what other rewards the* Senate *offer him.* Ruffinus (*who has been* Consul *and* Dictator) *is by the* Censors *struck out of the list of* Senators *for having too much Silver Plate.* §. II. Curius *is continued for another*

479. *other year in the Conſulate, and has for his Collegue* Cornelius Merenda. *The* Tarentines *beginning to deſpiſe* Pyrrhus, *force the garriſon he had left there to confine themſelves in the Citadel.* Curius *forces the* Samnites *and* Lucanians *to*
480. *retire for refuge to their mountains. But they appear again in the field the next year, when* C. Fabius Dorſo *and* C. Claudius Carina *are the* Roman Conſuls. Claudius *defeats them in a pitch'd battle.* §. III. Ptolemy Philadelphus *ſends an Embaſſy to* Rome, *to ask an alliance with the Republic. The* Romans *ſend*
481. *Ambaſſadors into* Ægypt. §. IV. *The new year's* Conſuls, L. Papirius Curſor *and* Sp. Carvilius (both promoted a 2d time) *have ſcarce enter'd* Samnium *with two armies, when a certain account comes that* Pyrrhus *is dead.* [*The manner of his death is related.*] *This news throws the* SAMNITES *into deſpair; they put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby* totally ſubdued *by* Papirius, *after a war which had laſted 72 years. The* BRUTTIANS *and* LUCANIANS *ſubmit ſoon after; and* Papirius *by negotiation prevails with* Milo *and the* Tarentines *to put their City and Citadel into the hands of the* Romans; *after which the* Carthaginians, *whoſe fleet lay before* Tarentum, *and who ſeem to have had a deſign upon it, ſail away from the coaſt.*
482. §. V. *The Conſulate* Faſces *are transferred to* Quinctius Claudius *and* L. Genucius; *and the* Romans *being now in a condition to puniſh the perfidious* Campanian Legion; *which had formerly ſeized* RHEGIUM, *beſiege it, carry the place, reſtore it to thoſe of the old inhabitants who had eſcaped the maſſacre,*
483. *and put all who remain of the Legion to death.* §. VI. *The following Conſulate of* C. Genucius *and* Cn. Cornelius *produces nothing of moment; and the moſt memorable thing that happens under the adminiſtration of their ſucceſſors,* Q. Ogulnius *and* C. Fabius Pictor, *is the* Coining of Silver Money *at* Rome *for the firſt time.* §. VII. *The next year, when* Appius Claudius (*ſon of* Appius the Blind) *and* P. Sempronius Sophus *are* Conſuls, Picenum *is totally*
484. *ſubdued, and the* SABINES *are made entirely* Roman, *by being admitted to the*
485. *right of ſuffrage in the* Roman Comitia. §. VIII. *The* Conſuls *of the fol-*
486. *lowing year,* L. Julius *and* M. Atilius Regulus, *commence a war with the*
487. Salentines; *and this nation, together with the* Sarcinates *in* Umbria, *being entirely ſubdued by the ſucceeding* Conſuls, Numerius Fabius *and* D. Junius Pera, Rome *becomes thereby miſtreſs of* all the Countries in ITALY *from the remoteſt part of* Hetruria *to the* Ionian Sea, *and from the* Tyrrhenian Sea *to the* Adriatic. §. IX. *The Republic is now courted by foreign States. The Ambaſſadors from* Apollonia *in* Macedon *being inſulted by ſome of the Citizens of* Rome, *the offenders are deliver'd up to the* Apolloniates, *and a law is paſſed to make*
488. *the like practice general in like caſes. In the Conſulate of* Q. Fabius Gurges *and* L. Mamilius Vitulus, *the* Romans *regulate their* Finances, *and appoint four* Provincial Quæſtors *for the four Provinces into which they divide* Italy.

Death of PYRRHUS.

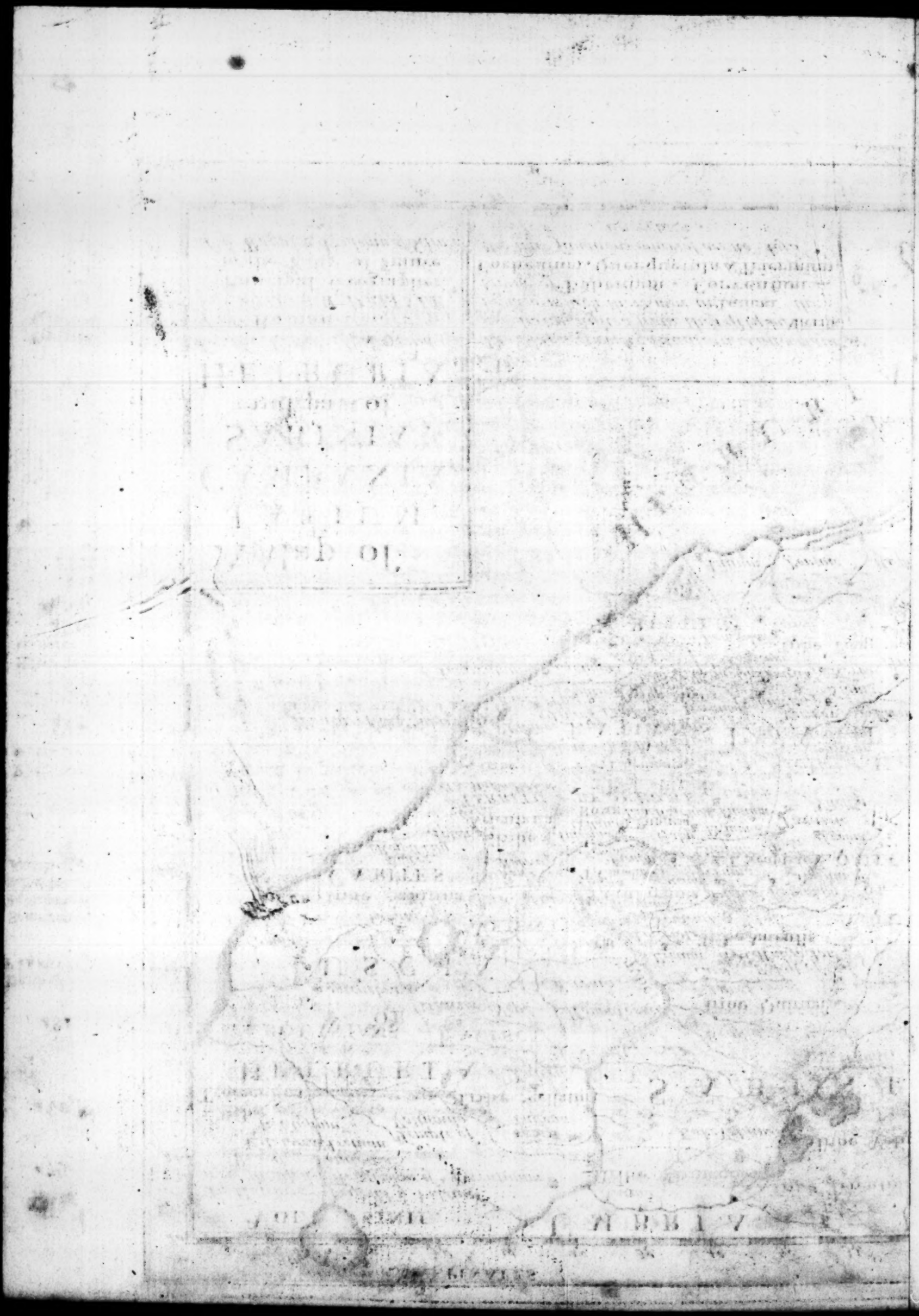
Samnites, Bruttians, &c. ſubjected to Rome.

Rhegium taken.

Silver money coined.

Provincial Quæſtors.

THE



A Map of LATIUM, CAMPANIA, SABINIA, and part of HETRURIA,

for the better Understanding of the Roman *History.*

by WILLIAM DELISLE.

Principal Geographer to the King of France,

of ỹ Royal Academy of Sciences

I. Senex sculp.t 1727.

NB.

The places of which ỹ situation is uncertain are distinguished from the rest by an Asterisk; *besides which there were in* Latium *the towns of* Bubentum, Corventum, Corbentum, Quierquetula & Tricrinum, *the true situations whereof are no less uncertain.*

Volsinium a Royal City

SALPINATES

VOLSINII.

In Hetruria were situated Rusellæ Volaterra & Clusium

beyond ỹ Volsinii ỹ Royal towns of Ferentinum Vetulonia Aretium

Temple of Voltumna

Capena

Tribe Tromentina

Tribe Stellatina

HETRURIA

Falerii a Royal City

UMBRIA

Nar R.

Narnia

Tribe Namiensis

Tribe Terenti

Lake Velinus

Tribe Ve

SABIN

Velinus

Tyber

Regillæ

TARQUINIANS OR TUSCIA

Tarquinia a Royal City

Contenebra

FALISCI

Sutrii Nepe

Mount Soracte

Feronia

Tribe Quirina

Cures

R. Cures

Forest of Malefactors

Eretum

Ameriola

Tribe Aniensis

Cortuosa

Sabata

Tribe Sabatina

VEIENTES

Veii a Royal City

Nomentum

Ario

AQU

T. Crustumina

Tibur

Empulum

Fidenæ

Gernicula

T. Claudia

Apiola

Lenina

Sucula

Saxa Rubra

Ficulnea

T. Scaptia

AQUIC

Scaptia

Rola

Arena

Mons Sacer

CÆRITES

Cære a Royal City

Arten

Tribe Veientana

Autemna

Gabii

Collatia

T. Pupinia

Pedum

Prænestе

ROME

Lake Regillus

Pitulum

TERRITORY OF ROME

Labrici

Vitellia

The Mæsian Fortress

T. Papiria

Tusculum

Artena

Tribe Romulia

T. Lemonia

Coriolia

Corbio

Medullia

Bovillæ

Alba

Algidus

Lectra

Mouth of the Tyber

Fidenæ

LATIANS

Forest of

Currentu

Tellena

Camerium

Wood of Ferentum

Verrugo

Lake of Osiris

Politorii

Tribe Mœsia

Velitræ

Cora

Signia

Laurentum

Lavinium

Lanuvium

Sucssa Pometia

Norba

Satricum

Ardea

Tribe Pomptin

Lanuvium

Longula

RUTULI

Torrichi

Polusca

V

Antium

Pontiæ

HETRURIA

Pro

30 40 50 30 10 20 30 40 50 31

40 30 20 10 41 30

PICENUM

Terentina

Tribe Velina

Apennine Hills

Scale.

Roman Miles of 5000 feet each

10 20 30

Greek Stadia or Furlongs 125 paces each

100 200

N I A

VESTINI

Velinus.

R. Aternus

Sagra.

MARSI

PELIGNI

ÆQUI

OR

QUICOLI

Lake Fucinus

Apennine Hills.

Anio

R. Liris

Sagra

HERNICI

T I U M

Apennines Hills.

S A M N I T E S

Ferentinum

Signia

Norba

Artena

Pomptina

Setia

VOLSCI

Privernum

Tribe Ufentina

R. Liris

Vulturnus

Saticula

Marshes

AURUNCI

Tribe Faleria

SIDICINI

Anxur or Terracina

Feronia

Fundi

Formiæ

Minturnæ

Vescia

Mount Massicus

Teanum

Falernus

CAMPANIA

Promontory of Circæum

I A N SEA

R. Vulturnus

Capua

Mount Tifata

Mount Gaurus

Cumæ

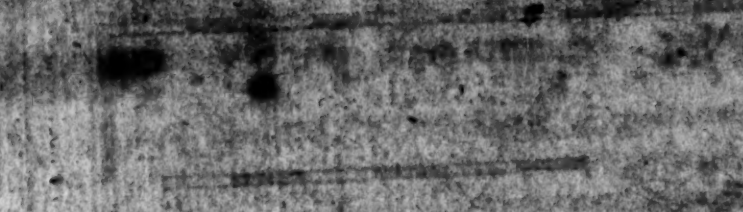
Puteoli

Baiæ

Mount Vesuvius

31 10 20 30 40 50 32 10 20 30 40 50

30 20 10 42 50 40 30 20 10 41



THE
Roman Hiſtory.

FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Original of the *Romans*, and the Building of *Rome*.

Sect. 1. *The firſt* Romans *were of* Trojan *extraction.* §. 2. *Æneas's voyage to Italy.* §. 3. *The ancient inhabitants of that country.* §. 4. *Æneas's reception by* Latinus, *King of* Latium. *He marries* Lavinia *the daughter of* Latinus, *and builds* Lavinium. §. 5. *He ſucceeds to the Kingdom of his father-in-law.* §. 6. *The death of Æneas, who is ſucceeded by his ſon* Aſcanius. §. 7. Aſcanius *founds* Alba Longa, *and yields* Lavinium *to* Æneas Sylvius, *the ſon of Æneas by* Lavinia. §. 8. *The* Latines *upon the death of* Aſcanius *unite* Lavinium *and* Alba *into one dominion, which they decree to* Æneas Sylvius, *but give the ſovereign power in affairs of religion to* Julus *the ſon of* Aſcanius. §. 9. *The ſucceſſion of the Kings of* Alba *from* Æneas Sylvius *to* Amulius, *who dethrones his elder brother* Numitor. §. 10. *The birth, education and adventures of* Romulus *and* Remus. *They dethrone* Amulius, *and reſtore their Grandfather* Numitor. §. 11. Numitor *ſends his two grandſons to plant a colony. The quarrel about the ſpot of ground where the new city ſhall ſtand.* Remus *is ſlain.* §. 12. ROME *is built.*

§. 1. THAT *Æneas* came into *Italy* after the deſtruction of *Troy*, and that the founders of *Rome* were deſcended from him and his followers, are points of hiſtory ſufficiently authorized and eſtabliſhed. All the *Latine* Hiſtorians either expreſly relate theſe facts or ſuppoſe them; and many of the *Greek*, leſs zealous for the *Roman* glory, adhere to the ſame tradition. *Dionyſius* indeed ſpeaks of ſome ancient writers who will not allow *Æneas* to have travelled far-ther than *Thrace*; of others who make him ſettle in *Arcadia*; and again of others, who admitting that he paſſed into *Italy*, and there planted a colony, yet affirm, that he afterwards went back into his own country, where they ſay, he was King of *Troy*, and at his death left the Kingdom to his ſon

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 38.

B. 1. p. 42.

Ascanius: But all these opinions are rejected by that critical and judicious antiquary, who, upon better authorities, has given us the following account of the adventures of the *Trojan* Prince.

B. 1. p. 35, 36, & *seq.*

§. II. WHEN the *Greeks*, by the treachery of the sons of *Antenor*, or by whatever other means it happened, were become masters of *Troy*, *Æneas* with the forces under his command retired into the fortress of the city, and defended it bravely for some time; but yielding at length to necessity, he conveyed away his Gods, his father, wife, and children, with every thing he had that was valuable, and, follow'd by a numerous crowd of *Trojans*, fled to the strong places of Mount *Ida*. Hither all those of his countrymen who were more anxious than the rest to preserve their liberty flocked to him from the several towns of *Troas*. His army thus augmented and advantageously posted, he continued quiet, waiting for the departure of the *Greeks*, who, it was imagined, would return home as soon as they had pillaged the country. But these, after they had enriched themselves with the spoils of *Troy* and of the neighbouring towns, turn'd their arms against the fugitives, resolving to attack them in their strong holds upon the mountain. *Æneas*, to avoid the hazard of being forc'd in his last refuge, had recourse to negotiation, and, by his heralds, intreated the enemy not to constrain him to a battle. Peace was granted him on condition that he, with his followers, quitted the *Trojan* territories; and the *Greeks*, on their part, promised not to molest him in his retreat, but to let him safely pass through any country within the extent of their domination.

Upon this assurance, *Æneas* equipp'd a fleet, in order to seek a settlement in some foreign land. We are told, that at his departure he left his eldest son *Ascanius* with the *Dascylitæ*, a people of *Bithynia*, who desired to have him for their King; but that the young Prince did not remain long with them: for when *Scamandrius* (*Astyanax*) with the rest of the *Hectoridæ* whom *Neoptolemus* permitted to return home from *Greece*, repaired to him, he put himself at their head, and led them back to their native country.

The *Trojan*, having cross'd the *Hellespont*, arriv'd in the Peninsula of *Pallene*[a], where he built a city, called from him *Æneia*, and left in it a part of that multitude which had follow'd him. From thence he sailed to *Delos*[b], and thence to *Cythera*, where he erected a temple to *Venus*.

He-

[a] Though this account of *Æneas*'s conduct with respect to his country be what *D. Hal.* esteems the most probable, yet he owns that the Historians are of various opinions concerning it, and he particularly mentions a passage of *Menecrates*, importing, that *Troy* was taken through the treachery of *Æneas*, and that he betrayed it to the *Greeks*, to be revenged on *Paris*, who had opposed his having a certain sacerdotal dignity to which he aspired.

[a] The *Pallene* here meant was probably that of *Macedon*, not that of *Thrace*; but being inhabited by *Thracians*, is by *D. Hal.* p. 38. spoken of as in *Thrace*. *Livy*, B. 1. § 1. says, that *Æneas* flying from his native country, came first into *Macedon*.

[b] *Delos* and *Cythera* are both Islands in the *Archipelago* or *Ægæum Mare*; the first, near the Isle of *Rhodes*, but within it, at present the common name of *Dili* or *Idilles*. *Cythera* lies

He built another to the same Goddess in [a] *Zacynthus*, in which Island he likewise instituted games, called *The Races of Æneas and Venus*: *the statues of both*, says Dionysius, *are standing to this day*. In [b] *Leucas*, where the *Trojans* landed, was to be seen in the same author's time, a temple erected *to Venus the mother of Æneas*. Nor were [c] *Actium* and [d] *Ambracia* without monuments that testified his arrival in those places. At [e] *Dodona* were found brazen vases, upon which the name of the *Trojan* hero, who had made an offering of them to *Jupiter*, was engraven in old characters. Not far from [f] *Buthrotus*, in *Epirus*, a *Trojan* camp, which had escaped the injuries of time, retained the name of *Troja*. All these antiquities, still subsisting in the reign of *Augustus*, were then look'd upon as indisputable proofs of *Æneas*'s voyage to *Epirus*; "and that "he came into *Italy*, (*adds the same* Dionysius,) we have the concurrent "testimony of all the *Romans*; the ceremonies they observe in their "sacrifices and festivals bear witness to it, as also the *Sibylline* books, "the *Pythian* oracles, and many other things which no body can reasonably reject as invented merely for ornament.

The first land of *Italy* which *Æneas* made, after crossing the *Ionian* Sea, was Cape [g] *Minervus*, in *Iapygia*; and here he went on shore. Sailing afterwards from hence, and coasting along the south-east of *Italy* and the east and south sides of *Sicily*, he arrived with his fleet either by choice or stress of weather at the port of [h] *Drepanum* in that Island. *Elymus* and *Aegestus* who had escaped from *Troy* a little before him, had brought a *Trojan* colony to this place. *Æneas* augmented it by a good number of his followers, whom, pleas'd to have found a safe resting place after many dangers and fatiguing voyages, he willingly left behind him at their request; though certain authors pretend that he was constrained to it by the difficulty of transporting them, because some *Trojan* women, weary of the sea, had burnt a considerable part of his ships.

Æneas leaving *Drepanum*, steer'd his course for *Italy* across the [i] *Tyrrhenian* sea. To the cape, where he first landed, he gave the name [k] *Palinurus*, from one of his pilots who died there. The little island of *Leucasia*, not far distant, whither he sailed next, got its name in like manner

lies to the east of the *Mares* or *Peloponnesus*, and is now called *Cerigo*.

[a] Now *Zante*.

[b] Now *Santa Maura*.

[c] A Promontory of *Epirus*, now *Capo Figalo*.

[d] Formerly a City of *Epirus*, now only a Village, bearing the name of *Ambrakia*.

[e] In the country of the *Molossi* in *Epirus*. There are no traces of it remaining.

[f] Now *Butrinto*.

[g] A Promontory where there was a good summer haven. It was from this time call'd the port of *Venus*, now *Castro*.

[h] Now *Capo di Sant' Angelo*. The town is call'd *Trapani*.

[i] The *Tyrrhenian* sea is a part of the *Mediterranean*. It washes the shores of *Tuscany*, the Pope's dominions, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. It was called by the ancients *Mare Inferum*, to distinguish it from the *Adriatick*, which they named *Mare Superum*.

[k] Now *Capo di Palinuro* in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

from a daughter of *Æneas*'s sister, who there ended her days. The port of [a] *Misenum*, the Island of *Procyta*, and the promontory of [b] *Cajeta*, where he successively arrived, were so called from being the burial places, the first of a noble *Trojan* his companion, the second of his kinswoman, and the third of his nurse. At length the *Trojan* Prince and his chosen band finished their tedious and painful voyages on the coast of the since famous *Latium* [c]. This was a small territory, on the east side of the river *Tyber*, containing a part of the present *Campagna di Roma*: *Latinus* was the King of it; his capital town, *Laurentum* [d]; his subjects, a people who, till his time called *Aborigines*, had from him taken the name of *Latines*. Here, far removed from their implacable enemies the *Greeks*, *Æneas* and his followers undertook to raise a second *Troy*: they fortified a camp near the mouth of the *Tyber*, gave it the name of *Troy*, and flattered themselves with the hopes of a quiet settlement, a period to all their unhappy adventures.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 8.

p. 42.

§. III. *ITALY* [e] before the fall of *Troy* and the arrival of *Æneas* was known to the *Greeks* by several other names, as *Hesperia*, *Saturnia*, *Ausonia* and *Œnotria*. From its situation to the west of *Greece* it naturally acquired the *first*; the Fable of the God *Saturn*'s taking refuge there, gave it the *second*; it had the *third* from the *Ausones*, who inhabited one part of it; and the *fourth* was left it by *Œnotrus*, King of the *Sabines*, according to *Varro*, or, according to others, by *Œnotrus* son of *Lycaon*, who led thither a colony of *Arcadians*. *Dion. Hal.* thinks that these *Arcadians* were the same with the [f] *Aborigines*, and the first *Greeks* who came into

p. 9.

[a] *Capo di Misina* in the same Kingdom.

[b] Now *Gaeta*.

[c] *Latium* at this time comprehended but a small part of what was afterwards called by that name.

[d] It is difficult to fix the situation of the ancient city of *Laurentum*, of which there is no trace remaining. It was called by that name from the great number of laurels growing thereabouts. *Varro*, B. 4. *de lingua Latina*, p. 36.

[e] *Italy* did not anciently contain above one half of what now goes by that name, yet it comprehended many distinct Nations, the principal of which were, the *Aborigines*, *Sabines*, *Etrurians* or *Tuscans*, *Umbri*, *Samnites*, *Campani*, *Apulii*, *Calabrii*, *Lucanii*, and *Bruttii*. The rest was chiefly possessed by the *Gauls*, who had driven out the former inhabitants, and by the *Ligures* and *Veneti*.

[f] Some Historians held the *Aborigines* to be natives of *Italy*, who had that name given them because they had been there *ab origine from the beginning*, and did not derive their origin from any other Nation. Others pretend that the *Aborigines* were vagabonds and vagrants, who coming from different countries; met accidentally in *Italy*, and there lived by rapine; for which reason the same writers call them *Aberrigines*, that is to say, a wandering people, like those whom the antients filled *Lelages*, by which they meant such adventurers as have been described. *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 8.

But *Dionysius*, who was persuaded that the *Aborigines* came from *Arcadia*, says, that they were called by that name from their living upon mountains, in which the *Arcadians* much delighted; and if so, it must be derived from *ἀν' ὄρεα γένος*, which imports as much as mountaineers, or natives of the mountains. *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 11.

That the *Aborigines* were from *Arcadia*, as *Varro* also believed, Sir *Walter Raleigh* seems to think probable. This name of *Aborigines*, says he, (to omit other significations that are feigned) imports as much as original or native

into Italy and that Italy, one of the posterity of Oenotrus, and who made themselves masters in this country, gave it the name which to this day it retains.

p. 27.

From whatever country the *Aborigines* came, they were obliged to maintain long wars against the *Sicani*, (the first inhabitants of *Italy*) till having received a considerable reinforcement by the arrival of a colony of *Pelasgi* from *Thessaly*, they drove out their enemies, and fixed upon their towns: after which they granted a large tract of land to the *Pelasgi*, and borrowed from them many of the customs of *Greece*.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 7. Ibid. p. 13. & seq.

As for the *Sicani*, they, being chased out of all the countries of *Italy*, took refuge in *Sicily*, which was at that time possessed by the *Siculi*, a people originally of *Spain*. And at length the *Pelasgi* themselves, not being able to bear up against divers calamities with which they were afflicted, returned most of them into *Greece*, and retained there the name of *Tyrrheni*, which they had gained by their living in the neighbourhood of that nation during their stay in *Italy*.

About sixty years before the war of *Troy*, another colony, which came from *Peloponnesus* under the conduct of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, arrived in a port of *Latium*. *Faunus* then reigned over that petty Kingdom, and was a Prince of humanity and prudence. He considered, that nothing was to be fear'd from a few unhappy men, who had been convey'd thither in only two vessels; and he therefore suffered *Evander* to settle on a small uncultivated hill near the *Tyber*, where the *Arcadian* built a little town and called it *Pallantium*, after the name of his native city in *Arcadia*, which a popular commotion had constrained him to leave. The hill itself was thence called the hill *Palatinus*, which in the time of *Augustus* stood in the center of *Rome*.

Evander established in this new settlement the worship of the Gods of his own country. It is well known that *Pan* was the tutelar Deity of the *Arcadians*. They invok'd him particularly to keep away the wolves from their flocks. And as the temple which had been raised to him in *Greece* was called *Lycæum*, so that which *Evander* built, or rather cut in a rock,

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 25.

tive of the place which they possessed; which title the *Aborigines* are known in a vaunting manner to have always usurp'd, fetching their antiquity from beyond the moon. But he is inclined to think, with *Reynerius*, from several passages in *D. Hal. Strabo*, *Justin* and *Pliny*, that *Italy* did not take that name from *Italus* the *Oenotrian*, but from *Æolus* and a colony of *Æolians*, which under him settled in that country. The word *Italia*, says he, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, save that the first letter is cast away, which in the *Greek* words is common, and the letter *o* is changed into *a*, which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an Island near *Italy* peopled by the *Ætholians*; and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* dialect, which dialect, (being almost proper to the *Æolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach. *Hist. of the World*, p. 458, 459.

* This building of the temple of *Pan* under the name of *Lycæus* or *Lupercal*, answered to the idea which the *Pagans* had formed to themselves of *Pan*, whom they looked upon as the tutelar God of their flocks against the

Liv. B. 1. c. 5.

a turtle in *Italy*, was named *Lupercus*. The *Gallick* commander was ſtruck in his worſhip, and only the Greek name of his temple changed into a *Latin* one. Afterwards, *Evander*'s God *Pan* and the *Fauns* of the ancient *Latines* were confounded together, and taken for one and the ſame God, whom the *Latines* call'd alſo *Faunus*.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 36. *Evander* built alſoa little city in *Palatium* to *Pallas* and *Ceres*, and inſtituted the feſtival of the *Equeſtrian Neptune*, who, according to the *Greek* fable, with a ſtroke of his trident firſt made the firſt breach of the earth. During the celebration of this feſtival, (which the *Romans* placed on the 15th of *Auguſt*) a ceſſation from labour was granted to all horſes and mules, and they were crowned with flowers. The ſame *Neptune*, under the name of † *Conſus*, was conſulted upon all occaſions which required deliberation and counſel. Thus the *Greek* ſuperſtitions were introduced by degrees into *Italy*; and *Rome*, which was built in the ſame place where *Evander* had before, received the religion which he brought with him from *Arcadia*.

Plut. The mixture of this new colony of *Arcadians* with the *Aborigines*, did not a little contribute to poliſh and civilize the latter. The art of expreſſing their thoughts by literal characters was unknown to the *Italians* till *Evander* taught them the uſe of the ‡ *Greek* letters. He likewiſe habitu-

* Where *Dion. Hal.* B. 1. p. 35. ſays, that *Romulus*, the laſt God of all the Gods, the *Arcadians* worſhipt *Pan* with the moſt devotion. Nay theſe people, according to *Macrobius*, called him ὁ τῶν πάντα Κύριος, *i. e.* the Lord of all material ſubſtances.

† The *Lupercal* was a cavern dug in a rock in a corner of mount *Palatine*. Some authors, and amongſt them *Ovid*, pretend that *Romulus* and *Remus* conſecrated this cave, becauſe it had been the retreat of the wolf that ſuckled them.

Illa locum nunquam ſecit; lupus ipſe Lupercal.
Faſt. B. 2.

In commemoration of this, the *Romans* placed there a bronze ſtatue, repreſenting a wolf ſuckling the twins. *Fabricius Ucceſſus* thinks this the ſtatue which may be ſeen at preſent on the *Capitol*, at the palace of the Conſervators.

‡ The *Romans* placed *Minerva* and *Venus* before the other Gods *Jupiter*, *Juno*, &c. They repreſented *Minerva* under the form of a young girl with wings painted white. *Ceres* was repreſented like the mother of a family, with a long trailing robe, and held in her hand ſome ears of corn, or poppies.

§ It is generally thought that *Conſus* and the *Equeſtrian Neptune* were alike the ſame

Neptune; but *Romulus*, when he deſigned to carry off the *Sabine* women, took occaſion from this altar, which he had found under ground, to celebrate thoſe games at which he executed his deſign; and as this project was the effect of a long deliberation, he therefore called the Divinity, whoſe worſhip furniſhed him with the opportunity, *Conſus*, that is, the *God of counſel*. Thoſe games conſecrated to the *Equeſtrian Neptune*, or otherwiſe to *Conſus*, were celebrated every year at *Rome*, and called, by way of eminency, the *Roman* or *great* games. They conſiſted chiefly in chariot and horſe races; at firſt they held only one day, but they were afterwards prolonged to two, then to three, and at length even to nine. They were celebrated in the great *Circus*, and called alſo, *Ludi Circenſes*, or, *the games of the* Circus.

¶ The *Greek* characters were the firſt the *Italians* made uſe of; there were ſome viſible proofs of this remaining in the time of *Auguſtus*. The words which *Saturnius* the *Arcadian* made with the *Sibilla* that *Æneas* is ſaid to have ſeen in the time of *Dion. Hal.* in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. In ſome volumes of *Greek* letters, that in ſmall capitals, upon a wooden tablet covered with wax, ſignify the ſame, which had

[illegible] fleets and [illegible] fully armed.

In the number of these adventurers, to whom the ancients gave the name of *Hercules*, having subdued *Spain*, undertook to conquer *Italy*. In his passage over the *Alps*, he met with more resistance than he had experienced in the reduction of the *Ligures*: held his conquests a long time in suspence, and his power was not established in *Italy* till after the defeat of *Cacus*. This was a fierce and cruel king, who govern'd one of the *Ligurian* nations, and harassed his neighbours by his robberies and depredations. The progress of *Hercules* alarmed him; he took the field, enquiver'd the enemy's guards, and by intercepting some of his convoys, weaken'd his army. But as the *Ligurian* was ignorant in the art of war, he suffer'd himself to be involved in his chief woods by *Hercules*'s troops, who were more experienced soldiers than he. *Cacus* was slain in an engagement, and by his death left all *Italy* a prey to the conqueror. *Evander* and *Faunus*, who then ruled over small territories, pacified the wrath of *Hercules*, and gained his favour. *Evander*, by a stroke of *Grecian* flattery, recognised him for a God, and raised altars [a] to him even in his life-time. As for *Faunus*, he married one of the mistresses of *Hercules*; and some have thought that *Latinus*, born of this marriage, was rather *Hercules*'s son than [illegible]

Æschilus in Tragedia de Prometheo. Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 33.

§ IV. IT was this *Latinus* who reigned in *Latium*, when *Æneas* arrived there. Being then in war with his neighbours the *Rutuli* [c], and fortune not favouring his arms, it greatly added to his perplexity to hear that a foreign Army had made a descent upon his coasts, pillaged the maritime part of his dominions, and were fortifying themselves in a camp at a little distance from the sea. Instantly he marched, with all his forces,

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 45.

had been sacrificed on that occasion. *D. Hal. B. 4. p. 246.*

[a] The *Latines*, in consideration of the benefits they received from *Evander* and his mother *Carmenta*, (so called from the word *carmen*, she being a Prophetess who sung her oracles in verse) paid them divine honours after their deaths, and *Rome* continued to offer sacrifices to them when in her greatest splendour.

[b] The ancients mention more than one *Hercules*. *Cicero* speaks of six, in his third book *De Natura Deorum*; and *Varro* reckons no less than forty. If one may give credit to the ancient author of *The origin of the Romans*, this *Hercules* whom we are speaking of was called *Rorcynus*. *Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 33.* makes the history of his war with *Cacus* probable, which had been much alter'd by the mixture of fable.

[c] One of these, called *Ara Maxima*, was

remaining at *Rome* in the time of *Augustus*. It stood in the ox-market; but notwithstanding its fine name, it was very much neglected, and very poorly adorned. *Hercules* was invoked in all verbal bargains to be the witness of the truth and sincerity of the parties, by this form of an oath, *Me Dium Fidium* which comprehended all the energy of this, *ita me Dius Fidius adjuvet*. According to several commentators, these monosyllables, *me* and *dius*, had the same force amongst the *Latines* as the prepositive *per*: for *me Dius Fidius*, and *per Dium Fidium*, *per Deum Fidem*, and *per Castora*, signified the same things. This form of speech answered to these particles *nai*, *ou*, which the *Greeks* made use of before their oaths.

[d] The *Rutuli* inhabited the sea coast of the Campagna di Roma, between *Pontia* and *Netuno*.

against theſe ſtrangers [a], hoping to get rid of them at once: but when, drawing near them, he perceived that they were armed after the Greek manner, and that keeping exactly their ranks, they ſtood reſolutely prepar'd for battle, he began to doubt of the ſucceſs, and, inſtead of fighting, deſired a parly. *Æneas* by the mention of *Troy*, the place of his nativity, utterly deſtroyed and reduced to aſhes, and by the relation of his battles againſt the united power of *Greece*, fill'd *Latinus* at once with terror and compaſſion. The *Trojans* proceeded in words to this effect:

Livy, B. 1. c. 1.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 46.

A place of refuge and a quiet ſettlement are what, by the direction of the Gods, we ſeek in this country. We are not come upon your coaſts as enemies. We have indeed taken by force wherewith to ſupply our preſſing wants; neceſſity compelled us to this unbecoming violence; but we intreat you not to be offended at what is paſt, nor to look upon it as an act of hoſtility. We are ready to repair by important ſervices, the injuries we have done you againſt our inclination. Our ſtrength and our courage, which have been often tried, ſhall be employed to defend your lands from invaſion, and to invade thoſe of your enemies. But if, rejecting our humble ſupplication, you determine for a war, it will neither be the firſt nor the greateſt that we ſhall have ſuſtained.

Latinus, ſtruck with the magnanimity and boldneſs of the *Trojan* leader and his followers, and conſidering that theſe ſtrangers might do him great ſervice in his preſent wars, eaſily granted their requeſt, entered into a league with them, and aſſigned them a tract of land for a ſettlement. They, in return, employed their arms, valour and experience in defence of *Latium*, who came at length to have ſo great a confidence in the *Trojan* prince, that he gave him *Lavinia* his daughter and only child in marriage [b], and thereby ſecured to him the ſucceſſion to the *Latine* throne.

Lavinia therefore could not but be dear to *Æneas*, who in proof of it gave her name to the camp which he had pitched; and inſtead of *Troy* called it *Lavinium*. And as all the *Trojans* followed the example of their leader, and by marriages made alliances with *Latine* families, they and the *Latines* in a little time became one people.

§. V. THE proſperity of *Æneas* proved the ruin of *Turnus*, a young Prince, the Queen's nephew, and educated in the palace under the eye of *Latinus*, and who had therefore entertained hopes of marrying *Lavinia*, and of ſucceeding to the throne. To revenge himſelf for this diſappointment, he went over to the *Rutuli*, and ſoon after brought on a battle between them and the *Latines*, in which he and *Latinus* both periſhed; and thus *Æneas*, by the death of his father-in-law, and by that of a dangerous rival, came into quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Latium*, which he governed wiſely, and tranſmitted to his poſterity.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 51.

ÆNEAS reign'd three years, and applied himſelf no leſs to the regulation of religion, than to the neceſſary meaſures for his defence and ſe-

[a] The *Trojans* were then but 600. *Solinus*. c. 8.

[b] *Æneas*, according to *Virgil*, loſt his firſt wife *Creuſa* in the dark, when he was making his eſcape from *Troy*.

curity.

cuſtody. Before this time, *Vesta* and *Pallas* were in poſſeſſion of divine honours; and theſe, with ſome other Deities brought by *Eneas* from *Arcadia*, were the only, or at leaſt the principal Gods, of *Latium*. But *Eneas* eſtabliſhed there the worſhip of thoſe of his own country. The two [c] *Palladia*, which had been the protectors of *Troy* before it was ruined, became the tutelar Deities of *Lavinium*, and in proceſs of time, of the whole *Roman* Empire. They were ſhut up at *Rome* in the temple of *Veſta*, and to the *Veſtals* only was permitted the ſight of them. The

[a] *Picus* is eſteemed to have been one of the firſt Kings of *Italy*, and excellent in the ſcience of augury; but *Voſſius*, B. 1. *de Orig. Idol.* believes there was no King of that name; this common notion, ſays he, had its riſe from a fabulous tradition reported by *D. Hal.* *viz.* that in a certain province of *Latium* the God *Mars* had delivered his oracles by a myſterious bird called in the language of the country *Picus*, i. e. *Woodpecker*.

[b] We find two *Fauns*'s mention'd by the antients, the firſt liv'd 200 years before him who was the father of *Latinus*. He is ſaid to have been the firſt perſon who civilized the inhabitants of *Italy*, and introduced a ſort of religion among them; he was therefore honoured as a God. In the *Roman* calendar we find two feſtivals appointed for him, tho' it is not certain, but that one of them may have been for the firſt, the other for the ſecond *Faunus*. The *Italians* thought that the foreſts were peopled with *Fauni*, and went thither to conſult them. The gloominеſs of theſe foreſts gave oftentimes a good opportunity of jugling, and thereby increaſing the ſuperſtition of the people; men who were concealed there uttered words like Oracles, which the people believed to be ſpoken by the *Fauni*.

[c] Theſe were two ſtatues, whereof one was the original, and the other the copy: ſo that, properly ſpeaking, there was but one true *Palladium*.

Ovid ſpeaks of this ſtatue as an image of *Pallas* which fell down from Heaven upon one of the hills near *Troy*. According to *Dicaearus*, it fell at *Peſſinus*, a city of *Phrygia*; it was made of wood, and held a pike in its right hand, and a diſtaff and ſpindle in its left: To which he adds, that this miraculous image was put into the hands of *Dardanus*, who took all poſſible care to preſerve the precious depoſitum, having been told by the Oracle of *Apollo*, that his new city of *Ilion* ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long as he kept this preſent from Heaven in it, and no longer. And this tradition, fabulous as it is, was the foundation of that religious reſpect the *Romans* paid the *Palladium*. *D. Hal.* [B. 1. p. 53, 54, 55. and B. 2. p. 122.] frankly owns, that there were many forces belonging to this piece of antiquity, which he was not let into; adding, that it was unlawful to diſcover them to the prophane vulgar. However, when the world came to be enlighten'd by Chriſtianity, the cheat was ſoon diſcover'd, and even the keepers of this pretended divinity, made no ſcruple of undeceiving the credulous people. *Arnobius* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, agree in their account of the *Palladium*, that it was made of the bones of *Pelops*, that antient King of *Peloponneſus*, and that the *Pagans* themſelves had betray'd this ſecret.

Clemens Alexandrinus goes farther, and diſcovers the ſhameful rites of that myſterious worſhip, which the antient *Pagans* paid to this and two other ſtatues, on which the fate of cities and nations were ſuppoſed to depend. He ſeems to have thought them pieces of necromancy. He tells us, that *Athenodorus* diſcover'd the compoſition of which the ſtatue of *Serapis*, the tutelar God of the *Egyptians*, was made. And he adds theſe words.

Seſoſtris *having ſubdued many nations of Greece, brought away from thence all ſorts of artificers, and he ordered one* Briaxes *to make a ſtatue of* Oſiris, *one of his anceſtors, which the artificer did, uſing all ſorts of metals and precious ſtones in it, to render his work the more perfect; and he took particular care to put into it a perfume, with which the bodies of* Oſiris *and* Apis *had been embalmed; from their two names, therefore, the ſtatue was called* Oſirapis, *and afterwards, by corruption,* Serapis.

The ſame *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us, that the ſtatue of *Jupiter Olympius*, the tutelar God of *Greece*, was made of the bones of an elephant. From all which we may conjecture, that the tutelar Gods of the ſeveral countries of the *Pagan* world, were ſo many

The worship of *Vesta* was likewise introduced by *Æneas* into *Italy*: and virgins who were call'd *Vestal*, began from that time to keep a fire continually burning in honour of this Goddess. Nay, it is not improbable, that *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and many other Deities who had been revered in *Troy*, became known to the *Latines* by the means of *Æneas*. And it was this, perhaps, which gave occasion to the poets to represent him under the character of a pious hero.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 55.

p. 51.

§. VI. BUT while *Æneas* was thus employ'd, the *Rutuli* enter'd into a league with the *Hetrurians* [b], against a stranger, whose good fortune they envied. Especially *Mezentius*, King of the *Tyrrhenians* [c], was alarm'd at the too frequent arrival in *Italy* of colonies from the eastern nations, their numerous settlements, and the encroachments they made upon the lands of the first inhabitants. Fear and jealousy therefore made him take the field.

While the confederate armies were advancing towards *Lavinium*, either to besiege it, or to draw the *Trojans* to an engagement, *Æneas* marched out, and gave them battle. The action lasted till night, and equal bravery was shewn on both sides: But *Æneas* being pushed to the banks of the *Numicus* [d], and forced into that river, was there drown'd. The *Trojans* conceal'd his body, and to make him pass for a Deity in the minds of his credulous subjects, pretended that he had vanished away on a sudden; accordingly, a temple was erected to him, with an inscription [e] upon it, which declared him at least a demi-god. Such was the end of *Æneas*, the *Trojan* Prince so much celebrated by the *Greek* and *Latin* poets, and who, because he was illegitimate, and born of a mother remarkable for her beauty, was, agreeable to the manner of speaking in those times, called the son of *Venus*.

Talismans, made according to the rules of magick.

But to return to the *Palladium*, it may be asked whence it got that name? The common answer is, that it represented the Goddess *Pallas*, but there is some foundation to believe, that the Goddess owed both her name and origin to the statue. *Dion. Hal.* [B. 1. p. 54.] gives us the following story of the *Palladium*, upon the testimony of *Callistratus*. *Pallas*, says he, *was a King of Arcadia, and the father of* Chrysé, *she was married to* Dardanus, *and had this statue for her portion, and called it* Pallas's *present*, who in all probability made this Talisman. In after times, to gain it veneration, fable made it the statue of a Goddess, who bore the name of *Arcadian Pallas*. And what strengthens this conjecture is, that the *Palladium* represented a young man armed from head to foot. As it was easy to mistake the sex, the vulgar made it a warlike Goddess.

[a] See what is said of *Vesta*, when *Numa* comes to regulate the worship of her.

[b] We are to understand here the people of that part of ancient *Italy*, which comprehended what is now called St. *Peter's Patrimony*, the duchy of *Castro*, and the territories of *Orvieto* and *Perugia*.

[c] *Mezentius* had under his dominion that territory which depended on the ancient city *Agylla*, now *Caravieri*, in the *Ecclesiastical State*.

[d] The *Numicus*, now *Rio de Nimi*, according to geographers, was formerly a river. It is now scarce more than a rivulet. It ran close by *Lavinium*.

[e] This inscription, according to *Aurelius Victor*, was in these words: *Patri Deo Indigeti*. The word *Indiges*, with the *Latines*, signified one of those Gods who had been of the race of men, and at length were deify'd. The same *Æneas*, according to *Livy*, B. 1. §. 2. had divine honours paid him, under the name of *Jupiter Indiges*.

The death of *Æneas* created no disorder in the affairs of the *Latins*. His colony and kingdom established under the administration of his son *Eurileon*[a], who succeeded him. This Prince was born at *Troy* of *Creüsa*, the daughter of *Priam*, and had come with his father into *Italy*. He had changed his name, and at this time bore that of *Ascanius*, the name of his elder brother, who had been left in *Phthia*. The young King did not think it adviseable to engage immediately in a pitch'd battle with a formidable enemy, whose pride was elevated by the death of *Æneas*: He had the prudence to confine himself within the walls of *Lavinium*, and to try what could be done by negotiation, before he had recourse to arms. The haughty *Mezentius* demanded of the *Latines*, as one of the conditions of a peace, that they should pay him yearly, by way of tribute, all the wine produced in the territory of *Latium*. *Ascanius* preferred an honourable war to a shameful dependence. To break off a treaty so injurious to his people, he caused all the vines throughout his dominions to be consecrated to *Jupiter*; and by thus transferring the demesn to the God, he made the estate unalienable. *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 51.

The enemy had pitch'd their camp in the neighbourhood of *Lavinium*; and the flower of their youth, under the command of *Lausus*, the son of *Mezentius*, lay intrench'd almost at the gates of the city. The *Trojans*, who had been accustomed, during a ten years siege, to make brisk sallies upon the besiegers, march'd out in the night, and vigorously attack'd the post where *Lausus* commanded. His entrenchments were forced, and then the army in the plain, intimidated by the defeat of their advance-guard, immediately fled. The *Latines* pursued them, and in the pursuit *Lausus* was slain; which, with the check his troops had receiv'd, so discourag'd *Mezentius*, that he immediately sued for peace. It was agreed, that for the future the *Tyber* should be the boundary both to the *Latines* and *Hetrurians*. p. 52. *Livy* B. 1. §. 3.

§. VII. BUT now *Lavinia*, whom *Æneas* at his death had left with child, entertain'd a strong jealousy of the ambition of her step-son, whom victory made absolute in his new dominions; and she feared to expose the infant, she was going to be delivered of, to the danger of his politicks. She fled therefore into the woods, trusting herself to the care of one *Tyrrhenus*, chief of her father *Latinus*'s shepherds, and was there delivered of a son, who from the place of his birth took the surname of *Sylvius*. But the Queen's flight, who had disappear'd on a sudden, occasioning suspicions at *Lavinium* prejudicial to the reputation of *Ascanius*, he caused diligent search to be made after her, calm'd her fears, and engaged her to return to the town with her son, whom he ever after treated as a brother. And as *Lavinium* was in reality the patrimony of *Lavinia*, and a demesn which ought therefore to descend to *Sylvius*, it was, perhaps, for this reason, that *Ascanius* determined to yield it to them, and to build another city where to fix his residence. This new city he called *Alba Longa*[b]; *Alba*, as the historians tell us, from a white sow which *Æneas* found *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 55. *Aur. Victor de Orig. Rom.* *Livy*, B. 1. *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 52, 53. and *Livy* B. 1. §. 3.

[a] He had three names, *Eurileon*, *Iulus*, and *Ascanius*.

[b] *Alba* was probably situated between *Monte Cavo* and the lake of *Castello Gandolpho*.

found in the place where it was built; and hoping, both to distinguish it from another town named *Alba*, and because without having much breadth, it extended itself the whole length of a lake near which it was founded.

D. *Hal.* p. 52.

p. 55. It was thirty years after the building of *Lavinium*, that *Ascanius* removed to *Alba*; and there he died, after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which he had resided at his new settlement. He left by a wife, whose name history has not transmitted to us, at least one son, who was born in *Alba*, and called *Julus*; so that there remained of the posterity of *Æneas* a son and a grandson, the one *Æneas Sylvius*, the other this *Julus*: and between them lay the right of succession to the [a] *Latine* throne.

p. 56. §. VIII. THE *Latines* not thinking it for their interest to continue divided under two governments, resolved to unite *Alba* and *Lavinium* into one dominion: and as *Sylvius*, being the grandson of *Latinus*, seem'd to have the best title to the whole, the people who were the judges, decreed it to him. However, to prevent divisions, and to make *Julus* some amends, they confer'd on him the sovereign power in affairs of religion. It was, perhaps, from hence that the *Julii* constantly preserved the priesthood in their family, and that the *Cæsars* always assumed the quality of high-priests.

§. IX. THE kingdom of *Alba* continued for near 400 years in an almost uninterrupted tranquillity under *Æneas Sylvius* and his successors, without being either considerably diminished or increased. But as a state [b] which remained so long in peace afforded little matter for history, we have scarce any thing left us, besides the names of its Kings, and the number of years which each of them reigned.

Æneas Sylvius Postumus, died after a reign of 29 years, and was succeeded by his son

Æneas Sylvius, who governed *Latium* 31 years.

Latinus Sylvius, who succeeded him, held the sceptre for the space of 51 years.

Alba reign'd 39.

Capetus (or according to *Livy*, *Atys*) 26.

Capis 28. And

Calpetus 13.

Tiberinus, who succeeded him, being less peaceably inclined than his Predecessors, undertook a war which proved fatal to him. In an engagement upon the banks of the *Tyber*, which till then was called *Albula*, he was forced into the river, and being carried away by the current, was drown'd. This accident of *Tiberinus*, who reigned but eight years, caused

[a] The *Latine* state seems to have had no greater extent, than from *Alba* to the mouth of the *Tyber*, nor any other towns than *Lavinium*, *Alba Longa* and perhaps *Laurentum*, when *Latinus* kept his court at the time of *Æneas*'s arrival; if, after all, *Lavinium* and *Laurentum* were not the same town.

[b] This state subsisted, according to *D. Hal.* about 430 years, reckoning from *Æneas*'s arrival in *Italy* to the building of *Rome*.

the ſame crime to be charged, and even ſince it has borne no other but that of Tiber.

Agrippa, ſucceſſor to *Tiberius*, after a reign of 41 years, left the throne to

Alladius, who reign'd 19 years, and was ſucceeded by

Aventinus, who reign'd 37 years, and left his name to the hill *Aventinus*, where he was interred.

Proca, who ſucceeded him, held the ſceptre 23 years. He was the father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, and at his death bequeathed the throne to his elder ſon *Numitor*.

[a] *Amulius*, who doubtleſs ſurpaſs'd his brother in underſtanding and courage, had no reſpect either to priority of birth, or to the laſt appointment of his father. He not only ſnatch'd the ſceptre from *Numitor*, and made him paſs his days in retirement; but uſed all the cruel precautions of a tyrant to ſecure the throne to himſelf, by extinguiſhing his brother's poſterity. *Numitor* had an only ſon named *Egeſtus*, and a daughter called [b] *Rhea Sylvia*. The tyrant cauſed the firſt to be ſlain at a hunting, and, to prevent the other from having children, conſecrated her to the worſhip of *Veſta*, by which ſhe was obliged to perpetual virginity. But this precaution proved ineffectual; for the veſtal, either by her own fault, or by violence done to her, became the mother of twins. The ſtory is related after the following manner. *Liv.* B. 1. §. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 60.

§. X. *RHEA SYLVIA* was called to the performance of ſome religious ſervice in a temple of *Mars* near the town. A ſpring of water glided thro' the ſacred wood, with which the temple was incloſed; and the prieſteſs, in order to diſcharge one of her ſacerdotal functions, went thither to take the neceſſary water for the ſacrifice. Then and there a man [c] diſguiſed in a military habit, like that in which *Mars* was commonly repreſented, ſurprized and forced the *Veſtal*. *Amulius*'s ill reputation has made him ſuſpected by ſome of doing this violence to his niece himſelf; not ſo much to gratify a brutal paſſion, as to have a pretence for condemning her to that puniſhment which the law had aſſign'd for *Veſtals* who proved unchaſte. Others are of opinion, that ſhe met a young lover there by appointment. Be that as it will, *Rhea Sylvia* thence forward abſtain'd from her functions, and from entering the temple, under a pretence of an indiſpoſition. Uſurpers are ever ſuſpicious. *Amulius* ſoon conjectured what kind of diſorder it was that afflicted his niece, and therefore cauſed her to be watched. Nay he ſcrupled not to tax the father and mother of the *Veſtal* as the contrivers of an intrigue, which might procure p. 61. p. 62.

[a] *Amulius* being the younger brother, ſays *Plutarch*, had the gold and ſilver for his portion, and *Numitor* his father's crown. *Amulius* made uſe of his riches to dethrone his brother.

[b] Sometimes *Ilia*.

[c] Some credulous hiſtorians of *Rome* admit the ancient fable, that *Mars* was truly the father of *Remus* and *Romulus*. But *Livy* ſeems to doubt it; he ſays that the *Veſtal* might perhaps have found her account in making her ſons paſs for the children of *Mars*. *Plutarch* makes *Amulius* their father, *Dion. Hal.* ſays, it was either *Amulius*, or elſe ſome lover of the *Veſtal*, with whom ſhe had made an aſſignation.

them

them grand-children. When *Rhea* cou'd no longer conceal her shame, she charged the God *Mars* with being the cause of it. The circumstances of the temple, the sacred wood, and the pretended presence of that God, who was believed to make his residence in a sanctuary consecrated to him, gave a less odious colour to the matter, whether her crime, or her misfortune. But these things made no impression on the mind of *Amulius*. He not only placed some trusty women about her, but appointed a guard of armed men to watch her, which they did till she was delivered of two sons. The tyrant took all advantages of this accident, he laid open the *Vestal*'s shame in an assembly of the people, exaggerated her fault, and urged both religion and the laws against her. *Rhea* was condemned to be first whip'd, and then put to death; and the fruits of her criminal amour to be thrown into the *Tyber*. But most of the historians say, that *Amulius*, at the intercession of his daughter *Antho*, changed the sentence against *Rhea* into perpetual imprisonment, and that she was not releas'd from her confinement till the tyrant was dethroned. As to the twins the sentence against them was executed in this manner:

D. Hal. p. 62.

A little wooden trough being prepared, and the two infants laid in it, they were carried to the bottom of Mount *Palatine*, and there turn'd a drift upon the *Tyber*, which at that time overflow'd its banks and wash'd the foot of the mountain. The place where they were exposed was about 120 furlongs from *Alba*. The little skiff floated a while without any accident, but at length being carried against a stone by the ebbing of the flood, it was over-set, and the two brothers turned out upon the strand. It has been the general tradition, that a she wolf hearing their cries came and suckled them; but it is more probable that *Acca Laurentia*, whose husband, *Faustulus*, found the two children, and who nursed them, was called by the nick-name of *Lupa*, or wolf, for her disorderly life, and that this gave rise to the fabulous miracle.

Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calpurnius Piso, apud D. Hal. B. 1. p. 63, &c.

Faustulus was the chief of the King's shepherds, and being probably well acquainted with the birth of the twins, was suitably careful of their education: he sent them to *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, to learn the *Greek* literature. As they grew up, they appeared to have something great in their mien and air, which commanded respect, and they assumed a superiority over the other shepherds, and the country people. A quarrel happening between the herdsmen of *Amulius* and those of *Numitor*, the two brothers took the part of the former against the latter, of whom in the fray they slew some, wounded others, and put the rest to flight. The worsted party resolv'd to be reveng'd on *Romulus* and *Remus* (for so the twins were called) and the festival of the [a] *Lupercalia* yielded a favourable opportunity

p. 69. *Plutarch.* Life of *Rom.* *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 64.

Ælius Tubero, apud D. Hal. B. 1. p. 65.

[a] *Valerius Maximus*, B. 2. c. 2. §. 9. pretends, that the festival of the *Lupercalia* was not older than the foundation of *Rome*. He is contradicted by *Livy*, L. 1. §. 5. *Dion. Hal.* B. 1. p. 25. 65. and *Plutarch*, who are positive that this festival was brought by *Evander* out of *Greece*. The ceremonies observed in it were these. First, two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of distinction were touch'd with the bloody knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. When this

ships to give their usual salutations. While the two brothers were performing these ceremonies with their ships in their hands, according to the ceremonies used on such occasions, *Remus* was on a sudden surrounded, taken prisoner, and led away as *Numitor*, before whom he was accused of exercising a kind of tyranny in the fields. The deposed King for the most part led a private life in the country, in the utmost subjection to the Usurper's will. He durst not proceed against the persons accused, without the consent of *Numitor*; but he had no sooner obtained it than he condemned the prisoner to death. The sentence was just going to be executed, when either out of instinct, compassion, or esteem for a young shepherd, whose person and courage spoke something superior to his condition, he found himself strongly inclined to save him. He therefore deferred the execution, and resolv'd to have a moment's conference with the criminal. He asked him in what part of *Latium* he was born, and who were his parents. *Remus* replied, that his family and the place of his nativity were equally unknown to him. All I could learn, said he, from the shepherd who brought up my brother *Romulus* and me, is, that we are twins, and that we were found exposed upon the bank of the river; an answer which immediately struck *Numitor* with a lively remembrance of his two grandsons: Their age, which was about eighteen years, agreed with the time when the two Princes were exposed upon the *Tyber*, and there needed no more to change his anger and threatnings into tenderness.

Plut. Rom.

D. Hal. p. 67.

In the mean time *Romulus*, impatient of the detaining his brother, was eager to pursue and attack those who had carried him off; but *Faustulus* diffuaded him from it, and on this occasion disclosed to him his birth; a discovery which awaken'd in his breast sentiments worthy of his high extraction. He resolv'd at all hazards to attempt the delivering his grandfather and mother from the oppression they were under. And while he was assembling the country people, and disposing every thing for the execution of his design, *Numitor* made the same discovery to *Remus*, concerning his parents, and the injustice they suffered, press'd him to revenge it, and then bid him go and send *Romulus* to his house. *Romulus* came, and the shepherd *Faustulus* made haste to follow, taking with him the trough, or skiff, in which the twins had been exposed on the river, in order to shew it to *Numitor*. But as he entered the gate of the city, he was stop'd by the guards, who perceiving an air of haste and confusion in his looks, imagined he was loaded with something of consequence. By chance there was one among them who had been at the exposing of the children, and employ'd in the office; he seeing the

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 66.

Plutarch's Life of *Rom.* *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 68.

this was done, the skins of the victims were cut into thongs and whips for the young men; who, arm'd in this manner, and cover'd only with a pair of drawers, ran about the city, and the fields, striking all they met. The young married women suffered themselves to be struck by them, and believed those strokes were a help to fruitfulness. This festival was celebrated the 15th of *February*. The priests who presided at these sacrifices were at first divided into two colleges, one whereof was for *Remus*, the other for *Romulus*; but afterwards there was a third added in honour to *Julius Cæsar*. This festival was chiefly celebrated in the villages.

trough

through which *Faustulus* could not conceal, and knowing it by the inscription, guess'd at the business, and without further delay telling the King of it, brought in the man to be examined. The shepherd without losing his presence of mind, confess'd what he was ordered, and own'd that the twins were living, but pretended that they were tending flocks in a remote desert. This was gaining time, and the brothers made the best use of it. *Romus* undertook to raise the city, and *Remulus* to invest the King's palace. The country people came at the time appointed, and form'd themselves into companies of an hundred each. Their ensigns were bundles of hay, hanging upon poles, which the *Latines* at that time called *Manipuli* [a], and from thence came the name of *Manipulares*, which was originally given to troops raised in the country.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

With this tumultuous army *Remulus* beset the avenues of the palace, forced the guard, slew the tyrant (who had reigned 42 years) and restored his grandfather to the throne.

Such was the adventure, according to the common tradition, by which the birth of *Romulus* and *Remus* came to be discover'd. *Plutarch* concludes his account of it with these words. "These are for the most part the relations of *Fabius* and *Diocles Peparethius* (who, I think, is the first that writes of the building of *Rome*) which some suspect to be only fabulous, and invented stories; but they are not wholly to be rejected, if we consider, what strange things Fortune sometimes brings about, and also how improbable it is, that the *Roman* Empire could ever have arrived at such a pitch of greatness and power, if the Gods had not laid the foundation of it, and given it a miraculous beginning.

§. XI. *NUMITOR*, not long after his re-establishment on the throne, finding that *Alba* was overstock'd with inhabitants by the inundation of those rustick troops which *Remulus* had brought thither, proposed to his grandsons, that they should make a settlement elsewhere. To this [b] *Remus* and *Romulus* very willingly consented, and the King gave them for their new settlement those lands near the *Tyber*, upon which they had been cast by the waves, and where they had been brought up. *Numitor* also supply'd them with all manner of instruments for breaking up ground, and with slaves, and beasts of burthen, and granted to his subjects full liberty to join the two brothers. Upon which, some of the best families, and among the rest, several who were descended from the *Trojans*, chose to follow the fortune of *Remus* and *Romulus*; so that even in *Augustus*'s time there were in *Rome* fifty great families sprung from *Trojan* ancestors, and which had subsisted there ever since its foundation.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 70.

Ibid.

[a] Hence came the word *Manipulus* for a battalion, which at first consisted of 100, afterwards 200, and in the decline of the empire of less than 100.

[b] *Plutarch* thinks it very possible that *Remus* and *Romulus* resolved to seek another habitation, rather through necessity than choice, being probably discountenanced by the people of *Alba*, who had reason to fear every thing from such a troop of fugitive slaves and out-laws as attended the two brothers.

As

As that handful of people, who came from *Alba*, were of themſelves in no condition to found a colony any thing conſiderable, the two brothers got together all the inhabitants of *Pallantium* and *Saturnia*, two ſmall towns, and it was thought proper to divide thoſe who were to be employ'd in building the new city into two companies, one under the command of *Romulus*, the other of *Remus*. But this diviſion, which was made purely with a view to the publick welfare, and for the better carrying on the work, inſtead of anſwering the end propoſed, gave birth to two rival factions, and produced a jealouſy between the brothers, which broke out when they came to fix upon a place where to plant their colony. *Romulus* declared for mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* for mount *Aventine*. There was no law whereby they could decide their difference; nor could either of them pretend a ſuperiority by years or merit. The matter was therefore referred to their grandfather. *Numitor* being very much prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Augury*, with which the *Hetrurians* had infected *Italy*, declared it his opinion, that the contending parties ought to have recourſe to the Gods, in order to put an end to a diſpute which no man had a right authoritatively to decide; and accordingly they agreed, that it ſhould be determined by the flights of birds *. When the day appointed for the ceremony came, ſome perſons were deputed from both ſides to be witneſſes of the truth of the auguries, and the two brothers poſted themſelves each upon his mountain, *Remus* upon mount *Aventine*, and *Romulus* upon mount *Palatine*. *Vultures* were to decide the affair; whoever ſhould firſt ſee any of theſe birds, or ſee the greater number of them, was to gain his cauſe; for, ſaid they, theſe birds are very ſcarce, and ſent by the Gods from foreign countries to foretel extraordinary events. Beſides, they remembred that *Hercules* uſed to judge of the ſucceſs of his undertakings from the flights of vultures. When the two rivals had a while gazed round the horizon, watching the appearance of a favourable augury, we are told, that *Romulus*, either to divert his brother's attention, or to ſecure to himſelf the publick voice by a fraud, ſent to tell him that he had ſeen ſome vulturs. Whilſt the meſſengers were yet on their way, *Remus* actually perceived ſix. He ran therefore to mount *Palatine* to examine the truth of his brother's augury; and he had no ſooner got thither, than by an unexpected good fortune, twelve vulturs appeared to *Romulus*, who inſtantly cried out in a tranſport of joy, and pointing to them with his hand, be judge, be judge yourſelf, brother, of the truth of what my meſſengers have told you. *Remus* nevertheleſs diſcovered the cheat; he was informed that *Romulus* did not ſee the twelve vulturs, till after he himſelf had ſeen ſix: and then one inſiſted on the number of birds, the other on the time of ſeeing them. The people were divided, each man

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 71.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

* *Augury*, or the art of divination, and foretelling future events by the flight, cries, or motions of birds, came from the *Chaldeans* to the *Greeks*, from thence it was tranſmitted to the *Hetrurians*, and from them to the *Latines* and the *Romans*. *Vid. Cicero. de divin.* and *Orig. l.* 4. *contra Celſ.*

taking the part of his leader; and the diſpute growing warm, from words they came at length to blows.

The ſhepherd *Fauſtulus* throwing himſelf unarmed into the crowd to part the combatants, an unlucky blow laid him dead upon the ground; and ſome hiſtorians are of opinion, that *Remus* loſt his life in the ſame ſkirmiſh; but the greater number place his death later, and ſay that he was ſlain by one *Fabius*, who in a paſſion ſtruck him on the head with a mattock, for having, in deriſion, leap'd over the wall of the new city; and they add, that the murderer was, from this action, afterwards called *Celer*, *i. e.* haſty or paſſionate; but *Livy* ſays, the more common report was, that *Remus* died by his brother's own hand.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 72.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

§. XII. *ROMULUS* being now head of the colony, by the advantage of more favourable auguries than thoſe of his brother, or rather by having got the better in the late engagement, apply'd his thoughts wholly to build the city, which was to be call'd *Roma*[a], in alluſion to his name. Mount *Palatine* was the place choſen for its ſituation; and the founder on this occaſion perform'd all thoſe ceremonies which the ſuperſtition of the *Hetrurians* had introduced, and made cuſtomary at the building of towns. He offer'd ſacrifices to the Gods, and order'd all the people to do the ſame, every man according to his abilities: and from that time decreed that eagles ſhould be the auſpices of his new colony. After this, great fires were kindled before their tents, and all the people leap'd through the flames to purify themſelves. This ceremony over, they dug a trench round that ſpot where the *Comitia* or aſſemblies of the people were afterwards held, and into this trench they threw[b] the firſt fruits of whatever they were allowed to make uſe of for food; beſides which, every man of the colony caſt in a handful of earth, brought either from his own, or ſome neighbouring country. This trench they called *Mundus* (the world) and made it the center round which the city was to be built. Then *Romulus* yoking a cow and a bull to a plough, the coulter whereof was braſs,

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 72.

[a] *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Romulus*, ſays, that authors are not agreed by whom and for what reaſon the city of *Rome* was ſo called; that ſome are of opinion, the *Pelaſgians*, who had over-run the greater part of the habitable world, fixed themſelves there; and from their own military *ſtrength* (in *Greek* Ρωμη, *Rome*) called the city by that name: that others ſay the city was built by ſome *Trojans*, who eſcaping from *Troy*, were driven upon the coaſts of *Tuſcany*, among whom was a woman of diſtinction named *Roma*, and that the city was called ſo from her: but that others ſay the *Roma* from whom the city had its name, was daughter of *Italus* and *Lucaria*, others of *Telephus*, *Hercules*'s ſon, and that ſhe was married to *Æneas*. Others make her the daughter of *Aſcanius Æneas*'s ſon. The ſame author ſpeaks of *Romanus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*, *Romus* the ſon of *Emathion*, whom *Diomed* ſent from *Troy*, and of one *Romus* a King of the *Latines*, who drove out the *Tuſcans*; to each of theſe the building of *Rome* has been aſcribed. *Solinus* beſtows the honour of it upon *Evander*, and ſays, that it was in old times called *Valentia*. Others ſay, that it was antiently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*, witneſs St. *Aug. de Civit. Dei Lib.* 3. But *Livy* and others will have the building of the city to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation.

[b] The deſign of this ceremony, was to admoniſh the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their principal ſtudy to procure for their fellow citizens all the conveniences of life, to maintain peace and union amongſt a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this means to form themſelves into one body, never to be diſſolved.

mark'd

mark'd out by a deep furrow [a], the whole compass of the city; and those two animals (the symbols of marriage by which towns are peopled) were afterwards join'd upon the share. All the people follow'd the plough, throwing inwards the clods of earth which the plough-share sometimes turned outwards: and when they came to those places where they intended to make the gates, they took up the plough and *carried* it. Hence the *Latin* word, *Porta* a gate, *à portando dictum*. *Plut.* Life of *Rome.*

The people's throwing inwards the clods of earth, was a significant ceremony, importing, that plenty in cities is owing to the fruitful lands about them; and withal, how careful the inhabitants ought to be to bring every thing from abroad, which may contribute to the publick welfare. The whole length of ground where the plough had pass'd, was by the ancients looked upon as sacred and inviolable. For this reason it was, that they thought themselves obliged to spend the last drop of their blood in defending their walls; and to break through them was a crime of the highest nature. But the gates were not sacred; otherwise, as *Plutarch* observes, the city could not have been supplied with the necessaries of life, without a breach of the law, nor could the filth, dead bodies, and other things which they reckoned unclean, have been carried away.

As mount *Palatine* stood by itself, and was not joined to any other hill, the whole was inclosed within the line made by the plough, which form'd almost the figure of a square, for which reason *D. Hal.* calls it *Roma Quadrata*. The walls were built upon this Line, which was therefore called *Pomœrium*, according to *Plutarch*, from *Post mœnia*: But *Livy* defines the *Pomœrium* to be that space of ground both within and without the walls, which the Augurs at the first building of cities solemnly consecrated, and on which no edifices were suffered to be raised. B. 2. p. 121. *Livy*, B. 1. c. 44.

[b] As to the exact year of the foundation of *Rome*, the historians differ about it. *Varro* places it in the third year [c] of the sixth olympiad, that

[a] The ancients oftentimes described the compass of their cities by a train of white earth. We read in *Strabo*, B. 17. p. 1142, that for want of this earth, *Alexander* mark'd out *Alexandria* with meal.

[b] Chronologists are not agreed about the exact year of the foundation of *Rome*. *L. Cincius* fixes it in the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; *Fabius Pictor*, in the first year of the eighth. *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus*, in the second year of the seventh olympiad; *Portius Cato* and others, in the first year of the same olympiad; *Marcus Verrius Flaccus*, (the supposed author of the *Capitoline* tables,) and *Livy*, in the fourth year of the sixth olympiad. But the majority of the best *Roman* writers follow *Varro's* calculation, according to which the foundation of *Rome* is placed near the end of the third year of the sixth olympiad. *Petavius* contends, that *Varro's* opinion is the most agreeable to the rules of chronology, *Lib.* 1. *de doct. temp.*

[c] If *Rome* was built, as *Varro* believed, in the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, it must, as *Petavius* observes, have been in 3960 or 3961 of the *Julian* period. For the first olympiad beginning at the summer solstice in 3938, the third year of the 6th olympiad will begin in the summer of 3960, and end in the summer of 3961. Andat, as *Petavius* thinks, *Rome* was founded in the *end* of the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, that will fall in 3961. Father *Catrou*, in his *Rom. Hist.* p. 59. says it is incontestable, that *Rome* was founded 21 *April*, and yet, that it appears to have been founded in autumn, and that *April* was then a month in autumn, and was

that is, 431 years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, and 753 before the beginning of the Chriſtian Æra. The *Romans*, (according to *Plutarch*, and others) began to build on the twenty firſt of *April*. This day was then conſecrated to *Pales*, Goddeſs of ſhepherds, ſo that the feſtival of *Pales*, and that of the foundation of the city, were afterwards jointly celebrated at *Rome* on the ſame day.

Year of ROME I.

Val. Max. B. 4.

When *Rome* had received near the utmoſt perfection, which men rude and indigent were able to give it, it conſiſted only of about 1000 poor huts, which had no upper ſtories, nor any kind of ornament. The walls even of *Romulus*'s palace were made of ruſhes, and it was covered with thatch. Every man having choſen his ground to build upon according to his fancy, without any regard to the regularity or beauty of the whole, the ſtreets (if they might be called ſtreets) were both crooked and narrow. *Rome*, properly ſpeaking, was at firſt but a ſorry village, whereof even the principal inhabitants followed their own ploughs; and until it was rebuilt after the burning of it by the *Gauls*, did not deſerve the name of a city. Such were the Beginnings of the capital of the world.

afterwards ſet back in the calendar. Upon this ſuppoſition, the date of the foundation of *Rome*, according to the *Julian* period, will be 3960. Yet father *Rouillé*, as we ſee in the preceding note, which is taken from him, tells us, that the majority of the beſt *Roman* writers following *Varro*'s calculation, place the foundation of *Rome* in the *end* of the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, conſequently, if it was in *April*, *April* muſt have been a month in the ſpring as it is now, and the year of the foundation of *Rome* will be 3961 of the *Julian* period.

CHAP. II.

ROMULUS.

Sect. I. Romulus *is choſen King of* Rome. §. II. *He puts on a robe of diſtinction, and appoints* 12 LICTORS *to attend him.* §. III. *He divides his colony into* 3 TRIBES, *and theſe into* 30 Curiæ. §. IV. *He diſtinguiſhes the people into* PATRICIANS *and* PLEBEIANS, PATRONS *and* CLIENTS. §. V. *He conſtitutes a* SENATE. §. VI. *He appoints himſelf a guard of* 300 *horſemen called* Celeres. §. VII. *He ſettles the reſpective prerogatives of the King, Senate, and People.* §. VIII. *The religious laws of* Romulus, §. IX. *His civil laws.* §. 10. *To augment his colony, he opens an aſylum for fugitive ſlaves and outlaws.* §. XI. *The rape of the* Sabine *women.* §. XII. *The* Sabines *endeavour to recover their women by a treaty. In the mean time* Romulus *defeats the* Coenenſes, *ſlays* Acron *their King in ſingle combat, and decrees himſelf a* TRIUMPH *for his victory. He reduces* Cruſtuminum *and* Antemnæ, *and gains other advantages.* §. XIII. Romulus's *war with the* Sabines. §. XIV. *He concludes a peace with them, and admits* Titus Tatius, *their King, to be his partner on the throne. The followers of* Tatius *are tranſplanted to* Rome, *and become one people with the* Romans. §. XV. Tatius

Tatius creates two new Senators chosen out of the Sabines. The creation of the first Roman Knights. The festival of the MATRONALIA *instituted.* §. XVI. *The death of* Tatius. §. XVII. Romulus *defeats the* Camerini, Fidenates, *and* Veientes. *He renounces the kingdom of* Alba *upon the death of* Numitor. §. XVIII. *The murder of* Romulus *by the Senate, and the artifice of* Julius Proculus *to appease the people.*

§. I. AS *Romulus* had not taken upon him the chief command of the colony for any longer time than while the city was building, he, as soon as the work was finished, submitted the form of its future government to the choice of the people. He called the citizens together, and harangu'd them in words to this effect: *If all the strength of cities lay in the height of their ramparts, or depth of their ditches, we should have great reason to be in fear for that which we have built. Are there in reality any walls too high to be scaled by a valiant enemy? And of what use are ramparts in intestine divisions? They may serve for a defence against sudden incursions from abroad; but it is by courage and prudence chiefly, that the invasions of foreign enemies are repell'd, and by unanimity, sobriety and justice, that domestic seditions are prevented. Cities fortified by the strongest bulwarks, have been often seen to yield to force from without, or to tumults from within. An exact military discipline, and a steady observance of civil polity, are the surest barriers against these evils. But there is still another point of great importance to be considered. The prosperity of some rising colonies, and the speedy ruin of others, have in a great measure been owing to their form of government. Were there but one manner of ruling states and cities that could make them happy, there would be no room for choice. But I have learnt that of the various forms of government among the* Greeks *and* Barbarians, *there are three which are highly extoll'd by those who have experienced them (Government by* one, *by* a few, *by* the many;) *and yet, that no one of these is in all respects perfect, but each of them has some innate and incurable defect. Chuse you then in what manner this city shall be governed; Shall it be by one man? Shall it be by a select number of the wisest among us? Or shall the legislative power be in the people? As for me, I shall submit to whatever form of administration you shall please to establish. As I think myself not unworthy to command, so neither am I unwilling to obey. Your having chosen me to be the leader of this colony, and your calling the city after my name, are honours sufficient to content me; honours of which living or dead I can never be deprived.*

Year of *ROME* I.

ROMULUS First King.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 77.

Thus spake the founder of *Rome*, by the advice of his grandfather *Numitor*; and the people, who had been accustomed to Kings, having lived easy under them, and having likewise experienced the courage and capacity of *Romulus*, unanimously chose him to be their King.

As the chief religion of those times lay in the regard paid to the prognosticks, which the * *Augurs* and *Haruspices* drew from thunder, lightning,

* It may not be improper to say something here of the different offices of the *Haruspices*

Year of ROME I.

ROMULUS First King.

rings, the wind, the flights of birds, or the entrails of beasts, the Prince elect, before he ascended the throne, would needs consult the will of the Gods

ces and *Augurs*, of whom frequent mention will be made in the course of this history. The *Roman Haruspices* were all taken at first from *Hetruria*, where their art had most credit. Afterwards young *Romans* were sent into *Hetruria*, to be there brought up in the science. It consisted in foretelling future events, by attending to various circumstances of the victims. First, it was an ill omen, when the victim would not come to the altar without dragging, when it broke its rope, fled away, avoided the stroke, struggled much after it, made a great bellowing, was long a dying, or bled but little. Secondly, presages were drawn from inspecting the noble parts of the victim when opened, as the heart, lungs, spleen, and especially the liver. If all these were found, if the top of the liver was large and well made, and if its fibres were strong, it presaged well for the affair in question. Thirdly, Knowledge was also drawn by the *Haruspices* from the manner in which the fire consumed the victim. If the flame brightened immediately, was pure and clear, rose up in a pyramid without noise, and did not go out till the victim was consumed, these were happy signs. Fourthly, The smoke likewise was considered; whether it whirled about in curls, or spread itself to the right or left, or gave a smell different from the common one of broil'd meat. Fifthly, It was a lucky omen, if the incense they burned melted all at once, and gave a most agreeable smell.

Of *Augurs* or *Auspices* (very different from the *Haruspices*) *Romulus*, who was himself skilled in the augural science, established three, one to each *Tribe*. *Servius Tullius*, who added a fourth *Tribe*, is also said to have added a fourth *Augur*. But their college (for so it was called) was afterwards increased to 15, under a head, or *Master of the Augurs*. Their offices, comprized in the augural law, which we find in *Tully's second book of Divination*, were these. They were the interpreters of the will of the Gods, with respect to the making war and peace. And according to the divinity of that time, all were obliged to obey them, in so important an article. They drew their predictions from the different signs, which they said appeared in the air, and upon the earth. Thus what they pronounced to be contrary to the intentions of heaven, was deem'd unlawful; and it was capital to act contrary to their decisions. They likewise appointed the expiations they thought necessary, on account of the signs the Gods seemed to give of their anger. And from hence it appears how powerful they were in the *Roman* state, since by pronouncing any affair, any assembly of the *Comitia*, election of magistrates, war or peace, to be disagreeable to the Gods, they prevented it.

They pretended to make the foreknowledge of the will of the Gods several ways. First, By the flight or chirping of birds. Secondly, By thunder or lightning. Thirdly, By the setting of the wind. Fourthly, By the hunger and different postures of chickens which were bred up in cages on purpose for the *Augur's* use, and were carried about in the *Roman* armies.

When the Augur, in the execution of his office, was to observe the heavens, he went up upon some high place, took the augural staff (which was a sort of crosier, bent at one end) in his hand, and mark'd out the four quarters of the heavens with it. Then he turn'd to the east, having the west behind him, the south to his right, and north to his left; and this is what the *Romans* called, *Servare de cœlo*. In this situation he waited for a sign, by *thunder* and *lightning*, *birds*, or the *wind*.

When thunder was heard to the left, when the lightning came from the east, and was driven back by the wind to the same point, without darting forward to the west; when it did not upon the falling stroke into the earth, but rebound towards heaven: these were happy presages.

As to *birds*: ravens, owls, and such like, were thought to presage things by their croaking and screeching; but eagles, vultures, and especially wood-peckers, by their flying, which they observed whether it was from the right to the left, or from the left to the right.

As to the wind; its changes were the matter of observation.

When these sorts of signs fail'd, recourse was had to the chickens. Betimes in the morning, the augur whose business it was to observe them, and who was thence called *Pullarius*, (if that name did not rather belong to the keeper of the chickens) having commanded

Gods by augury. 'Tis said, that while he had offered sacrifice in an open place, a flock of lightning gleamed from the left, a lucky omen, according to the augural divinity. He that as it will, it became a custom established by an express law of *Romulus*, not to raise any person to the royal dignity, the priesthood, or any of the publick magistracies, nor to undertake any war, till the Auspices had been first consulted; and this practice lasted above 700 years. For tho' it owed its origin to nothing but the ignorance of those early ages, the priests and sacrificers persuading the people, that in the flights of birds, and the entrails of beasts, they could plainly read the destinies of men; yet in process of time, it became one of the chief mysteries of state policy, as there will be frequent occasion to observe in the course of this history.

Year of ROME I. ROMULUS First King. *D. Hal.* P. 78. *Cic.* l. 3. *de Leg.* *Cic.* l. 31. *de Nat. Deor.*

§ II. *ROMULUS* being thus declared King of *Rome* by the voices of the people, and with the approbation of the Gods, immediately put on a habit of distinction, to give himself a greater air of majesty. He also appointed twelve lictors or sergeants to attend him whenever he should appear in publick, each of them bearing a battle-ax stuck in a bundle of rods, which was then the usual symbol of sovereignty in the petty states of [a] *Hetruria*. But notwithstanding these ensigns of royalty, his power was confined within very narrow limits. For the form of government established by the *Romans* was, as we shall presently see, a kind of mixt monarchy, the sovereignty being divided between a Head or Prince of the nation, a senate that was to be his council, and the assembly of the people. *Livy*, B. 1.

Romulus having numbered the citizens of *Rome*, found them to be about 3000 foot, and 300 horse. He divided them into three equal parts, which were called Tribes or *Thirds*, each being commanded by it's Praefect or Tribune. *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 76. *Plut.* Life of *Rom.*

These tribes he divided into ten *Curiæ* or companies of a 100 [b] men, each company commanded by an officer, whom *Dionysius* calls *Curio*. B. 2. p. 80.

Again, the thirty *Curiæ* were subdivided each of them into ten *Decuriæ*: over which were appointed distinct officers, named *Decuriones*.

commanded a general silence, caused the pen to be opened, and threw down a handful of crumbs or corn. If the chickens did not immediately run flattering to the meat; if they scattered it with their wings; if they went by without taking notice of it, or if they flew away, the omen was reckoned unfortunate, and to portend nothing but danger or mischance; but if they leapt presently out of the pen, and fell to so greedily as to let some of their meat drop out of their mouths upon the pavement, there was all the assurance in the world of happiness and success. This augury was called *tripudium quasi terripavium*, the old word *pavire* signifying as much as *ferire*. We meet with *tripudium Solistimum* and *tripudium Sonivium* in *Festus*, both derived from the crumbs falling to the ground. The Augurs had several other ways of diving into futurity.

[a] *Livy* thinks, that not only the lictors, and the number of them, were taken from the *Hetrurians* (who inhabited the country now called *Tuscany*) but also the *Sella curulis*, and the *Toga Prætexta*.

[b] *Dionysius* seems here to differ from *Polybius* and *Varro*. These tells us, that this division took place among the squadrons of horse called *Turmæ*; which has made *Grævius* say, p. 7. *of the præf. to* 1 vol. *of Rom. Antiq.* that *D. Hal.* is mistaken. Nevertheless we cannot draw thence a decisive proof against the *Greek* historian. What was done in later times with respect to the cavalry, does not contradict the order *Romulus* at first establish'd in the *Curiæ*.

Year of ROME I.

Romulus's First King.

Strabo, B. 5. p. 351. *Dion. Hal.* B. 2. p. 80.

the *Romans* had at firſt no lands belonging to them, but what they got by ceſſion from the city of *Alba*, her territory was very ſmall, not above five or ſix miles in extent. *Romulus* nevertheleſs ſhared it into three parts, but not equal. One was allotted for the expences of religious worſhip; another reſerved for the King's revenue and the uſes of the ſtate; and the third and moſt conſiderable was divided into thirty portions, to anſwer to the thirty *Curiæ*.

The next thing done by *Romulus*, was the diſtinguiſhing thoſe of the people who were better born, more rich or more eminent for virtue, from the poorer and more ignoble. The former he called [a] *Patricians*, the latter *Plebeians*. All dignities, civil, military, and ſacerdotal, were to be confined to the former. But to prevent the ſeditions which ſuch a diſtinction might produce through the pride of the higher order, and the envy of the lower, he endeavoured to engage them to one another by reciprocal ties and obligations. Every *Plebeian* was allowed to chooſe, out of the body of the *Patricians*, a Protector, who ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt him with his intereſt and ſubſtance, and defend him from oppreſſion. Theſe Protectors were ſtyled [b] *Patrons*; the protected, *Clients*. It was the duty of the *Patron* to draw up the contracts of his *Clients*; to extricate them out of their difficulties and perplexities, and to guard their ignorance againſt the artfulneſs of the crafty. On the other hand, if the *Patron* were poor, his *Clients* were obliged to contribute to the portions of his daughters, the payment of his debts, and the ranſom of him or his children, if they happen'd to be taken in war. The *Client* and *Patron* could neither accuſe, nor bear witneſs againſt each other; and if either of them were convicted of having violated this law, the crime was equal to that of treaſon, and any one might with impunity ſlay the offender, as a victim devoted to *Pluto* and the infernal Gods. For more than 600 years, we find no diſſentions nor jealouſies between the *Patrons* and their *Clients*, not even in the times of the Republick, when the people frequently mutiny'd againſt the great and powerful.

[a] *Dionyſius* (in this place) ſays *Patres*, Fathers; but this title ſeems to have properly belonged to the ſenators only; he himſelf telling us (page 83.) that the ſenators were choſen out of the *Patricians*, which ſuppoſes the diſtinction of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, before the election of the Senators or Patres. *D. Hal.* p. 81, 108.

[b] Mr. *Vertot* quoting only *Dion. Hal.* makes the *Patrons* to be choſen out of the body of the Senate, yet *Dion. Hal.* ſays, out of the *Patricians*, and he mentions the inſtitution of the patronage before the creation of the Senate: and *Plutarch* affirms, that the *Patrons* were taken from the wealthier ſort, who were not of the Senate.

According to *Plutarch*, the word *Patron* comes originally from one *Patro*, an *Arcadian*, a companion of *Evander*. He was a man very aſſiſtant to the defenceleſs, and a protector to the poor. Be that as it will, the inhabitants of *Rome* were not the only perſons who had their *Patrons*. The colonies, and other cities allied to, or conquered by the *Romans*, had afterwards their *Patrons* alſo at *Rome*. The only alteration in the *Patronage*, as inſtituted by *Romulus*, was of the cuſtom of the *Clients* ſometimes parting with their goods in favour of their *Patrons*. The *Romans* thought it unworthy of them to ſell their protection. Of this *Plutarch* aſſures us.

§. V. THE establishment of a SENATE to assist the King in the administration, succeeded the institution of the *patronage*. *Romulus* composed it of a hundred men chosen out of the *Patricians*; but the choice was not made by the King himself; [a] he named only the first, who was to be chief Governor of the city, whenever the King should be in the field; then each tribe elected three, after which each of the thirty *Curiæ* chose three, which compleated the number of a hundred Senators. They were called *Patres*, [Fathers] either upon account of their age, or their *paternal* care of their fellow citizens. "Those who anciently composed "the council of the Republick (says *Sallust*) had indeed bodies enfeebled "by years, but their minds were strengthen'd by wisdom and experi-"ence." Their descendants, to whom alone some appropriate the name of *Patricians*, were the prime Nobility among the *Romans*.

Year of ROME I. Romulus First King. *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 83.

§. VI. TO form a guard for his Person, the King made a draught, p. 83. from each *Curia*, of ten horsemen, the whole number amounting to three hundred. These were called *Celeres*, either from their first captain, whose name was *Celer*, or else upon account of the *celerity* with which they executed the orders they received. They fought on foot or on horseback, as the occasion required, or the ground would allow.

§. VII. THE respective powers and privileges of the King, Senate, and People, were thus settled:

The KING was to be in all religious affairs supreme; he was to be the p. 84. guardian of the laws and customs, to take cognizance of the weightier causes between man and man, referring those of less moment to the Senate, upon whose decrees he had nevertheless a controul. It belonged to the King to convene the Senate and the assemblies of the people, propose affairs to them, give his own opinion first, and then do what was concluded upon by the majority. He was also to command the army in time

[a] *Plutarch* says, that *Romulus* filled his hundred Counsellors, *Patricians*, and the whole body of them the Senate, which signifies properly (says he) a consistory of old men. He adds, some say the *Patricians* were so called, because they were the fathers of legitimate children; others, because they could tell who their fathers were, which every one of the rabble that poured into the city could not do; others from the word *Patrocinium*, Patronage, because they were the defenders of the poor and weak, but he seems to think it most probable, that they were so stiled from the people's calling them and esteeming them as *Patres* or Fathers, on account of their being so protected by them.

[b] *Livy*, B. 1. §. 8. ascribes the choice of all the Senators to *Romulus*.

[c] Thus far *Dion. Hal.* concerning the *Celeres*. M. *Ferrat* adds, that the state found each of them a horse (*Equus*) from which they were called *Equites*, and that they were distinguished by a gold Ring, and thus he makes these *Celeres* or life-guards the first *Roman* Knights, and speaks of them as a kind of middle order, between the *Patricians* and the people. But *Dion. Hal.* tho' he mentions the forming of this Life-guard, immediately after the creation of the Senate, he says nothing of the Ring, nor of any of those marks by which the Equestrian Order was afterwards distinguished from other *Plebeians*. And *Livy* does not mention the creation of any Knights till the union of the *Romans* and *Sabines*. He seems to think, that the *Celeres* or life-guard which *Romulus* kept in pay in time of peace as well as war, were not formed till towards the end of his reign, when he affected despotism and tyranny. *Plutarch* seems also of that opinion.

Year of ROME 1

ROMULUS First King.

of war with abſolute authority; and he had the uſe of the publick money.*

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 85. The SENATE were not only to be judges in private cauſes, but to debate upon ſuch publick affairs as the King propoſed, and to determine by the plurality of voices.

Ibid. To the ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE three things were committed; to create magiſtrates, make laws, and determine concerning any war that was propoſed by the King; yet in all theſe things the Senate's approbation was neceſſary.

Ibid. The people for many years gave their voices by *Curiæ*, in which every private man had his vote. The majority of votes in each *Curia* determined the ſenſe of that *Curia*, and what the major part of the 30 *Curiæ* agreed to, was deemed the reſolution of the whole aſſembly, which aſſembly was therefore called *Comitia Curiata*.

Such was the fundamental conſtitution of this ſtate, neither purely monarchical, nor entirely republican; the King, the Senate and the People, were in a ſort of mutual dependence on each other, from whence reſulted a balance of power, whereby the Regal Prerogative was reſtrained, a uſeful authority preſerved to the Nobles, and the liberty of the People ſecured.

§. VIII. *ROMULUS* conſidering that the happineſs of ſtates depended upon the favour of the Gods, which was only to be obtained by the piety and virtue of the people, proceeded to the eſtabliſhment of *religious* and *civil laws*.

p. 88. With reſpect to RELIGION, He did not give it all that form in which it afterwards appear'd: he only regulated the worſhip of thoſe Divinities which *Evander* had introduced, of thoſe which *Æneas* had brought from *Phrygia*, and of thoſe which the *Aborigines* had honoured in their time. He neither introduced the infamous fables of the *Greek* Divinities into the publick faith, nor ſuffered any licentious ceremonies in the publick worſhip. He appointed that every *Curia* ſhould have its own temple,* (which was itſelf called *Curia*) and its peculiar God and Prieſt; that the people ſhould aſſemble on certain ſtated days, in *Cænacula*, or publick halls built for that purpoſe, each of which was conſecrated to its particular Deity, and that they ſhould there feaſt in common upon the victims offered to the Gods. *Romulus* likewiſe eſtabliſhed feſtivals, whereby religion became an eaſe and relief to a laborious people.

The miniſters of the Gods were to be at leaſt 50 years old, and none but their wives could perform the functions of prieſteſſes. Their ſons,

* M. *Vertot* ſays (p. 6. Tom. 1.) that he directed the diſpoſal of the publick money which was under the care of two treaſurers, afterwards called *Quæſtors*; but I do not find this in the authors cited by him, and it ſeems not well to agree with what he himſelf ſays (p. 59.) of the inſtitution of two treaſurers in the time of *Poplicola*; till then the Kings or Conſuls ſeem to have had the keeping of the publick treaſure. See the Conſulſhip of *Poplicola* in this hiſtory.

* The Prieſt who preſided over the ſacrifices in it was called *Curio*; whence, without doubt, came the word *Curate*.

to the age of puberty, were to wait at the doors, and their daughters so long as they continued virgins. The girls were called *Camillæ*, the boys *Camilli*. When a priest had no children of his own, he might chuse the handsomest children in his *Curia* to attend him in the sacrifices. To the sacerdotal families were granted distinguishing privileges: The laws exempted them from paying taxes, and from bearing arms. As the Priest's office was for life, it excited the ambition of many; but *Romulus* forbad all intriguing and cabalting to obtain it, as also the purchasing it with money, and the trusting it to the hazard of lots. He left to the *Curiæ* the free choice of their Priests; and as these ministers of religion were laid under an obligation to acquaint themselves with the laws and customs of their country, and to record the principal events that happened in the state, they were its first historians and first lawyers.

Year of ROME

Romulus First King.

Cic. B. 2, *de Orat.*

§. IX. AS to the civil laws of *Romulus*, we have only some few fragments of them. The first relates to marriages; it decrees that the wife shall not leave her husband upon any pretence whatsoever, at the same time that it allows the husband to put away his wife[a], and even to punish her with death (her relations concurring in the sentence) in case she be convicted of adultery, poisoning, making false keys, or only of drinking wine[b]. *Romulus* thought it necessary to be thus severe in the article of wine, in order to prevent adultery, which he looked upon as a second drunkenness, and a natural effect of that dangerous liquor. Each husband was confined to one wife, and their[c] goods were in common between them, but under the administration of the husband. The wife

A Gellius, C. 23.

[a] *Plutarch* in his Life of *Romulus*, says, that if the husband put away his wife for any other cause, but for poisoning his children, counterfeiting his keys, or adultery, he was to give one moiety of his goods to his wife, and consecrate the other to *Ceres*.

[b] This law was so severely observed, that, according to *Valerius Maximus*, B. 6. *de Severitate*, *Egnatius Metellus*, who caught his wife drinking wine, and killed her upon the spot, was neither brought to a trial, nor censured for it. And *Fabius Pictor* mentions another woman whom her relations starved to death, for having broke open the chest in which were the keys of the cellar. *Aulus Gellius* and *Pliny* likewise assure us, that in consequence of this law, it was customary at *Rome* for the ladies to be saluted by their near relations whenever they met them, not so much out of civility and friendship, as to find out by their breath whether they had been drinking wine. But in process of time, the severity of this law was somewhat abated. Women who had drunk wine, were only condemned to lose their portion.

[c] This community of goods was thus expressed in the marriage ceremonies: The persons to be married came to a sacrifice, in presence of ten witnesses; and the priest, among other offerings presented a wheat loaf, and scattered pieces of it over the victim. This was to shew that bread, the symbol of all other goods, should for the future be in common between the husband and wife; and this rite was called *confarreatio*. Hence it is said in *Romulus*'s law, *Uxor farreatione cum justa, in sacra & bona ejus venito*. It appears likewise by the same law, that the wife, upon marriage, professed the same Gods, and the same worship with her husband; both as to the houshold Gods of each family, and the respective God of each *Curia*. The law adds, *jus divortendi ei esto*, i. e. let not the husband have an absolute and unlimited power of *divorcing* his wife. This is the strict meaning of *divortendi*, but it is also sometimes used to signify a power of refusing to accept the person who had only been betrothed.

E was

Year of ROME 1.

Romulus. First King

was declared universal heiress to her husband, if he died intestate, and without children; but if he had children by her, they were to be equal sharers with her in the inheritance. It is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the power given to husbands to put away their wives, there was no instance of a divorce among the *Romans* for 520 years.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 92.

Nothing ever equalled the severity of the law which *Romulus* made in relation to children. He gave their fathers an absolute power over them. A father by his own private authority could imprison his children, put them to death, and even sell them for slaves three times over, of whatever age they were, or to whatever dignity they had arrived [b].

Plutarch observes it as a singular thing in *Romulus*, that, calling all murder parricide, he ordained no punishment for real parricide, believing it an impossible crime; and indeed, for near 600 years, it was not once known in *Rome*.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 86.

By another law of *Romulus*, who knew that the power of a state consists not so much in the extent of its territory, as in the number of its people, it was made criminal to kill an enemy who yielded, or so much as to sell him. His chief view in making war, was to conquer men, being sure of not wanting lands, if he did not want troops.

As this Prince was of opinion, that the sedentary arts and occupations emasculate men's minds, and enervate their bodies, he permitted none but strangers or slaves to be employ'd in them. He confined the citizens to the two professions of war and agriculture; and considering the ill consequences that might arise from dividing the employments, he made every *Roman* of free condition exercise both.

p. 95.

§. X. THUS was the colony settled; and the form of its government, and the wisdom of its laws attracted strangers to *Rome* from all parts. But what contributed most to people the city, was an asylum or sanctuary, of refuge, which *Romulus* opened for runaway slaves, homicides, outlaws, and persons plunged in debt. Nor was the appearance of religion wanting to cover the King's policy. This sanctuary was dedicated to a new sort of Divinity, called the *Asylean* God, under whose protection all

Liv. B. 1. §. 8. *Plut.*

[a] This is what *D. Hal.* says of the wife's interest (in *Romulus*'s time) in the husband's effects after his decease. But this law is not among those of *Romulus*, which now remain. There were two sorts of marriages among the *Romans*: The first was to marry their wives without any other covenant but that of keeping them in their houses. But these were not truly wives, till they had continued with their husbands a whole year, without three days interruption: And this was called *a marriage by use, usu*. The other way was, to marry a woman after marriage-covenants had been made; and this was called *a marriage by mutual sale, ex coemptione*. In this case the woman gave her husband three pieces of money called *Asses*, to express that she purchased of him a right of sharing in his goods; and the husband gave the wife the keys of the house, to shew he committed to her the care of the family. These latter only were called *mothers of families, matres-familiæ*; and it is probable that they only were sole heiresses to their husbands.

[b] In case a child was born with any monstrous deformity, the father might make away with it; but if it was a son, or an eldest daughter, he was first to advise with five of his neighbours; if he did not observe this rule, the half of his goods were confiscated to the publick use. *Instit. Justin.* B. 1.

sorts

sorts of criminals and discontented persons who fled from their own countries to *Rome* were to live securely. *Romulus* made them all soldiers, and *Rome* in a little time became formidable to her neighbours. The *Romans* wanted nothing but women to secure the duration of their state. The King therefore sent Deputies to the *Sabines* [a], and the other neighbouring nations, to propose alliances with them by marriages of their daughters with his *Romans*. He represented to them, that new colonies were not always contemptible, and that the Gods had hitherto shewn favour enough to *Rome*, to make it no dishonour to enter into alliances with her. But as the *Sabines* had begun to look upon *Romulus*'s new settlement with a jealous eye, they absolutely rejected his proposal, and some of them added raillery to the refusal, asking the deputies why their Prince did not open an asylum for vagrant women, and slaves of that sex, as he had done for men: your people then, said they, will be well matched; a pack of vagabond and loose women will make the fittest wives for a crew of fugitives loaded with crimes or debts.

Year of ROME. ROMULUS First King.

Livy B. 1. §. 9.

§. XI. WHEN this insulting answer was brought to *Rome*, *Romulus* heard it with the quickest resentment, resolving to be revenged, and to take away the daughters of the *Sabines* by force. He communicated his design to the Senate, and had their approbation of it. The only question was, how to succeed in the enterprize. It happened, or so it was pretended, that as workmen were digging in a field near *Rome*, they found a subterraneous altar dedicated to the God *Consus*, or the God of council, who is the same with *Neptune the Creator of the Horse* [b]. The discovery of this altar furnish'd *Romulus* with a pretext to proclaim a festival and publick sports in honour of the God. He notify'd the day he had fixed for these games [c] to the neighbouring towns, and made all the pompous preparations for them, that the poverty of his colony would admit.

Livy.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

Those of the *Sabines* who lay nearest to *Rome*, flock'd thither in crowds upon the day appointed for the solemnity, as *Romulus* had foreseen they would; no small numbers came also from the little towns of *Cænina*, *Crustumerium*, and *Antemnæ*. The strangers were received by the *Romans* with great demonstrations of joy. Every citizen had his guest, whom, when he had treated him in the best manner he could, he conducted and placed where he might conveniently see the sports. The peace and

[a] The *Sabines* possessed that part of *Italy* which lies between the *Tiber*, the *Teverone*, and the *Apennines*. They inhabited divers little towns, some of which were governed by petty Princes, and others only by magistrates, and in form of a republick; but tho' their particular governments were different, they were all united by a kind of league and community which formed the several societies of that nation into one state. The *Sabines* were some of the nearest neighbours to *Rome*.

[b] See page 6.

[c] As to the nature of these games, it is probable they chiefly consisted of races, wrestling, and the like, since this was the manner that afterwards prevailed of celebrating the *Consualia*, which were perpetuated at *Rome* in memory of this first show given by *Romulus*, and according to *Plutarch*, annually observed on the 18th of *August*, because the rape of the *Sabines* was on that day.

harmony

Year of ROME

Romulus's First King.

harvest that continued for some days; till at the strangers into security: for the *Romans* did not put their enterprize in execution till the last day of the festival. They had received orders to come armed that day, but to conceal their arms under their cloaths. When the multitude were most attentive to the show, *Romulus*, who presided at it in a striped robe called *Trabea*[a], rising from his seat, gathered up his robe, and threw it over his body. This was the signal agreed upon. Instantly the *Romans* drawing their swords, rush'd in among the strangers, and seiz'd their daughters. The men being unarmed and terrified, ran away, and the *Romans* who had no design of shedding blood, let the fathers and mothers depart in safety. In the hurry of the action, some *Romans* of distinction perceiving a body of their people carrying off a young woman of singular beauty, envy'd them so fine a prey, and attempting to take her from them, the latter cried out *Thalassio, Thalassio*, meaning that the young person was designed for *Thalassius*[b], a brave and worthy *Roman*, much esteemed in the colony; and hence it was, that the crying out *Thalassio* became customary at *Rome* in the marriage ceremony, as *Hymen* and *Hymenæe* prevailed among the *Greeks*.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 96.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

Plut.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 96.

As this violence had been dictated by publick necessity, rather than brutal passion, *Romulus*'s orders are said to have been observed with great exactness; he had forbid any further attempts upon the women, till marriages should be solemnized in form. For this purpose he commanded the *Sabine* virgins (for they were all called *Sabinæ*, because the greater number was of that nation) to be brought into his presence the next day. They were by this time a little recovered from their fright, and the King comforted them under the loss of their relations by words to this effect:

[a] The festival began in the beginning of the month *Sextilis*, and did not end till the 20th. Reckoning from *March*, which was the first month of the year in *Romulus*'s calendar, the 6th month was *August*, which was for that reason called *Sextilis*, even after the regulations made by *Numa Pompilius* and *Julius Cæsar*.

[b] The learned have wearied themselves with enquiries about the habits of the ancient *Romans*, especially the *Trabea*. All things considered, *Dion. Hal.* and other ancient authors, incline one to believe it was very like the *Toga*; with this difference, that it was adorned with stripes of purple, at due distances, on a white ground. This was the ordinary habit of the Kings of *Rome*: and it will hereafter appear, that the chief magistrates of the republick, and the *Roman* Knights, appeared in it, on certain days of ceremony. But there was likewise another sort of *Trabea*, worn only by the *Augurs*; of which more in its place.

[c] This is the opinion of *Livy* and *Plutarch*. *Varro*, as quoted by *Sax. Pompeius*, differs from them. He thinks the word *Thalassio* anciently signified those little baskets in which the ladies put their work to this day. As the *Sabine* virgins would not afterwards give themselves voluntarily to the *Romans*, but on condition that they should only be obliged to work in wool, they carried little baskets to their husbands houses, on the day of marriage, to put their work in. Others say, *Thalassio* was the word *Romulus* had agreed to pronounce, when the *Romans* were to begin the rape. And indeed this cry suited very well with the God of the sea, whose festival they then celebrated. And therefore the poets always give him the surname of *Thalassius*. *Aristophanes* speaking of *Neptune*, calls him Θαλάσσιον Ποσειδῶν.

" The

"The Romans have not used this violence with an intention to diſhonour, but to many you; ſuch methods of procuring wives are ancient in Greece, and to women, more honourable than any other. Soften therefore the fierceneſs of your anger, impute our offence to your own fathers, who ſcornfully rejected our civil requeſts, and ſurrender your hearts to thoſe men to whom fortune has given poſſeſſion of your perſons. Wrongs and injuries are often the forerunners of love and friendſhip; you will find your huſbands behave themſelves with ſo tender an affection, as ſhall leave you no cauſe to regret the loſs of either your parents or your country." To theſe words of the King the young men added careſſes and flatteries, pleading violent love in excuſe of their fault; love, of all pleas, ſays *Livy*, the moſt eaſily admitted by womankind.

Year of ROME. Romulus Firſt King.

Livy B. 1. §. 9.

After this, *Romulus* without delay married the women to his *Romans* by the ſame form, which was ever after uſed in marriages, *Partake ye of your huſband's fire and water*[a]: and it was not long before they experienced the truth of what *Romulus* had foretold them. The merit and fondneſs of their huſbands made them forget their native country and their father's houſes.

As to the number of theſe *Sabine* women, ſome hiſtorians make them to have been 683, others 527, and others reduce them to 30, the number of the *Curiæ*, deriving the word *Curia* from *Curis*, the name of the town of which the women were for the moſt part natives; but no eminent hiſtorian is of this opinion.

D. Hal. B. 2. P. 97. *Plut.* *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 106.

But whatever was their number, it is agreed, that, among them all, there was only one married woman, whoſe name was *Herſilia*. She either was miſtaken for a Virgin, or, as ſome ſay, would not leave her only Daughter. One *Greek* hiſtorian, mentioned by *Plutarch*, ſays, that *Romulus* made her his wife, and had a daughter by her, named *Prima*, becauſe ſhe was his firſt child, and a ſon named *Abillus*. But other writers contend, that *Herſilia* was married to a noble *Roman* named *Hoſtus*, and that *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King of *Rome* deſcended from her.

§. XII. THE *Sabines* are held by ſome to have been a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*, tranſplanted into *Italy*; and it is not improbable. At leaſt

[a] It is an antient hiſtorical tradition, that the brides never ſtepped upon the threſhold, when they went into their huſbands houſes. They were held up to prevent it.

Tarpeiique premant fruſtra matrona cupidi
Transiliat ritus contingere limina plantâ.
Pharſ. B. 2.

Parry indeed contends, that it was out of reſpect to this part of the houſe which was conſecrated to *Veſta*: but *Plutarch* ſays, it was to ſhew, that the firſt marriages were made by rapes. And from hence, ſay ſome authors, comes the cuſtom of parting the Hair of the new married women with the point of a lance. This was intended to ſhew, that iron and violence gave the firſt *Romans* their wives: and the truth of this cuſtoms ſeems to be confirmed by *Ovid*, in theſe words,

Comat virgineas haſta recurva comas.

the

Year of ROME

ROMULUS First King.

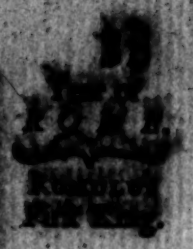
the moderation, wisdom, and frugality of these two nations, gave them a great resemblance to each other. Their state was a pretty extensive one, if compared with the little neighbouring sovereignties; but the people lived mostly in villages that were open on all sides, or only enclosed with palisades. And therefore, tho' their courage excited them to revenge the affront they had received in the persons of their daughters; yet their prudence made them seek to repair their honour by a treaty, before they would run the hazard of a war. They sent to demand the restoration of their daughters, promising on that condition to enter into a friendly and neighbourly alliance with the *Romans*. But *Romulus* was inflexible. He on his part demanded, that the *Sabines* should confirm the marriages of his *Romans*, which were made indeed by violence, but a violence that was become necessary. Whilst the treaty, which went on slowly, suspended hostilities on both sides, *Acron*, whom the historians call King [a] of *Camina*, prevented the *Sabines*, and took the field before them. He was a man of valour, and had signalized himself in many battles. He thought the neighbourhood of the *Romans*, which had given him jealousy from their first establishment, was now indeed become formidable since the audacious Rape committed upon the *Sabine* women, and that it was necessary to crush, in its infancy, a colony which otherwise would increase in strength as it grew in age: And for this reason he sollicited the *Sabines*, as also the inhabitants of [b] *Crustumerium* and *Antemnæ*, to join their forces with his. Their slowness made him impatient. He imagined he could, without their help, subdue a handful of Men, got together in a city newly founded, and very little fortified: But the march of his army had more the air of an incursion of robbers, than of a regular expedition. The *Caminenses* having ravaged the lands of *Rome*, *Romulus* did not confine himself within his walls: He instantly marched out against the enemy, and joined battle with them in the open field, where the *Romans* fought for every thing that was dear to them, and even for the hopes of posterity. In the heroic times it had been a common custom, and it was not yet abolished, for the two commanders in the heat of an engagement mutually to provoke each other with their eyes and voices to single combat: Upon which the Armies opened, and left a space where their leaders were to fight. *Romulus* and *Acron* challenged each other, and on this occasion the former made a vow to *Jupiter*, that if he came off Conqueror, he would erect a tro-

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 98.

Plutarch.

[a] *Camina* was situated on the confines of *Latium* and *Sabinia*. *Plutarch* and *Stephens* make it a city of the *Sabines*; but the authority of *Livy*, *Dion Hal.* and *Festus*, who think this a city of antient *Latium*, is against them. *Cluverius* thinks, that *Camina* was on this side the *Anio*, four miles from *Rome*. *Holstenius* places it beyond that river, in the neighbourhood of *Monticelli*.

[b] *Crustumerium* and *Antemnæ*, were either subject to, or in the neighbourhood of *Sabinia*. Some geographers think the former was situated near the place where *Marcigliano Vecchio* now stands. They place the latter upon the *Tyber*, almost between the *Tiburtine* and *Nomantine* ways. But it is uncertain where they stood. *Plutarch* says, that *Fidenæ* made a league with *Crustumerium* and *Antemnæ*, against the *Romans*,



of the conquered, and conducted himself with blazing clemency, and carrying the inhabitants to *Rome*, to augment his colony: And the establishment he gave them upon the same foot with his first citizens, became a precedent to himself, which he ever after followed on the like occasions. And now, either out of ostentation, or to animate his people with an ardent love of glory, he celebrated his victory with a new kind of pomp. He decreed himself the honours of a *triumph*; for so was called the reception given to Generals at their return from successful expeditions. Nor is it improbable, that this example of *Romulus*'s triumph created the emulation of succeeding commanders, and contributed as much as any thing to the conquest of the world. But the preparations for this ceremony were suitable to the poverty of the *Romans* in those days: *Romulus* did not ride in a chariot, but entered *Rome* on foot, with his troops marching some before and some after him. His long hair flowed upon his shoulders, and his head was crowned with laurel. He had fixed the spoils of *Acron* to the trunk of a

a The use of *triumphs*, especially among the *Greeks*, is remarkable. It was customary to erect them upon the field of battle. The ancient trophies consisted of a pole, a stake, or a trunk of a tree dressed up with the spoils of the enemy. The figures of these are to be seen on several ancient coins. Others were struck after the gaining of some very important victories. In after-times, conquerors erected pillars of brass, or marble, or stone, and towers, and triumphal arches, with inscriptions to perpetuate the memory of their victories. But according to *Plutarch*, in his *Roman questions*, those who first made use of marble and brass for trophies, were abhorred, because, says he, it seemed inhuman to trample the flame and ashes of people to fame upon: and he adds, that in consequence of this, they would not have the triumphal arches to be removed. These ceremonies were generally attended by many absurdities.

b It was from hence, probably, that *Romulus* acquired the title of *Quirinus*, which he bore after his deification. *Quirinus* was a name given to the god of war, and signifies the same as *Mars* at home, or settled at *Rome*: and the same author adds, that the conqueror thought fit to

field a colony of their bravest men to *Gabium*.

c This was the first *Roman* triumph. The word comes originally from *Thriambus*, one of the names of *Bacchus*, who conquered the *Indies*; and who, according to *Pliny* and *Diodorus Siculus*, first introduced the custom of a triumph. Those who followed the conquerors, made the air resound with the name of *Bacchus*; whence the acclamation, *Io Triumphe!* which is thus explained by *Horace*:

Tuque dum procedis, Io Triumphe!
Non parum diserti Io Triumphe!
Civibus dicent.

The order, form, and pomp of the ancient triumphs will be spoken of hereafter.

d *Dion. Hal.* represents *Romulus* as carried in a chariot drawn by four horses, whereas *Plutarch*, during the ceremony of his triumph, makes him enter on foot, with his troops marching before and after him. But *Dionysius* is the first who mentions this circumstance, and *Plutarch* follows him. Perhaps *Romulus* changed his manner of triumphing, during the course of those wars; there were three times in *Rome* in his time, and possibly *Dionysius* met him on foot loaded with his trophy.

Year of Rome 2 0 1 1. Romulus First King.

small oak, and covered it with them. This trophy represented a man armed, which the King carried in triumph on his right shoulder. All the people came out of the city to meet the conqueror, singing his praises; and lined the road on both sides. As soon as he enter'd *Rome*, they presented him wine, and before the houses spread tables for those of the soldiers who wanted to refresh themselves. *Romulus* proceeded in the same order he entered the city, to the hill *Saturnius*, where, after the procession was over, he erected a small temple of only ten foot long, and five broad; and here the triumphant victor deposited his trophy, consecrating it to *Jupiter* * *Feretrius*[a]. This Name was then given to *Jupiter*, because *Romulus* had himself *carried* thither the present he had vowed: And a name of distinction was likewise given to the spoils of the King of *Caenina*; they were called [b] *opima Spolia*, because they were more honourable than any other, being taken by the General of the *Roman* army, from the General of the enemy's army, after he had killed him with his own hand.

* *a ferendo.*

Plut. Livy.

Not long after this, *Romulus*, with one [c] Legion, levied in haste, subdued the *Antemnates*, and *Crustumini*, who had taken arms on the same account as the *Caeninenses*. *Hersilia*, who was of *Antemnae*, interceded with him for her countrymen; and as lenity suited best with the King's policy, having first consulted with the Senate, he transplanted the inhabitants of both the conquered cities to *Rome*, where they were admitted to all the privileges of *Roman* citizenship, and he sent colonies from thence into their towns. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became so great, that several cities of *Hetruria* voluntarily submitted to him. *Caelius* an *Hetrurian* Leader brought to *Rome* all the troops under his command, and settled on a hill near the city, which from him took the name of *Mount Caelius*.

[a] *Plutarch* derives the word *Feretrius* from *ferire* to strike; and supports his conjecture by *Romulus*'s prayer to *Jupiter* to strike *Acron*. But this interpretation does not very well agree with what he says in another place, that the *Greek* tongue was in use in the reign of *Romulus*. What he says in his life of *Marcellus*, is most probable, namely, that *Feretrius* came originally from *φερετρον*, which signifies any machine for carriage.

[b] *Festus* derives the word *Opima* from *Ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces; so that *opima Spolia*, according to him, signifies *rich* spoils. But *Plutarch* derives it from *Opus*, as if one had said *spoils difficult to be obtain'd*. This name was given only to such spoils as the General of the *Roman* army had taken from the General of the enemy's troops: at least this is *Plutarch*'s opinion. Tho *Varro* assures us, that not only a subaltern officer, but even a common soldier might make a trophy of the spoils he had taken from him who commanded in chief the enemy's army. In the space of about five hundred and thirty years after *Romulus*, only *Cornelius Cossus* and *Claudius Marcellus* are recorded to have had the glory of carrying off this sort of spoils.

[c] The word *Legion* comes from *legere*, which signifies to *chuse*. And indeed the *Roman* legions were all *chosen* men. The number of men in a legion, was different at different times, as will be occasionally observed in the course of this history. It is sufficient to observe here, that when *Livy* says, *Romulus* led one legion against the *Antemnates*, he must be understood to mean, that he led three thousand foot and three hundred horse against them; which were then the best part of the *Roman* forces. *Plutarch* says, that the *Roman* legion consisted at that time of three thousand foot and three hundred horse.

Years of ROME. Romulus Firſt King.

Romulus was now obliged to enlarge the bounds of *Rome*. The city had hitherto contained only the hill *Palatinus*, which was encompaſſed with a ſquare wall: But upon this augmentation of inhabitants, it ſpread itſelf to the *Capitol*, then called the hill *Saturnius*; and on the top of that hill they built a citadel, which was committed to the government of a noble *Roman* named *Tarpeius*; it was ſurrounded on all ſides with ramparts and towers, which equally commanded the city and the country. They likewiſe built a wall from the foot of the hill *Saturnius* to the *Tyber*, and opened a gate in it which they called *Carmentalis*.

§. XII. BUT this increaſe of the *Roman* forces and fortifications did not terrify the *Sabines*. They ſent a ſecond deputation to *Romulus*, to demand back their daughters, and upon his refuſal, they march'd towards *Rome* with an army of 25000 foot, and 1000 horſe, under the command of their King *Titus Tatius*. The troops which *Romulus* led againſt them, are ſaid to have been not much inferior in number, for he received ſupplies from his grandfather *Numitor*, and from *Hetruria*, the *Hetrurians* being commanded by one *Lucumo* a brave warrior, or rather by one of their 12 *Lucumones* or governors. *Romulus* poſted his army on the hills *Eſquilinus* and *Quirinalis*.

The *Sabines* advanced in good order, and encamped at the foot of the hill *Saturnius*, in that plain ſince called the *Campus Martius*. *Tatius* ſeeing all the poſts guarded, was extremely uneaſy about the ſucceſs of his enterprize: But an unforeſeen adventure extricated him out of his difficulties. As the *Sabines* were roaming round the hill, to find a paſſage whereby they might get into the citadel, the Governor's daughter, named *Tarpeia*, who went accidentally to draw water for a ſacrifice, was much taken with the bracelets and rings with which the enemies were adorned. She therefore privately ſent one of her maids to deſire a conference with the *Sabine* General; and at night *Titus Tatius* came to the Poſtern-Gate that had been ſhewn him, and agreed to give *Tarpeia* what the ſoldiers wore on their left arms, provided ſhe would facilitate their entrance into the citadel, by that very gate. It is probable the young woman, whoſe eyes were at firſt ſo dazled with the ornaments of the *Sabines*, repented of her treachery: And then, in order to turn the ſtratagem againſt the *Sabines* themſelves, ſhe ſent to *Romulus*, deſiring a ſtrong body of troops to oppoſe *Tatius*, who expected to enter the citadel the night following, by a gate that ſhe was to open to him. But it unfortunately happened, that the meſſenger proved a traitor, went to the camp of the *Sabines*, and informed them of the ambuſh that was laying for them. *Tatius* did not fail of being at the gate at the time appointed, but with a greater body of men than *Tarpeia* expected. As ſoon as it was opened, he led in his troops and made himſelf maſter of the citadel: And then the *Sabines* are ſaid to have cruſhed *Tarpeia* to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking themſelves to have diſcharged their promiſe by *thus* giving her what they wore on their left arms.

Lucius Piſo, apud Dionyſ. & Aurel. Vict.

Year of ROME. Romulus First King.

From her the hill *Saturnius* took the name of *Tarpeius*, which it retained till it got that of *Capitolinus* (from the head of one *Tolus*, which was found there, when workmen were digging to lay the foundations of a temple to *Jupiter*.) And even then, the steepeſt part of it, down which criminals were thrown, continued to be called *The Tarpeian Rock*.

The *Sabines*, now maſters of the Citadel, had the advantage of being able to continue the war with more ſecurity. For a long time, only light ſkirmiſhes paſſ between the two parties without much advantage on either ſide. At length both armies reſolved to come to a general engagement. The firſt action (which the night put an end to) determined nothing, the ſucceſs being equal on both ſides. In a ſecond, the *Romans* at the beginning had the advantage, in both wings commanded by *Romulus* and the *Lucumo*, till a brave *Sabine*, named *Metius Curtius*, who commanded the main body of the *Sabine* army, turned the ſcale in favour of his countrymen. He broke into the center of the *Roman* army, and, with deſign to give the wings of the *Sabines* an opportunity of rallying, purſued it to the very gates of *Rome*. *Romulus*, ſeeing this, preſs'd no longer after that wing of the *Sabines*, which he had forc'd to give ground, but immediately faced about, and haſten'd to attack *Curtius*; who, making a gallant reſiſtance, facilitated the retreat of his countrymen toward their camp. At length *Romulus* met him and engaged him in ſingle combat. *Curtius* being now wounded in ſeveral places, and unable to maintain the fight, threw himſelf into a lake which was made by the inundation of the *Tyber*, becauſe on all the other ſides he was ſurrounded by enemies. This lake was very full of mud towards the banks, and the water was deep in the middle; ſo that *Romulus*, thinking his enemy could not eſcape periſhing, returned to the purſuit of the *Sabines*. But *Curtius*, tho' encumber'd with his armour, got ſafe out of the water, and left his name to the place; it was ever after called * *Lacus Curtius*, even when it was dried up, and almoſt in the center of the *Roman Forum*.

Romulus, upon his return to his army, puſhed the enemy with ſuch vigour, that they fled in confuſion, and took refuge in the Citadel. The *Romans* followed them, and, flushed with their ſucceſs, expected to have retaken it. But the *Sabines* rolling great ſtones from the top of the hill, one of them hit *Romulus* on the head, and ſtunn'd him, ſo that falling down ſenſeleſs, he was carried out of the field into the city. This accident reviv-ed the courage of the *Sabines*; the *Romans* were put to flight in their turn, and purſued to the very gates of *Rome*. However, *Romulus* having by this time recovered his ſenſes, rallied his troops, put himſelf again at their head, and drove the enemy back to the Citadel.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 105.

We are told that in the moſt critical minute of the day, when the *Romans* were flying before the enemy, *Romulus* made a vow to *Jupiter* in order to obtain his favour for the ſpeedy rallying of his troops, and that, as fortune would

Aurel. Victor, &c.

* *Procilius* ſays, that the *Lacus Curtius* was ſo called, from the famous *Curtius*, who leap'd into the gulph that opened in that place. And others think that it received its name from *Curtius* the Conſul (collegue to *M. Genucius*) who wall'd it in.

have

Year of ROME. ROMULUS First King.

haste to their footsteps at the sight of their General, upon his return to the field of battle. Glad at belief therefore, that this was a particular blessing of Heaven, he erected a temple to *Jupiter*, whom he called *Stator*, because the *Romans* recovering from their fright made a *stand*, and faced the enemy. *Livy* and *Plutarch* say, that in this very moment the *Sabine* women coming out of the city with their hair dishevelled, and their children in their arms, threw themselves between the two armies, and by their tears and intreaties put a check to the fury of their fathers and husbands. But *Dionysius* gives a different and more probable account of the part which those women had in the reconciling of the two nations.

§. XIV. NEITHER *Romulus* nor *Tatius* was very forward to hazard another engagement. The *Sabines*, who remained masters of the Citadel, debated whether they should content themselves with only ravaging the lands of the *Romans*, and then return home; or should send for new levies from *Sabinia* to continue the war, till it could be finished with more advantage. The *Romans*, on their side, were no less doubtful and undetermined what to do. Their enemies they knew to be a powerful nation, that could more easily repair its loss than they cou'd theirs. But, on the other hand, could the *Romans* with honour restore the women? Would not that be a confession of weakness which might render the *Sabines* more haughty and more difficult to treat with? Whilst both parties were thus deliberating and in suspence, the women for whose sake the war had been undertaken, met together without the knowledge of their husbands, and, at the persuasions of *Hersilia*, formed a design of mediating between the two nations. Before they could put their project in execution it was necessary to get it approved by the King and Senate; this, in the present conjuncture of affairs, they found no difficulty to effect. A decree was passed, permitting the women to go upon the negotiation they proposed, on condition however that they left their children behind them; yet those who had several were allowed to take one or more with them, as it might be a means to promote the success of their enterprize.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 106.

The women being thus authorized, laid aside their ornaments, put on mourning, took some of their children in their arms, and leaving the city, advanced towards the camp of the *Sabines*. They no sooner arrived there, but casting themselves at the feet of their relations and countrymen, they by their tears and lamentations excited a general compassion. King *Tatius* having assembled his chief officers in council, and ordered the women to declare the intention of their coming, *Hersilia*, in the name of her companions, is said to have made a long and pathetic speech to this effect:

"If it be love to *us* which has moved you to begin the war, the "same love should now induce you to put an end to it. It is true, we "were unjustly forced away from our parents by the men who are now "our husbands; but you neglected so long to revenge the injury, that "we became engaged, by the strictest ties of affection, to those whom "at first we hated: we are full of anxiety for them when they are "fighting, and we lament their deaths when they fall in battle. You

"do

Year of ROME. ROMULUS First King.

"do to-morrow come to violate the honour of virgins, but to tear away "wives from their husbands, and mothers from their children; this is not "to refuse us, it is to make us a second time captives."

When she had thus spoken, she begg'd a truce, that the chiefs of the two armies might have an opportunity to treat of an accommodation. As the *Sabines* wanted only a pretence to lay aside their refractoriness, they readily accepted the proposal, and soon after the two Kings had a conference, which ended to the satisfaction of both parties. A treaty of union was made and confirmed by oath. It was agreed, that both the Kings should reside in *Rome*, and be equal in power; that as many of the *Sabines* as were willing might come hither and be incorporated in the *Tribes* and *Curiæ*; that their common city should continue to be called *Rome*, but that the *Romans* should take the name of *Quirites*, till then peculiar to the *Sabines*, and that the latter should be admitted to publick offices both civil and religious. Three considerable *Sabine* families are particularly mentioned to have followed the example of their King, and settled at *Rome*. The head of one of them was *Valerius Volesus* (to whom *Plutarch* gives the honour of negotiating the peace); of another, *Titus Tatius*; and of the third, that *Metius Curtius* who had signalized himself so much in the last battle: and these brought with them a multitude of their relations and dependants.

§. XV. BY THIS TREATY, which so considerably increased the colony, *Rome* became formidable. *Dion. Hal.* tells us, that the number of the new inhabitants equalled that of the old. *Tatius*, that he might imitate and equal *Romulus* in all respects, formed a council of a hundred Senators of his own nation. They were styled *Fathers*, and enjoyed the same privileges with those who had been instituted by the founder of *Rome*. The *Roman* and *Sabine* Senators held their first assemblies on affairs of state separately, at the houses of their respective Kings. But afterwards they all met together, near the temple of *Vulcan*, in a place which, because the *Sabines* and *Romans* went thither to form one assembly, was called *Comitium**, Place of Meeting.

* *Dion. Hal.* says, that each particular citizen was to be called *Romanus*, and the collective body of them *Quirites*; yet it appears by this ancient form of words used at funerals, *Ollus Quiris leibo datus est*, that each private citizen was also called *Quiris*.

The origin of the word *Quirites*, which was at first peculiar to the *Sabines*, and became, in *Romulus*'s time, the general name of the inhabitants of *Rome*, has been much fought for; and the most probable account antiquity gives us of them, is this. The word *Quiris*, according to *Plutarch* and some others, signified in the *Sabine* language, both a dart, and a warlike Deity armed with a dart. 'Tis uncertain whether the God gave name to the dart, or the dart to the God. But be that as it will, this *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, was either *Mars*, or some other God of war; and the worship of *Quiris* continued in *Rome* all *Romulus*'s reign: but after his death, he was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, and took the place of the God *Quiris*.

* *A comendo, quasi* commendo. The *Comitium* was part of the *Forum* at *Rome*; and was at the foot of the hill *Palatinus*, over against the *Capitol*.

And

And accordingly, according to *Livy*, were formed the three centuries of *Romans*; Knights, called *Ramnenſes*, *Tatienſes* and *Luceres*. The firſt had its name from *Romulus*; the ſecond from the *Sabine* King; and the third from the *Lucumo*s or great men of the *Aſylum*, of this country had formerly drove. Theſe three bodies of horſe were incorporated into the *Roman* legions, which, according to *Plutarch*, conſiſted from this time of ſix thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe each. But

Year of ROME. Romulus Firſt King.

* Originally the Knights alone formed the body of the *Romans* or legionary cavalry. They, who aſpired to the honour of being admitted into this order on account of their fortunes or birth, often ſerved in the army as volunteers; with this difference, that the ſtate furniſhed the former with horſes out of the publick treaſury, whereas the latter were obliged to furniſh themſelves with horſes at their own coſts. This cuſtom continued to the time of *Marius*. Then *Rome* had recourſe to her allies, to ſupply the deficiency of the *Roman* Knights. And from that time, the provinces furniſhed as many horſe, as were wanted to recruit the legions. Indeed the Equeſtrian Order never had any ſettled form, till after the *Cenſus* appointed by *Servius Tullus*. They who had the honour of being joined to them, engaged themſelves to be ſoldiers by profeſſion. They fought equally on foot or on horſeback, as occaſion or the diſpoſition of the ground required. They were ſometimes poſted in the advanced guard, ſometimes in the center, but more frequently in the wings of each legion. But in length of time this illuſtrious body degenerated, and the *Roman* Knighthood became a bare title of honour. Thoſe who enjoyed it, were diſtinguiſhed from the *Plebeians*, by a gold ring they wore on their fingers. In the latter times of the Republick, the *Roman* Knights were no more confined to war, than any other citizens. On the contrary, they undertook to collect the publick taxes, under the name of publicans. But of this, more hereafter.

* *Varro*, *Plutarch*, and *Feſtus* give the ſame names to the three tribes eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*, which *Livy* gives to theſe three centuries of Knights drawn out of the tribes. They are eaſily reconciled, if we will ſuppoſe each century to bear the name of its reſpective tribe. *Dion. Hal.* dates the diviſion of the colony into tribes, from the firſt year of *Rome*. *Plutarch* brings it down to the time of this union of the *Romans* with the *Sabines*. And what can we infer from theſe different accounts, but that *Romulus* inſtituted the tribes from the beginning of his reign, thereby to ſettle his form of government; and that each tribe had no particular name, till after the concluſion of his treaty with *Tatius*. What confirms this conjecture, is, that the ſecond tribe was called *Tatienſis*, or *Titienſis*, from the name of *Titus Tatius*. Some authors indeed give all the three names, *Ramnenſes*, *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*, an *Hetrurian* derivation. But the generality of hiſtorians agree in calling the colony of the inhabitants of *Alba* that went to *Rome* with *Romulus*, *Ramnenſes*; and ſo they do, in calling the ſecond tribe, *Tatienſes*. The others who fled into the *Aſylum*, were called *Luceres*, if we may believe *Feſtus*, from *Lucerus*, King of *Ardea*, who, according to him, joined with *Romulus* againſt the *Sabines*.

* The moſt learned criticks have obſerved, that *Plutarch* is miſtaken, when he ſays the *Roman* legion conſiſted of ſix thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, after the concluſion of the treaty between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. But it is probable, that *Plutarch* means no more, than that *Romulus* formed two legions, of the two united nations, which conſiſted each of three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἑξακοσίους μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐποίησε, χιλίους δὲ ὁπλίτας. And by the help of the ſame interpretation, we may explain *Dion. Hal.*'s ſaying, that *Romulus* incorporated into his legion or army, three thouſand of the *Ramnenſes* and *Auſonenſes*. Tho' it were true, as ſome authors conjecture, that each legion did conſiſt of above three thouſand three hundred men at this time; yet it is certain, that, *ordinarily*, it did not exceed four thouſand foot; for which reaſon, *Feſtus* calls a legion *ſquare*; tho' this denomination owed its origin to their order in battel. I ſay, *ordinarily*, becauſe on ſome occaſions, the legion did conſiſt, if we may believe *Vegetius*, of five thouſand foot, and two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, and ſometimes ſeven

hundred

Year of ROME. Romulus First King.

But the moſt common opinion is, that the *Roman* legions did not then conſiſt of above four thouſand men at the moſt.

Rome could not without ingratitude forget the ſervices that had been done her by the *Sabine* women, who were become entirely *Roman*, by affection as well as marriage. Honourable privileges and marks of diſtinction were decreed them. Every body was to give way to them when they paſſed along; all immodeſt and too free diſcourſe was forbidden in their preſence: it was a law, that indecent objects ſhould never be brought into their ſight; they were exempted from the juriſdiction of the ordinary judges, in capital caſes; and laſtly, they were permitted to hang a ball of gold about their childrens necks, to diſtinguiſh them from the vulgar. A particular robe was alſo aſſigned theſe children, called *Prætexta*, the uſe of which was forbidden to all others.

For five years together, the two Kings lived at *Rome* in a ſurpriſing harmony. *Romulus* had his palace on the declivity of the hill *Palatinus*; *Tatius* reſided on the hill *Tarpeius*; and his *Sabines* had fixed their ſettlements

hundred horſe. *Livy* tells us, the legions which were appointed to go over into *Africa* with *Scipio*, conſiſted of ſix thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. And therefore *Feſtus* is miſtaken, when he ſays that *Marius* firſt made the *Roman* legion to conſiſt of ſix thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. The number of ſoldiers in a legion was different at different times. Nevertheleſs, it is probable, that from *Marius*'s time, the legions did more commonly conſiſt of ſix thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe.

It is difficult to find out exactly what was the form of this ornament, which the *Sabine* women had leave to hang about their children's necks. It was called *Bulla*. *Plutarch* ſays, that this *Bulla* was like the little bubbles which the drops of rain make, when they fall upon running water: and it is therefore probable, that theſe little golden balls were both hollow and light; and, that they were but half globes, with one ſide flat, and the other globular. *Macrobius* pretends, that *Tarquin the Elder* extended the right of wearing theſe ornaments to all the children of the *Patricians*, and began with his own. The young *Romans*, when they came to the age of manhood, quitted the *Bulla*, and made an offering of it to the *Dii Lares*, which were then called *Lares Bullati*. Hence *Perſius*:

Cum primùm pavidè noſtrorum purpura viſſit,
Bullaque ſuccinctis Laribus donata pependit.

and this ornament was alſo ſometimes conſecrated to ſome other divinity, as appears by this inſcription which *Gruterus* gives us from an ancient monument:

JUNONI. PLACIDÆ.
CONSERVATRICI. AUGUSTÆ.
CLAUDIA. SABBATIS.
BULLAM. D. D.

The *Romans* uſed alſo to incloſe in theſe *Bullæ*, certain preſervatives which paganiſm had conſecrated, to ſecure their children againſt enchantments: and they perhaps attributed this virtue to certain hieroglyphicks, or other myſterious characters. Or it may be, the figures of the Deities and of animals were made uſe of for this purpoſe; as in that particular kind of preſervatives, which the *Latins* called *Amuleta*, whoſe form was arbitrary.

Theſe robes were laced at the bottom, and perhaps on the two lappets, if what *Rubenius* thinks be true, that they were open before. They were called *Prætextæ*, from this purple edging or lace. They were worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were ſeventeen, and took the *Toga Virilis*, or *Manly Robe*. But what was in *Romulus*'s time a mark of diſtinction for the children of the *Sabine* women, was afterwards very common. All, even to the children of the *Liberti*, or ſlaves who were made free, wore robes bordered with purple in their youth: and at length, the gowns of the magiſtrates were theſe likewiſe, not only at *Rome*, but in the colonies, and *Municipia*, or free cities.

Year of ROME Reign of first King

called [illegible] in memory of their city *Cures*, [illegible] to their own [illegible] place between the hill *Palatine* [illegible] common meeting place for the two united [illegible] name of *Romans*, which [illegible] ever after; and [illegible] common affairs [illegible]

The union of the two nations soon produced a mixture of manners, customs, and religion. *Rome* readily adopted the Sabine Gods; and *Tatius* built temples to the *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Vejes*, *Vulcan*, *Diana*, and *Mavors*, who was probably the same with the God *Quirit*. *Juno Quiritis* was introduced to preside over the public feasts of all the Curiæ in *Rome*; and the two nations agreed to institute some new festivals, by common consent: Thus called *Matronalia* was instituted in memory of the peace, which had been brought about by the mediation of the women. The *Romans*, who had hitherto used small bucklers, after the manner of the *Argives*, now wore larger, like those of the *Sabines*: And the latter conformed themselves to *Romulus*'s calendar. In a word, never was a more sudden or more perfect union, between two nations which had been such mortal enemies. *Plutarch.*

During the time that *Romulus* had an associate in the throne, the conquest of *Caenina*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, was the only military achievement of the *Romans*: The *Caenini*, by their incursions on the *Roman* territory, gave occasion to the war. Being twice defeated, 4000 of them were transplanted to *Rome*, and a colony sent from thence to *Caenina*.

§. XVI. BUT as it is scarce possible that concord should be perpetual in a state which is governed by two Kings, whose powers are equal, and whose interests will at length prove not to be the same, the union between *Romulus* and *Tatius*, which policy had formed, and reciprocal condescensions maintained, was broke in the fifth year of their government. The occasion of it was this: Some of *Tatius*'s people having ravaged the ter- *Dion. Hal.* p. 110.

* This festival was celebrated on the first of *March*. *Ovid*, in his *Fasti*, gives other reasons for the institution of it; but grants that the chief of them was the remembrance of the benefits the *Romans* had received from the *Sabine* women. The *Matronalia* was to the *Roman* wives, what the *Saturnalia* was to their husbands. They now served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did of their wives in the *Saturnalia*. The *Matronalia* was consecrated to *Mars*, and, according to some, to *Juno Lucina*; and on it the women sacrificed to these two Deities. *Plutarch* says, the two Kings instituted likewise the *Carmentalia*, in honour of [illegible]

* *Gellius* reports, Chap. 3. that before the foundation of *Rome*, the year consisted of thirteen months, and of three hundred and seventy-four days; nevertheless, it is probable, that the people of the southern parts of *Italy* followed the *Greek* calendar, which made the year fall to consist of three hundred and sixty, and afterwards of three hundred and fifty four days, which are a lunar year. Be that as it will, the *Sabines* thought fit to conform themselves to *Romulus*'s calendar. The common opinion is, that he made his year to consist of only ten months, viz. *March*, *April*, *May*, *June*, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November* and *December*. *March*, *May*, *Quintilis* and *October*, had each thirty one days, the other six months but thirty. *Macrob. sat.* L. 1. c. 12.

Year of ROME

ROMULUS First King.

ministry of the *Laviniens*, the latter first envoys to *Rome* to demand satisfaction. *Romulus* declared himself for delivering up the aggressors to the injured party; but *Tatius* interposed. He alledged, that it was not just to deliver up *Roman* citizens into the hands of strangers, their enemies; and that the complainants ought to come and plead their cause at *Rome*. Nor was his conduct hitherto grossly to be condemned. But some of the envoys, in their return home, being murdered by the very robbers they had complained of, *Tatius* still continued to screen these assassins from punishment. However, when the *Laviniens* renewed their complaints, *Romulus*, of his own authority, surrendered up the murderers to them. *Tatius*, looking upon this as an insult offered him by his collegue, put himself at the head of some armed men, pursued the *Laviniens*, and rescued his people out of their hands. So excessive a partiality to his friends, accompanied with such grievous injustice, cost him his life. For not long after, going to *Lavinium*[a] with *Romulus*, to offer certain sacrifices, as the Kings were obliged to do, to their native Gods of their race, which had been brought from *Troy*, and still remained at *Lavinium*, the relations and friends of the envoys who had been murdered, fell upon him and slew him at the foot of the altar with the priests knives and the spits for roasting the victims. To *Romulus* they did no violence, but conducted him out of the town with acclamations of praise and benediction. He carried the body of his collegue to *Rome*, and honourably buried it on mount *Aventine*.

Romulus, being now a second time sole King of *Rome*, and reverenced not only by his subjects, but by strangers, the *Laviniens* sought his friendship and alliance, and by their ambassadors concluded a treaty with him. To clear himself entirely of the violence offered to the envoys of the *Laviniens*, he pronounced sentence of banishment against the murderers, who on the death of *Tatius* had immediately fled from the city. After this he summoned the *Laviniens* who had slain his collegue (and who had been delivered up to him) to answer for their crime; but they alledging, that they had only taken a just revenge for the murder of their ambassadors, he allowed their plea to be good, and dismissed them with impunity[b]: yet the *Sabines* express'd no disposition to a revolt.

§. XVII. ABOUT this time a plague, which a famine made more terrible, raged in *Rome*, and the people of *Caenina* took advantage of the heavy affliction the *Romans* laboured under, to shake off the yoke. *Romulus* conquered them a second time, and on this occasion had the honours of a second triumph. He entered *Rome* with the acclamations of the people, as after the defeat of *Acron*. He had slain 6000 of the *Caenines* in the battle; and, of those who had escaped, he transported one half to *Rome*,

[a] *Plutarch* says, it was the *Laviniens* who were injured, and who slew *Tatius* at *Lavinium*.

[b] According to *Licinius apud D. Hal. Tatius* did not go to *Lavinium* with *Romulus*, nor to offer sacrifices, but went by himself to entreat the *Laviniens* to pardon the criminals.

[c] *Plutarch* says they were punished.

I sending

[illegible] ; ſo prodigiously, [illegible], was the number of his people increas'd in 16 years from the founding of their city.

After this he vanquiſhed the *Fidenates*, took their city, (which ſtood about 20 furlongs from *Rome*) and ſent thither a colony of 2500 *Romans*. But now the *Fidenates*, grown jealous of their proſperous neighbour, demanded *Romulus* back, as a city in their dependance; and having received a contemptuous refuſal, they laid ſiege to it. A ſecond body of troops they marched againſt *Romulus*, who had an army in the field. He defeated them in two battles with great ſlaughter, and took a vaſt number of them priſoners, together with their commander, who had acted a very weak part. And what was now done at the ſale of theſe ſlaves, laid the foundation of a cuſtom which prevailed ever after. When the people offered ſacrifices to the Gods, in thankſgiving for any victory, they dreſs'd up an old man in a purple robe, with a child's *bulla* about his neck, and cried all around him, *Sardians to ſell*. By which cries and ceremony, they originally alluded to theſe two things: That the old governor of the *Veientes* had ruled his ſtate like a child: And that the *Veientes*, an *Etruſcan* people, were a colony of *Lydians*, whoſe capital city was *Sardis*.

Romulus, being intent upon making the beſt advantage of his victory, purſued the *Veientes* to the gates of their city; whoſe ſituation preſerved it. *Veii* was built upon a ſteep rock, and *Romulus* had then neither the troops, nor the proviſions neceſſary to beſiege it. He therefore retired; yet with a full purpoſe of returning in a little time, and reducing to aſhes a city, which had no motive to conſpire againſt *Rome*, except jealouſy or ambition. But two defeats had taught the *Veientes* wiſdom; and they prevented their total ruin by their ſubmiſſion. They ſent a deputation to *Rome* to ſue for peace; and *Romulus* granted them a truce for 100 years, upon their ſurrendring ſeven ſmall towns on the *Tyber*, with ſome ſalt-pits at the mouth of that river, and their ſending 50 of their principal citizens to *Rome*, as ſecurities for their fidelity. A war ſo advantageouſly ended obtained him a third triumph.

This was the laſt military exploit of *Romulus*. It is ſurprizing, and not eaſy to be accounted for, that this Prince, who ſeemed ſo eagerly bent upon extending his domination over his neighbours, ſhould, after the death of his grandfather *Numitor*, leave *Alba* in poſſeſſion of her laws and li-

ROMULUS, Firſt King. *Plutarch.*

Year of ROME XXXVII.

* *Plutarch* ſpeaks of *Fidena* as taken before *Camerium*.

† *Veii*, the city of the *Tyrrheni*, ſtood about 100 furlongs from *Rome*. *D. Hal.* compares it to *Athens* for extent and riches.

‡ This account is taken from *Plutarch*. But *Sextus Caſſio* gives the cuſtom a later date. He ſays, that when *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* the Conſul had conquered *Sardinia*, he brought ſo great a number of ſlaves from thence, that for a great while together, nothing was to be ſeen in the markets but *Sardinians*, or *Sardi*, to be ſold. Which gave riſe to the proverb, *Sardi venales, alius alio nequior*. That is, *Sardinians to ſell, every one worſe than his fellow*.

Year of ROME Romulus Firſt King. *Plutarch.*

berty. The ſovereignty of that ſtate devolved upon him, and he might have ſubjected it to the *Roman* laws, yet he reſerved to himſelf no other power over it, than that of naming annually a magiſtrate, with the title of Dictator, to govern it in form of a republic.

§. XVIII. SO great an inſtance of moderation in the firſt King of *Rome* is the more extraordinary, as the hiſtorians all agree, that being elated with his continual proſperity, he now affected an abſolute ſyſtem. He paid no longer any deference to his great council; the Senators were aſſembled merely for form ſake; he made himſelf the ſole arbiter in all affairs. Having erected a judgment-ſeat in the *Forum*, he there adminiſtered juſtice, or rather exerciſed cruelty, attended by his 300 *Celeres*, and his 12 *Lictors*, the miniſters of his deſpotic will. But that which more than all things elſe provoked the *Fathers* was, that, of his own authority, and without conſulting them, he ſhared the conquered lands among the ſoldiers, as he pleaſed; and, even againſt their opinion, reſtored the *Veientes* their hoſtages. The Senators not able to endure that the government ſhould be thus changed into an abſolute monarchy, conſpired his deſtruction; and it was not long before they effected it.

Year of ROME XXXVII. *D. Hal.* B. 2. *& Plutarch.*

On the ſeventh day of *July*, in the thirty-ſeventh year of *Rome*, *Romulus* (now ſixty years old, or, as ſome ſay, only 55.) appointed a review of his troops in a plain, without the city; and the Senate for the greater ſtate attended him thither. Whilſt the King was haranguing his army, near a pond, called *Goats-pond*, a ſudden ſtorm of hail and thunder came upon them. The ſtorm diſperſed the ſoldiers; and the Senators remaining alone with the King, thought this a favourable opportunity of executing their deſign. The King was ſlain, and his body conveyed out of ſight in an inſtant. Some pretend, that, the better to conceal the fact, the Senators cut him into pieces, and that every Senator carried away one under his robe. Be that as it will, the circumſtance of the ſtorm gave occaſion to the fable which the aſſaſſins ſpread among the people, that the King was all on a ſudden ſurrounded with flame, and ſnatched up in it from earth to heaven. The credulous were contented with a ſtory which made the founder of their colony a God; but the more penetrating

[a] The three hundred horſe which *Romulus* had for his guard, were the firſt *Corps* of the *Roman* ſoldiery. They were choſen by the thirty *Curiæ*, each furniſhing ten names; and *Romulus* divided them into three companies, under the command of a general officer called *Tribunus Celerum*. The particular captain of each company was ſtiled *Præfectus Ollarius*. The *Tribunus Celerum* had great authority in *Rome*, and may be ſaid to have been the ſecond perſon in the ſtate next the King. He had a right of aſſembling the people on preſſing occaſions.

[b] This adventure, according to *Plutarch*, gave riſe to the *Caprotina Nonæ*, or *Populifugium*, a feſtival in the *Roman* calendar on the *Nones* of *July*. But other authors give another origin to this feſtival.

[c] The hiſtorians are not agreed about the manner in which *Romulus* was aſſaſſinated. Some ſay it was done by the people, who were enraged at the King for ſhewing more favour to thoſe who were newly come to *Rome* from the conquered cities, than to the old inhabitants; whilſt others pretend, the Senators ſtabbed him in full Senate, and having cut his body in pieces, every one took a part of it, and carried it away under his robe.

conceived

[illegible] find out some means to stop the complaints, and appease the anger of the multitude. And *Julius Proculus*, a considerable man among the *Sabines*, was the person whom the Senate suborned to impose upon the people. He was esteemed a man of probity, and his word had the more credit, as he had always been thought a friend to *Romulus*, having come from *Alba* with him, and preferred the doubtful fortune of his unsettled colony to the certain advantages he possessed in his own country. When the *Curiæ* were assembled, he told them the following story, and swore to the truth of it. That as he was travelling along, *Romulus* suddenly appeared to him: His stature was taller than that of mortals, and his armour cast a dazling brightness: The apparition filled him with a religious dread, and he addressed himself to it in these words. *Wherefore, O King, and for what crime of ours have you thus exposed us to the most unjust and grievous suspicions? Why have you so suddenly forsaken a city, which by your absence is universally plunged in the deepest sorrow?* To which *Romulus* answered: *It pleased the Gods, O Proculus! that I should continue among mortals till I had put* Rome *into a condition of rising to the highest pitch of power and glory, and that I should then return to Heaven, from whence I originally came. Go therefore and advertise my* Romans *to love temperance and warlike exercises; for it is by these that they will one day become masters of the world.*

This fable, averred for truth by a man who was thought sincere and honest, removed all suspicions; the people were transported with joy; divine honours were decreed to the new Deity; and the Senate concurred to make a God of him whom they could not endure for a King.

Such was the end of *Romulus*, the founder of *Rome*: A Prince, as we have seen, of uncertain birth, brought up by shepherds, and whose first empire was over a promiscuous, undisciplined rabble: Who, when he had built a city, peopled it chiefly with robbers, out-laws, runaway slaves, and fellows of desperate fortunes, from all quarters, men, who though restrained by laws from injuring one another, yet subsisted by rapine, and got every thing by violence, not even their wives excepted: A Prince, who by his policy and courage, in a reign of 37 years, brought a colony from such beginnings to be formidable to all the states around it, having before his death increased his subjects from 3300 men to 47000, all stout soldiers, and all actuated by the same views of preserving their own liberty, and invading that of their neighbours: To conclude; a Prince, who of a gang of slaves and profligates formed a people which in time became masters of the world, and, what is worthy to be remarked, more illustrious by their virtue, than by the number of their victories, or the extent of their empire.

**A festival was instituted to *Romulus*, called *Quirinalia*. It was celebrated on the 17th of *February*.

In

Years of ROME. XXXVII. Romulus First King.

...Livy, as to the beginnings of the first settlement of the Romans, the rape and intermixture of Romulus, &c. D'Hal. has been chiefly, but not entirely followed, with respect to the order in which these circumstances are placed. As the accounts left us by that author, Livy and Plutarch, of the beginnings of the Roman state, do not perfectly agree, either as to matter, or time, it may perhaps be a satisfaction to the reader to let him see by a summary of each, in what particulars they differ.

DIONYSIUS

after the building of *Rome*, and a formal election of *Romulus* to be King of it, mentions

1. The division of the colony into tribes, *Curiæ* and *Decuriæ*.

2. The distinction of the people into *Patricians* and *Plebeians*.

3. The institution of the patronage.

4. The constituting a Senate. Of two Senators, the King chuses but one, the Tribes and *Curiæ* the rest.

5. The appointment of the 300 *Celeres* for the King's life-guard.

6. The settling of the respective powers and privileges of the King, Senate, and assemblies of the People.

7. The opening of the *Asylum*, or sanctuary of refuge.

8. *Romulus*'s religious and civil laws.

9. The erecting a judgment-seat in the *Forum*, where the King administred justice, attended by his 300 *Celeres* and 12 *Lictors*, with their rafces and axes.

10. The rape of the *Sabine* women, the union of the *Sabines* and *Romans*, and the creation of 100 new Senators by *Tatius*.

N.B. D. Hal. makes no mention of the 3 centuries of Knights, elected, according to *Livy*, in the time of *Romulus* and *Tatius*, nor of any other horsemen, but the 300 *Celeres*, till the reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, when he says, this King would have created 3 new tribes of Horse-men, and was opposed by *Navius* the Augur. He afterwards tells us, that *Servius Tullius* composed the Equites or Knights of those citizens who were most eminent by birth and riches, and divided them into 18 centuries.

LIVY

speaks of *Romulus* and *Remus*, as being both elected Kings, by their respective followers, before the building of *Rome*. After the building of the city and the death of *Remus*, he mentions

1. *Romulus*'s making religious and civil laws.

2. His parting into a body of militia, and being attended by an *Infimy*.

3. His opening an *Asylum*.

4. His constituting a Senate of 100 men, he himself naming all the Senators, who were called *Patres*, and their posterity *Patricians*.

5. The rape of the *Sabine* women, and the union of the two nations; after which,

6. The division of the citizens into 30 *Curiæ*.

7. The institution of 3 centuries of Knights, the *Tatienses*, *Ramnenses* and *Luceres*.

8. *Livy* does not mention the *Celeres* till the close of *Romulus*'s reign.

N.B. Livy says nothing of Tribes, till he comes to the 4 Tribes of *Servius Tullius*; nor does he mention the 100 new Senators created by *Tatius*.

He says, p. 16. that *Tarquin the Elder*, without increasing the number of *Romulus*'s *Centuries* of Knights, increased the number of the Knights to 1800, which were still called their Centuries; and p. 51. he tells us, that *Servius Tullius* made six Centuries of the three instituted by *Romulus*, but that they retained the old names; and that these six with 12 other Centuries of Horse-men made a part of the first and richest of *Servius*'s classes.

PLUTARCH

does not speak of any formal election of *Romulus* to be King, but he being supposed such,

1. Opens the *Asylum*, soon after the first foundations of the city were laid, and thereby greatly augments his colony.

2. Lists all who were fit to bear arms into military companies, each company consisting of 3000 foot and 300 horse. These companies were called *Legions*, from the word *Legere*, to chuse, because they were select and chosen men. The rest of the multitude were called *Populus* (People.)

3. Chuses 100 Senators, whom he stiles *Patricians* and *Fathers*.

4. Distinguishes the *rest* of the wealthier sort from the common people, by making the former Patrons to the latter, who are called Clients.

5. Then follows the rape of the *Sabine* women, and the union of the two nations. After which,

6. The

CHAP. III.

NUMA.

§. I. The death of Romulus *is followed by an interregnum. A deſcription of that ſort of government. The people grow weary of it; whereupon it is unanimouſly reſolved to chuſe a king. §. II. The character of* Numa Pompilius, *a Sabine philoſopher. §. III. He is elected to ſucceed* Romulus; *but is with difficulty perſuaded to accept of the kingdom. He conſults the will of the Gods by augury. §. IV. Numa is no ſooner upon the throne, than he applies himſelf to quiet the diſſenſions at* Rome, *and to moderate the warlike ardor of the* Romans *by the impreſſions of religion. §. V. He deſcribes the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes. The* Curiones, Flamines, Celeres, Augurs. §. VI. Veſtals. §. VII. Salii. §. VIII. Feciales. §. IX. Pontifices. §. X. *He directs an eſpecial reverence to be paid to the God* Janus; *and makes a Goddeſs of* Bona Fides. §. XI. *He introduces a new ſort of Gods, called* Terminus *or Boundaries. §. XII. He amends ſome of* Romulus's *laws; and makes new ones. §. XIII. He ſends away the idle ſoldiery to cultivate the lands conquered by* Romulus. §. XIV. *He diſtributes the citizens into different companies, according to their trades. §. XV. He reforms the calendar. §. XVI. Numa dies, and his books are buried with him.*

§. I. ROMULUS dying without iſſue, the kingdom, which, had he left a ſon, might perhaps have proved hereditary, as that of *Alba* had been, continued elective; and *Rome* was greatly divided about the choice of another King. The minds of the firſt *Romans*, and of the new inhabitants, were not at preſent in ſo perfect an union as formerly; there were diverſities of faſtions among the commonalty, and jealouſies and emulations among the Senators. All agreed, that it was neceſſary to have a King; but what perſon, or of what nation, was the diſpute. Thoſe who had been builders of the city with *Romulus*, though they had yielded a ſhare of their lands and dwellings to the *Sabines*, thought it by no means adviſable to reſign to them the regal authority. On the other hand, the *Sabines* alledged, that they, after the deceaſe of *Tatius*, having peaceably ſubmitted to *Romulus*'s government, it was but juſt, that the King ſhould be choſen out of their nation: nor did they eſteem themſelves inferior to the *Romans*, or to have contributed leſs to raiſe *Rome* to that pitch of wealth and power to which ſhe was arrived.

Year of ROME XXXVII. *Plutarch.*

During

Year of ROME XXXVIII.

Dating these diſputes the Senators, to prevent anarchy and confuſion, held the ſovereign power into their own hands. They divided themſelves into decuries or tens, and each decurion poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority alternately five days[a], yet ſo as one perſon only, as during the reign of Romulus, had the enſigns of ſovereignty at one time, and when he had been inveſted with them twelve hours, he reſigned them to another. This ſort of government, which was called *Interregnum*, laſted little more than a year[b]; for the people grew weary of ſuch a frequent change of maſters, who had not all the ſame views and inclinations; and they were likewiſe jealous of certain of the *Fathers*, who ſeemed to aim at the eſtabliſhing themſelves in the ſupreme power. The Senate therefore finding it neceſſary to proceed to the election of a King, the *Interrex* for the time being ſummoned the people, and addreſſed himſelf to them, in theſe words. *Good, fortunate and happy may it be! Elect yourſelves a King, O Romans. The Senate give their conſent, and, if you pitch upon a Prince worthy to ſucceed* Romulus, *will confirm your choice*[c].

The Senate having thus recognized the people's right to chuſe a king, the people, in compliment, remitted the choice to the Senate. But the old difficulty ſtill remained, whether the Sovereign to be elected ſhould be a *Sabine*, or a *Roman*. At length they came to this concluſion: That the *Romans* ſhould chuſe the King, but ſhould be obliged to chuſe a *Sabine*.

Livy. Dion.

Plutarch.

§. II. THERE was at this time in *Sabina* a man of diſtinguiſhed birth and virtue, who led a retired life, and had no thoughts of empire,

[a] *Plutarch* reduces the number of the Senators who divided the regal power between them to 150, and *Livy* to 100, but *Dion. Hal.* makes them 200; which ſeems to come nearer the truth, ſince it is certain that *Tullus Tatius* added 100 Senators to the 100 created by *Romulus*.

[b] *D. Hal.* makes each decury *Interrex* to reign 5 days, and conſequently each *Decury* 50.

[c] Father *Catrou* (B. 2. p. 133.) has followed *Plutarch*, in fixing *Romulus*'s death to the 37th year of *Rome*, and (p. 144.) he has followed the ſame author, in fixing *Numa*'s birth to the very day that *Rome* was founded, and in making him about 40 when he was offered the Kingdom: (by the words *about 40*, he means, that he was in his 40th year, as appears by the date in the margin; and ſo *Plutarch*, Ἔτος ἦν τεσσαρακοστὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης γενόμενος.) Nevertheleſs, as the learned Father obſerves with *Dionyſius*, but about a year before the *Interregnum*; theſe things are inconſiſtent. Father *Catrou* therefore in his note (B. 2. p. 144.) agrees with *Dionyſius*, in ſaying that *Romulus* reigned about 38 years. They follow *Varro*'s calculation in placing the foundation of *Rome* in *April* in the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, and the death of *Romulus* in *July* in the 1ſt year of the 8th olympiad. The *Interregnum* laſted about a year, and *Numa* died in his 82d year. He was therefore in the 40th year, when his predeceſſor died, and the *Interregnum* laſting about a year, he was in his 41ſt year when he was choſe King.

If the Reader has peruſed the Preliminary Diſcourſe to this Work, he is prepared to be inclined to think, that *Romulus* reigned neither 38 nor 37 years, nor even 20, and conſequently that *Numa* muſt have been born long before the building of *Rome*.

[d] *Quod bonum, faustum, felixque ſit, Quirites, Regem create. Patres vestros vos Patribus juſſos. Patres deinde, ſi digna qui fiunde ab his statio quaeretur ceperitis, auctores fient.* Liv. B. 1. c. 7.

luit over his own people. His name was *Numa Pompilius*. He was the [illegible] *Pompilius*, a Sabine, and had married the daughter [illegible], but had not followed his father-in-law *Tatius* [illegible] the Sabine inclinations with her husband, and preferr'd the tranquility of a private life to the entertaining splendours and distractions of a Court. She lived with him thirteen years, at *Cures*; and, after her death, he gave himself up entirely to the study of wisdom, and the search of the one God. He left the city, and in a solitary manner frequented those groves and fountains which religion had made sacred. And hence doubtless came the fable, which was very early received among the Greeks, that *Numa* lived in familiarity with the Nymph *Egeria*: it is certain, that when he was upon the throne he took advantage of this general perfuasion to give credit to his laws, and bring about a reformation at *Rome*.

§. 13. THE *Romans* having pitched upon this man to be King, two Senators, *Publius Proculus* and *Publius Valerius*, the first of *Alba*, the other of Sabine extraction, were deputed to go to him with an offer of the kingdom. They addressed him in few words, imagining there needed no long arguments to prevail on him to accept it. But, upon trial, they found themselves obliged to use many reasons and intreaties to divert him from his quiet and retired life. In prefence of his father and of his kinsman *Marcius*, he returned the deputies an answer to this effect. "Since in every alteration of a man's life the *Plut.* "fuccess is doubtful, it would be madness for one who is easy, and "provided with all things necessary and convenient, to endeavour after "any change of his condition, or even to consent to it. For what is "this but to prefer an uncertain satisfaction to an assured tranquility? "It is not difficult to form a judgment concerning the temper of the "*Roman* people, by what happened to the late King, who did not "escape the imputation of having plotted against the life of his Colleague, "*Tatius*; nor is the Senate free from the accusation of having treacherously murdered their Prince *Romulus*. And yet *Romulus* had the "advantage to be thought of divine race, and to be preserved in a "miraculous manner in his infancy: Whereas my descent is merely human, and if I have gained any reputation, it is for such qualities as "are in no wise proper to make me shine upon a throne; a love of

"[illegible] perhaps not favourable to *Numa*'s reputation, have thought that under his affected passion for woods and caves, was concealed another which was more real and less chaste. Hence *Juvenal* speaking of the grove, called *Lucus Egeriæ*, says,

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.
Sat. 3.

But St. *Austin*, building upon a passage taken out of *Varro*'s book of antiquities, gives an allegorical interpretation to their frequent meetings between *Numa* and *Egeria*. He says, that this King having married an Hydromancer, saw several *Daughters* of the water, whom he consulted, and from whom he received the laws he proposed to his people; and that because *Numa* drew [illegible] against [illegible] operations, as *Moses* [illegible], this gave occasion to the fiction, that he had married the Nymph *Egeria*, who took her name from the *Latin* word *Egerere*.

Year of ROME XL.

peace, retirement, ſtudy, and divine worſhip. As *Rome* is envied
by her neighbours, and threatned with foreign wars (for which *Romulus*
perhaps gave no provocation) ſhe has need of an active and warlike
Prince to govern her. What benefit could you receive in theſe circum-
ſtances from a King who would be wholly employed in eſtabliſhing
peace, juſtice, and the neglected worſhip of the Gods? Such a Prince
muſt needs appear deſpicable to a people entirely actuated by views of
ambition, and the inſatiate deſire of conqueſt.

The deputies perceiving by theſe words, that he refuſed the kingdom, became now more urgent with him, intreating him not to ſuffer them to relapſe again into their former ſeditions and civil diſcord, which they muſt unavoidably do, if he continued to reject their offer, there being no other perſon on whom both parties could agree to fix their choice. His father likewiſe, and *Martius*, taking him aſide, endeavoured to perſuade him to accept the kingdom, as conferred on him rather by Heaven than by men. "Though you are contented, *ſaid they*, with your own for-
"tune, and court neither riches nor power, ought you therefore to pay no
"regard to the appointment of the Gods, who have choſen you to fill a
"throne? Have they indued your heart with ſo great a love of equity,
"only to lie uſeleſs in a deſert? The throne is an eminent place, from
"whence virtue ſhews itſelf to advantage, and exerciſes a power which
"ſubdues and captivates the hearts of men. *Tatius*, though a foreigner,
"was highly eſteemed by the *Romans*; and the memory of *Romulus* was
"ſo precious to them, that after his death they voted him divine honours.
"And who knows but *Rome*, influenced by the royal example, may mo-
"derate her pride and fury, and the love of arms be ſucceeded by a re-
"ſpect for religion?

This diſcourſe made ſome impreſſion upon the philoſopher, and when his own countrymen, the people of *Cures*, underſtood what meſſage the *Roman* ambaſſadors had brought him, they earneſtly preſſed him to accept the offer, as the only means to appeaſe all civil diſſentions, and effectually incorporate both nations into one body. *Numa* yielded at length to theſe reaſons and perſuaſions, and, having firſt offered ſacrifices to Heaven, ſet out for *Rome*. He was met in the way by the Senate and people, who with an impatient deſire came forth to receive him; and the women alſo welcomed him with acclamations of joy. The *Inter-rex* for the day, *Spurius Vettius*, for form ſake, which he thought ſhould not be neglected, call'd an *Aſſembly of the people**, that they might proceed to an Election. *Numa* was there choſen King, and this choice was unanimouſly confirmed by the Senate.

Dion. Hal.

* By an *Aſſembly of the People* is to be underſtood a convention not only of the *Plebeians*, but of the Senators, Patricians, Knights, and all the *Roman* Citizens without exception, who had right of ſuffrage, of what rank or condition ſoever. Nevertheleſs, what was done in theſe Aſſemblies, was properly ſaid to be the act of the *Plebes*, or *Commons*, becauſe they being here more numerous than all the reſt, had in reality the deciſion of all affairs: Their decrees however in theſe early times were of no effect, unleſs they were afterwards approved by the Senate.

But when the royal robes were brought to the new Sovereign, he refuſed to be cloathed with them, till (like *Romulus*) he had firſt conſulted the will of the Gods by augury. Conducted therefore to the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, he was there ſeated upon a ſtone, with his face to the ſouth, and his head covered with a veil. The chief of the augurs ſtood behind him, and, ſtretching his right hand over the King's head, turned himſelf to the eaſt and pray'd for him. Then gazing around to diſcover a favourable omen, he ſaw ſome birds, which were preſumed to be fortunate; and this was ſufficient. The King came down from the hill, the people renewed their ſhouts and acclamations; and, what ſeldom happens to a ſtate that receives a new maſter, the joy was univerſal and ſincere.

Year of ROME XL. *Plut.*

§. IV. THE reader is not here to expect the hiſtory of a reign memorable for battles and conqueſts. *Numa*'s particular glory was his quieting all contentions at home, reforming the manners of the *Romans*, and eſtabliſhing good polity among them.

Year of ROME From XLI. to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

At the time of his acceſſion to the throne, there were ſome diſputes and heart-burnings between the Senators of *Romulus*'s election and thoſe which *Tatius* had added to them; the former claiming certain honours and preeminences, which deſtroyed that perfect equality for which the latter contended. Many of the new-comers among the *Plebeians* were alſo greatly diſſatisfy'd. *Romulus* had left them utterly unprovided for; and the want of a neceſſary ſubſiſtence made them ready to join in any ſedition by which they might hope to better their fortune. *Numa* had no ſooner taken into his hands the reins of government, than he ſilenced the complaints of theſe poor *Plebeians*, by diſtributing ſome of the conquered lands among them; nor was he leſs ſucceſsful in his endeavours to quiet the animoſities among the *Patricians*: And when the citizens of *Rome* were all brought to a perfect concord and harmony among themſelves, ſo as to have no view but the publick good, and when he had enlarged the city, by incloſing within its walls the hill *Quirinalis*, he applied himſelf to form ſuch regulations as might preſerve peace, and make juſtice flouriſh among his ſubjects.

D. Hal. B. 2. P. 118.

He began his reformations with himſelf, diſmiſſing the three hundred *Celeres*, whom *Romulus* had made his guards; for, he ſaid, it would ill become him to reign over a people he diſtruſted, and as ill to diſtruſt a people that compell'd him to reign over them. And being ſenſible, that the chief ſource of the diſorders in the ſtate had been the too paſſionate love of arms, he laid a ſcheme for moderating the warlike ardor of the *Romans*, by the impreſſions of religion. *Plut.*

Plutarch tells us, that *Numa* acknowledged a firſt Principle of all things, who is impaſſible, inviſible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible; and for this reaſon forbad the *Romans* to repreſent God in the form of man or beaſt; and he adds, that there was no painted or graven image in their temples and ſanctuaries, for the firſt 160 years. *Numa* likewiſe prohibited all bloody ſacrifices; and appointed loaves and meal to be preſented to the Gods, with Libations of wine and milk. And becauſe *Pythagoras*, the

Year of ROME XLI—LXXII.

NUMA Second King.

Samian, brought the like ceremonies from *Greece*, *Numa* has been thought by ſome to have learned them from him; but *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* are all againſt this opinion, and aſſert, that *Pythagoras* did not live till long after *Numa*'s time.

But notwithſtanding the right notions which this Prince had of the Deity, he did not introduce the worſhip of him; he authorized both the *Alban* and *Sabine* ceremonies of religion, and contented himſelf with eſtabliſhing order and decency in the performance of them.

§. V. The miniſters of religion he divided into eight claſſes.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 120.

FIRST, the CURIONES, thoſe Prieſts of whom each *Curia* or Pariſh had one, proper to itſelf. Their whole number was 30, there being juſt ſo many *Curiæ* in *Rome*.

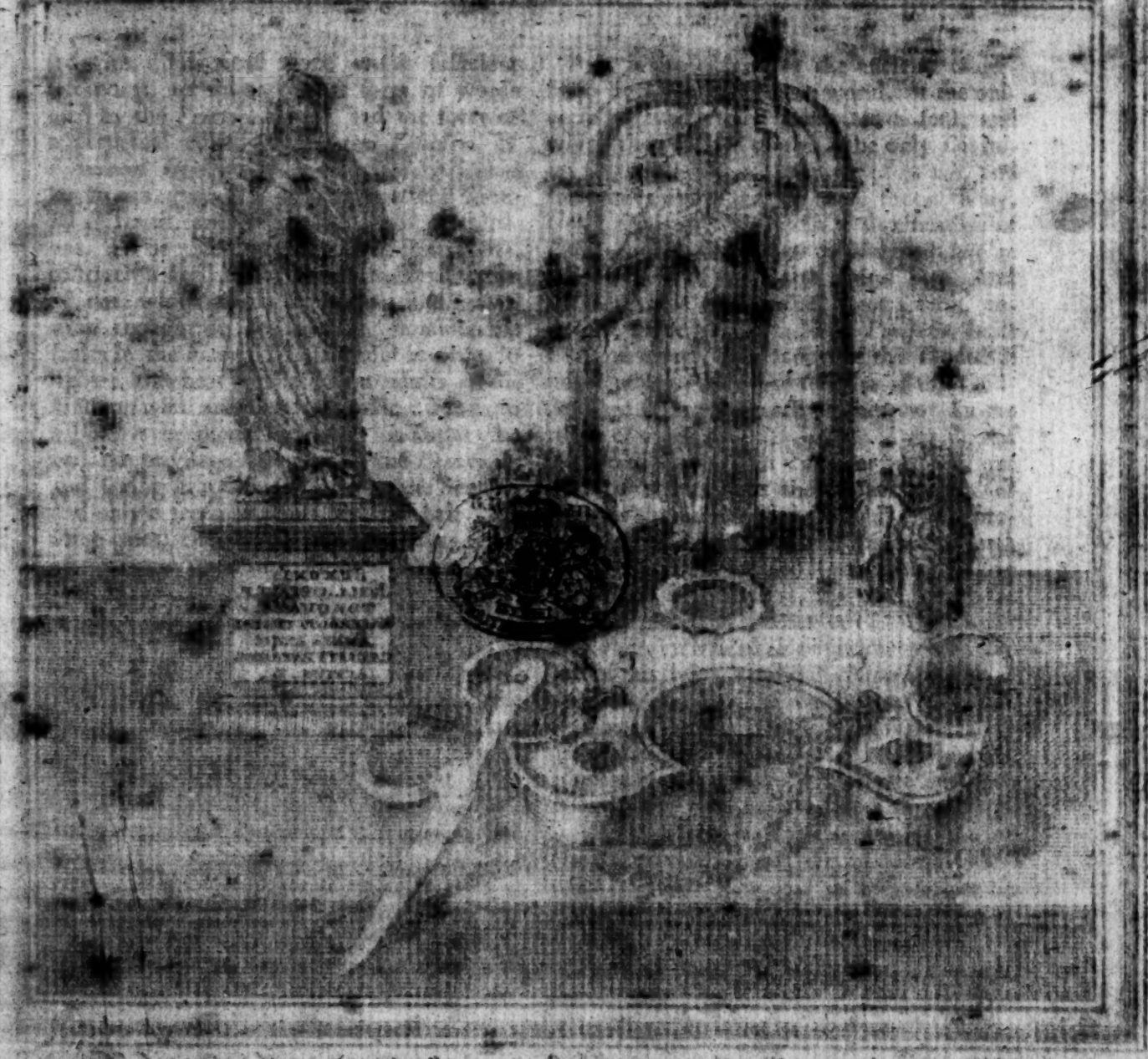
See p. 27.

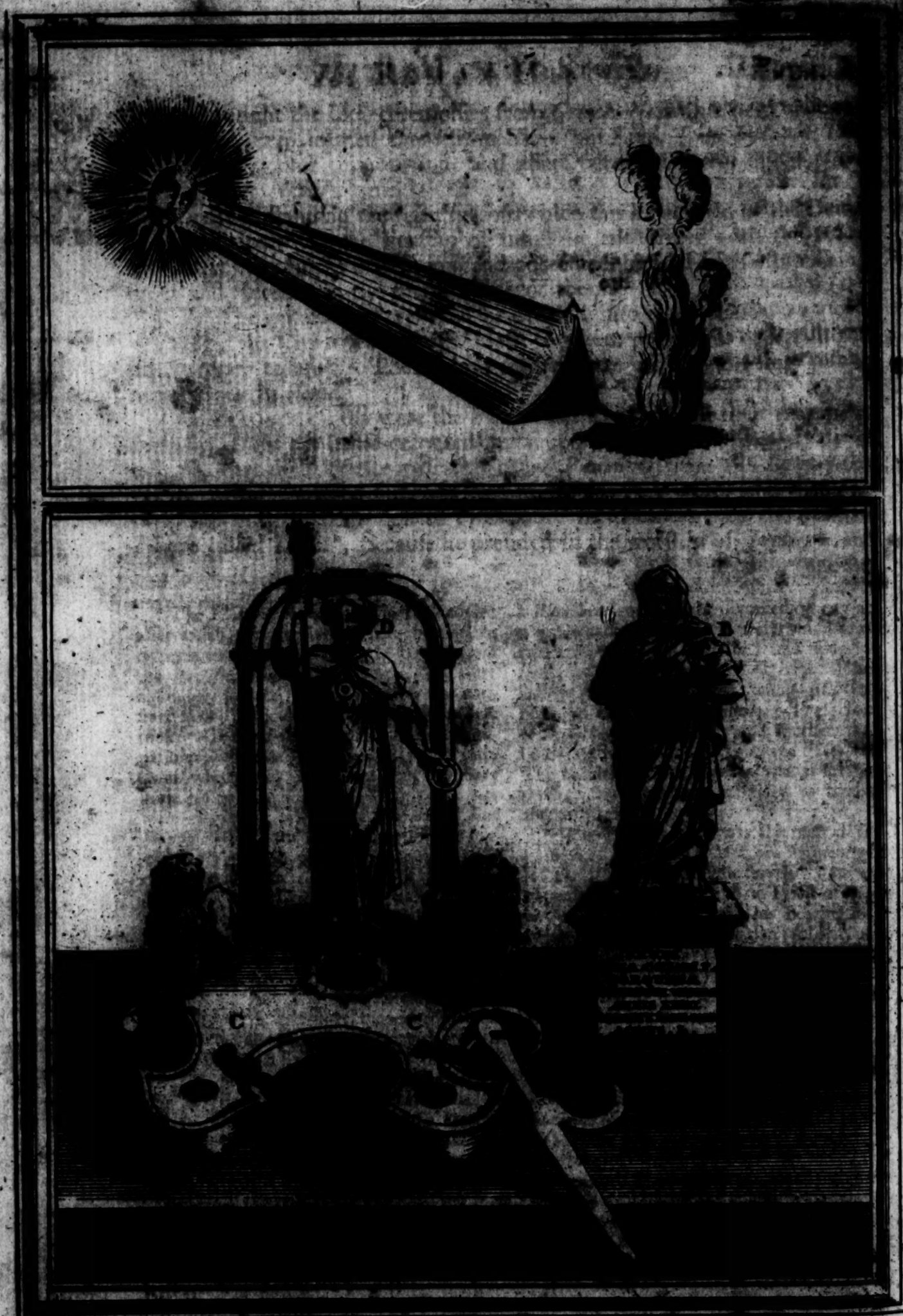
THE SECOND CLASS were the FLAMINES[a], who took their names, as ſome ſay, from the flame-coloured tufts upon their caps; But *Plutarch* tells us, that theſe Prieſts were firſt called *Pilamines*, from the *Latin* word *Pileus*, which ſignified ſuch a picked bonnet as they wore, and that *Flamines* was only a corruption of *Pilamines*. In *Romulus*'s time there was a *Flamen* called *Dialis*[b], becauſe he preſided in the worſhip of *Jupiter*; and another

[a] The *Flamines* were choſen by the People: after which, they received an inauguration, or rather a ſort of conſecration, at the hands of the *Pontifex Maximus*, to whom they were abſolutely ſubject. Their miniſtry was confined to one particular God, whoſe name they took. All other prieſtly offices were incompatible with that of *Flamen*; a dignity from which they could not, but for very great reaſons, be depoſed. In this caſe they were degraded, which the *Romans* called *Flaminio abire*. It was a crime for the *Flamines* to appear in publick uncovered, or to offer ſacrifice bare-headed. *Val. Maximus* ſpeaks of one *Sulpitius*, who was deprived of the office of *Flamen*, for having let his bonnet fall off whilſt he was ſacrificing. The body of the *Flamines* did not form a ſociety or particular college, as the *Augurs* and *Pontifices* did: but they were ſummoned, and took their ſeats as judges, whenever an affair was to be determined, the cognizance of which belonged to the college of the *Pontifices*. *Tully pro domo ſuo*, addreſſes himſelf to his judges thus: *Diſcite orationem Pontifices & vos Flamines*. In civil life, the *Flamines* were tied up to ſeveral trifling practices, which the extravagance of paganiſm had made ſacred. Their wives, who were called *Flaminicæ*, partook of the Prieſthood of their huſbands, and ſhared with them the care of the ſacrifices: as we learn from *A. Gellius*, and ſome of *Gruter's antient inſcriptions*: and a *Flaminica* could not be divorced on any account whatſoever. Death alone could ſeparate a *Flamen* from his wife; and upon her death he loſt his ſacerdotal dignity. They had under their care ſome young girls and boys, to aſſiſt in the ſacrifices. Theſe ſorts of *Acolythes*, whoſe fathers and mothers muſt be living, were called *Flaminii* and *Flaminiæ*. The number of the *Flamines* was at firſt but three; afterwards they increaſed to twelve, and to fifteen.

[b] The *Flamen Dialis* was the moſt diſtinguiſhed of any, both by the pre-eminence of his rank, and the God he ſerved. The engagements he entered into, as Prieſt of *Jupiter*, were inconſiſtent with his bearing civil offices, which he could neither ſollicit, nor accept. But to make him amends, he had the privilege of being guarded by a *Lictor*, and wearing a magnificent robe: to which were added the honours of the *Curule Chair*. He was generally of a *Patrician* family, as alſo the *Flamen Martialis*, and the *Flamen Quirinalis*: and therefore theſe were called *Flamines Majores*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Flamines Minores*, who were *Plebeians*. The *Flamen Dialis* was ſubject to very troubleſome laws, the particulars of which we have in *A. Gellius*. Among other things, he was forbidden to ride on horſeback, or caſt his eyes upon an army drawn up in battalia. It was unlawful for him to ſwear, and therefore his taking the oaths appointed by the laws, was diſpenſed







A. A Brazen Pan made to collect the rays of the Sun, in order to renew the Sacred Fire. B. A Vestal, the years of her age. C C. Lamps consecrated to Vesta. D. The Image of Vesta representing Fire by a Burning Torch she has in her hand; and supporting the Earth, by the two Lines at her Feet, and the Tower with which she is crowned. E. A Patera, or vessel made to catch the Blood of the Victims offered up in Sacrifice.

another called *Martialis*[a], because consecrated to the worship of *Mars*. To these *Numa* added a third, in honour of *Romulus*, who had been deified under the name of *Quirinus*.

Year of ROME XLI—LXXXII. NUMA Second King.

THE THIRD CLASS consisted of those three hundred CELERES who had been *Romulus*'s guards. *Numa* changed this military body into a company of Sacrificers.

THE [b] AUGURS composed the FOURTH CLASS; their functions extended farther than the name seems to imply. They did not only foretel future events by the flying or singing of birds; all sorts of divination were within their province. They interpreted dreams; drew presages from several *Phenomena* both in the Heavens, and on the Earth, such as monsters, earthquakes, &c. and their ministry was equally made use of by the publick, and by private persons.

§. VI. THE *Vestals* made the FIFTH CLASS: Tho' *Numa* was not the first institutor of these, yet he was the first who erected a particular temple to *Vesta*, and caused a [c] fire to be kept always burning in it. This

fied with. His word alone was a sufficient testimony, according to that form of words used by the *Prætor*, which had the force of a perpetual edict: *Sacerdotem Vestalem, & Flaminem Dialem, in eam rem jurisdictione jurare non cogam.* He could not attend funeral solemnities, but with the utmost precautions. To be absent but one night from *Rome*, to touch a dead body, and a thousand other actions, which are in themselves indifferent, were thought to be so many considerable faults in the *Flamen Dialis*. But in order to lighten this heavy yoke, great marks of distinction were annexed to his office. He wore a hollow or pierced ring on his finger; he had the privilege of wearing the *Prætexta*, and sitting in a *Curule Chair* in the Senate; and only a freeman could cut his hair. In some cases, the respect shewn him was carried to extravagant superstition. Witness this law: *Unguium Dialis, & capilli Segmina, subter Arborem felicem, terra insegnito.*

[a] The *Flamen Martialis* was the second in rank among the *Flamines*. It was not lawful for him to go out of *Italy*, at least in the first ages of *Rome*. We learn from *Livy* and *Val. Maximus*, that *Aulus Postumus*, Consul and *Flamen Martialis*, could not get leave of *Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, to command the *Roman* army in *Africa*. The *Flamen Quirinalis* was also subject to the same law. *Liv.* B. 27. gives us an instance of it in the person of *C. Fabius Pictor*.

[b] See what is said of the *Augurs*, page 23. *Numa* allowing of no bloody sacrifices, instituted no *Haruspices*.

[c] It is probable, that the ancients understood by *Vesta*, the whole world, or the universe to which they attributed a soul, and which they looked upon as the only Divinity, sometimes under the name of τὸ πᾶν, and sometimes under that of μόνας, that is to say, *Unity*. This was the mystical signification of *Vesta*, though the vulgar worshipped her as the Goddess of the Earth and of Fire. And with a view to represent the universe, under the name of *Vesta*, *Numa Pompilius* built a round temple in honour of this Goddess: under which form, the temples of this Goddess are still represented in medals. In the midst of the temple *Numa* placed the altar of the sacred fire, which was ever burning, out of a persuasion, that the proper region of fire was the center of the world. In all probability, this King did not think the earth immoveable, but fancied it was always rolling round the fire; that is, the sun, which he thought placed in the center of the universe. And *Plato* embraced this opinion towards the end of his life; as did *Pythagoras*, and his disciples. So that, if we believe *Plutarch*, who relates all these facts, we must acknowledge, that the system which has since been adopted by *Copernicus*, was known in *Italy* so early as in the days of *Numa Pompilius*.

[d] The keeping up of a sacred fire has always been a part of religion, in different nations. *The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar*, saith the Lord, *it shall never go out*. Lev. vi. 13. Such a fire was preserved in the temples of *Ceres* at *Mantinea*, of *Apollo* at *Delphos*

Year of ROME XLI—LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

This fire the *Romans* looked upon as ſacred in itſelf, and the extinction of it fatal to the Republick. The King committed the care of ſupplying and preſerving it to four [a] virgins, whoſe names were *Gegania*, *Verenia*, *Canuleia*, and *Tarpeia*. Thus *Numa*, a *Sabine*, ſeems to have had more regard for the remains of the *Trojan* religion, than his predeceſſor, tho' deſcended from *Æneas*. But *Romulus* for a particular reaſon, as ſome think, would not ſuffer at *Rome* any of theſe conſecrated Virgins. He fear'd leſt the faults of the *Veſtals* ſhould call to remembrance what had happened to *Rhea Sylvia*, his mother.

All converſation with men was not forbidden theſe Virgins; they were permitted to receive viſits from them by day; by night, none but perſons of their own ſex were ſuffered to come into their apartments. They were obliged to ſtrict continence for thirty years; of which they employed the firſt ten in learning the ceremonies of religion, the next ten in the performance of them, and the ten laſt in teaching them to the younger *Veſtals*. After this, they were permitted to quit the functions of Prieſteſſes, and marry. But as theſe late marriages were obſerved not to be very happy, few of them left their old profeſſion, even after the time of their miniſtry was expired. And indeed the reſtraints of their condition were in ſome meaſure compenſated by the honours that were annexed to it. They never appeared in publick, but attended by *Lictors*, in the ſame manner as the Kings. If they chanced to meet a criminal going to execution, they had the privilege of pardoning him, provided they made oath, that their meeting him was purely accidental. It was a capital crime to enter with them into the litters in which they were carried. At what age ſoever they were admitted *Veſtals*, they became immediately miſtreſſes of their own fortunes. And laſtly, they had a right of making their wills, even in their father's life-time.

But then, as the honours done them were great, ſo were the puniſhments of their faults. The leaſt levity in their behaviour, the ſmalleſt neglect in the diſcharge of their office, was, after proof made of it before the *Pontifices*, puniſhed, at their command, with ſeverity. The penalty, inflicted on them for proſtituting their honour, had ſomething in it inexpreſſibly terrible. The offender, wrapped up in cloths, and ſwathed ſo tight as to be deprived of the uſe of her voice, was carried in a litter croſs the *Forum*, and thence thro' the *Colline Gate*, to the place where ſhe was to be buried alive. Her friends and relations walked before her in tears, in the ſame order as in a funeral proceſſion, till they came near

Delphos and *Athens*, and in that of *Diana* at *Ecbatan* among the *Perſians*. *Setinus* committed the care of the ſacred fire in the temple of *Minerva*, and of the ſtatue of *Pallas*, to a ſociety of young women. The *Magi* had the charge of keeping a fire always burning on altars erected in the middle of thoſe little temples which *Strabo* calls πυραθεῖα. A lamp was always burning in the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. And, if we may believe *Diod. Siculus*, this cuſtom came from the *Egyptians* to the *Greeks*, and from them to the *Romans*, who made it a principal point of their religion.

[a] *Tarquin the Elder* added two more, and this number was never increaſed. The *Veſtals* were choſen from ſix to ten years of age. None beyond that age were admitted.

the





A. *Two* Salii. B. *A Pontifical Vase for Sacrifices.*
C. *A Simpulum for catching y^e Blood of y^e victims* D. *The* Augural *Staff* E. *The Sprinkler for Sprinkling y^e* Lustral *wate*

Year of ROME XLI to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

the vault, in which ſhe was to end her days. In this vault was a little bed, a lamp burning, and a ſmall quantity of proviſions. The *Pontifex* read ſome prayers over her, with a low voice; but without the luſtrations and other expiatory ceremonies uſed for the dead. This done, they let her down into the vault, and bricking up the entrance, covered it with earth. It is not certain, that this cuſtom of burying the *Veſtals* was ſo early as *Numa*. Some authors ſay, they were burnt; and others, that they were ſtoned. As for the partner in the crime, he was whipped to death.

To ſuffer the ſacred fire to go out, was alſo an unpardonable negligence in the *Veſtals*. Being thought to forebode approaching ruin, it alarmed the whole city. Freſh fire, kindled, according to *Feſtus*, by rubbing two pieces of wood together, or, according to *Plutarch*, by the rays of the ſun, was brought into the temple of *Veſta*, after many purifications; and the *Pontifices* examined into the cauſes of this wicked neglect, that it might be puniſhed with ſeverity. *Feſtus* ſays, that the *Pontifex* whipp'd the offender through a veil.

§. VII. THE SIXTH CLASS, eſtabliſhed by *Numa*, were the SALII. For their origin we muſt go up as high as *Evander*, who brought from *Arcadia* into *Italy* a company of muſicians, the chief of whom was named *Salius*. Their office at firſt was only to ſing at the ſacrifices: But it was afterwards changed to dancing to the ſound of the flute, in honour of thoſe *Genii*, on whoſe favour ſucceſs in war depended. *Numa Pompilius* laid hold of an opportunity that offered, to revive this order, and make it a religious one. In the eighth year of his reign, a peſtilence which ravaged *Italy* was ſeverely felt in *Rome*. Fear increaſing the ſuperſtition of the people, *Numa* took advantage of it for the promoting of his views, with reſpect to religion. He made them believe, that a ſhield of an extraordinary make fell down from Heaven to him, and that the Nymph *Egeria* and the Muſes had told him, the health and proſperity of *Rome* depended upon the preſervation of that ſhield. For fear therefore leſt ſo precious a *Depoſitum* ſhould be ſtollen, and that it might be the more difficult to diſtinguiſh it, he ordered a ſkilful workman, named *Mamurius*, to make eleven more, exactly like it. He pretended, that the Nymph *Egeria* and the Muſes had directed this, and alſo that the fountain where he uſed to converſe with them, and the fields about it, ſhould be conſecrated; and that the *Veſtals* ſhould from that fountain draw all the water with which they ſprinkled their ſanctuary. The twelve ſhields, called *Ancilia*, he hung up in the temple of *Mars*, and appointed twelve young *Romans*, taken out of good families, to be the keepers of them. Their name of *Salii* was agreeable to their miniſterial office; for the deſcent of the miraculous ſhield was annually celebrated by them on the firſt of *March*, with publick * dancings.

Dion. Hal. *Plutarch.*

§. VIII.

* In this feſtival, the twelve *Salii* marched out of the temple in good order, each carrying one

Year of ROME XLI to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

§. VIII. THE SEVENTH CLASS of miniſters dedicated to religion, were the FECIALES; whoſe employment being of importance to the ſtate, and their authority great, and for life, care was taken to chuſe them out of the beſt families. It is probable, that a war, with which this pacifick King was threatned by the *Fidenates*, occaſioned his thinking of this eſtabliſhment. Notwithſtanding the revolt of *Fidenæ*, and the depredations committed by its inhabitants, on the *Roman* lands, *Numa* thought himſelf obliged to attempt an accommodation by treaty, before he had recourſe to arms. The better therefore to aſcertain the equity of this war, if he ſhould undertake it, and of all ſuch as *Rome* ſhould for the future engage in, he eſtabliſhed a ſacred college of 20 perſons, who were to be in ſome meaſure the arbiters of war and peace. It was not lawful to commit any hoſtilities on the lands of the neighbouring nations, till all means of an amicable accommodation had been firſt tried, without ſucceſs. In caſe the Republick had ſuffered any injury from a foreign ſtate, two of theſe *Feciales*, or Heralds, were diſpatched to demand ſatisfaction; and the manner was this. One of them, choſen by the college, under the name of *Pater Patratus*, to be the chief actor, was cloathed in a magnificent habit, and in his hand was put a ſort of ſceptre, or *ſabuncle*, which diſtinguiſhed him from his colleague. Thus accoutred he went out of the city: And when he arrived at the enemy's frontiers, he called *Jupiter* and the other Gods to witneſs, that he came only to demand juſtice in behalf of the *Roman* people. Then he advanced into the country of the aggreſſors, and took a ſecond oath, that he would ſay nothing at the place whither he was deputed to go, but what was true, and require nothing but what was equitable. He told the firſt ſtranger he met, that he had taken theſe oaths, and then went on to one of the ſacred fields on his left hand, and a javelin in his right hand. They were dreſſed in habits ſtriped with purple, and girded with broad belts, claſped with braſs buckles; on their heads they wore helmets, or high bonnets, which terminated in a point. All day marched, ſometimes they ſung in conſort, and ſometimes they danced, to the ſound of inſtruments, martial entries, which they diverſify'd agreeably enough. Sometimes one only danced, who was called *Præſul*, he was the head of the company, and both led the dances, and regulated them. Sometimes they all joined together, and diverted the ſpectators with their martial attitudes, and their quick and lively motions. They were particularly expert in beating juſt time, which they did with their javelins upon their ſhields. In the choice of the *Salii*, *Numa* would have theſe two rules obſerved: 1ſt, That they ſhould be natives of *Rome*, and free-born. 2dly, That their fathers and mothers ſhould be alive. By this means he made ſure of their fidelity, their parents being their ſecurity. The feſtival

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 126.

3

labed ſeveral days. During which, the firſt *Romans* were ſcrupulous of undertaking any ſerious and important affair. It was not then lawful for them to marry, or undertake a journey, or any military expedition. In the latter ages, they ſhook off the yoke of this ſuperſtition, and became leſs ſcrupulous. The *Salii* ended all theſe days of ceremony with repaſts, in which no coſt was ſpared. Hence *Tully* uſes the words, *Saliarem in modum cænare*, to ſignify a ſplendid entertainment.

No perſons were ever deputed to treat of peace or war, but ſuch, whoſe fathers were living, and who were themſelves the fathers of ſeveral children. And from hence comes the name of *Patres Patrati*, i. e. *Fathers in reality*, for perhaps, *Fathers who had Fathers*, according to *Plutarch*, who adds, that this law was a political invention of *Numa*. This King thought, that a man who had a father and children alive, would be the more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote its intereſts.

wards

Year of *ROME* XLI to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

wards the city, of which he was to demand ſatisfaction. As he entered it, he repeated the ſame oaths at the gate, in preſence of the officer who was upon guard, or at leaſt of ſome of the inhabitants. From thence he went on to the place of publick concourſe, and there declared the reaſons of his coming. This done, he deſired a conference with the magiſtrates: And if they ſubmitted to reaſon, and delivered up to him the perſons who had been guilty of the inſult offered to *Rome*, he carried them away with him. If the magiſtrates aſked time to deliberate, he gave them ten days; and, when theſe were expired, ten more; and ſo on to thirty. But if, after the 30 days, they ſtill continued to refuſe him juſtice, he called the Gods of Heaven and Hell to witneſs againſt them; and forthwith declared, that he was going to make his report at *Rome*, where it would be conſidered of at leiſure. Upon his return to the Senate, he reported, that he had performed all the duties of his office, and that nothing hindred the *Romans* from declaring war [a]; and then was the time for the Senate to come to a reſolution. But before theſe formalities had been obſerved, it was not lawful for either King, or Senate, military tribunes, or ſubaltern officers, to attempt any thing againſt the enemy. In this manner did *Numa*, perhaps a little at the expence of his own authority, put a check to the precipitate ſallies of the *Romans*, who attended more to the ſuggeſtions of their ambition, than the rules of equity, in making war. It was probably owing to theſe regulations, that the *Fidenates* eſcaped the reſentment of the *Romans*; for the latter undertook no war in *Numa*'s time.

§. IX. THE EIGHTH, and moſt venerable of all the different bodies conſecrated to religion, was the PONTIFICES [b]; the origin of which name is uncertain.

[a] If the Senate determined to declare war, the *Feciales* returned to the enemy's country, and, in the preſence of three witneſſes, who were arrived at the age of *Puberty*, declared the cauſe of the war. After which he committed the firſt act of hoſtility, by throwing a bloody javelin: and at the ſame time uttered this form of words, which *A. Gellius* has preſerved: The *Hermondulian people, and thoſe of this country, have offered violence to the* Roman *people, who for that reaſon declare war againſt them.* The name *Hermondulian* is of no determinate ſignification, and was then univerſally applied to all nations.

[b] Moſt of thoſe who have written of the *Roman* antiquities, derive the word *Pontifices*, from *Pons* and *facere*, the repairs of the bridges being committed to their care. Bridges were then thought ſacred. The moſt ſolemn ſacrifices were performed upon them. The bridge *Sublicius* is ſaid to have been built, purſuant to the directions of an oracle, which forbad the uſe of iron in the framing it, and commanded that the parts of it ſhould be joined together with wooden pins. But *Plutarch* finds fault with the abovementioned etymology of the word *Pontifex*. He ſays, this word was in uſe at *Rome* before there were any bridges there. That wooden bridge itſelf, which was the firſt that was built at *Rome*, and called *Sublicius*, was of ſo late date, as to be the work of King *Ancus Marcius*, *Numa*'s grandſon: whereas the word *Pontifex* was in uſe ſo early as in *Numa*'s time. *Plutarch* therefore gives another derivation of the word *Pontifex*; he derives it from *Potnis*, which, in old *Latin*, ſignified *powerful*, or *abſolute maſter*: ſome authors derive it from the two words, *potis* and *facere*, underſtanding by the word *facere*, *to ſacrifice*.

From *Numa*'s time, to the middle of the fifth century, after the foundation of *Rome*, the college of *Pontifices* conſiſted but of four. Afterwards, at the requeſt of the people, who were deſirous of ſharing the honours of the prieſthood with the *Patricians*, four *Pontifices*, of *Plebeian* families, were added. To theſe eight *Sylla* added ſeven more.

Year of ROME XLI to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

uncertain. Their [a] office was, to give judgment in all cauſes relating to religion; to enquire into the lives and manners of the inferior prieſts, and to puniſh them if they ſaw occaſion; to preſcribe rules for publick worſhip; to regulate the feaſts, ſacrifices, and all other ſacred inſtitutions; to determine what works ſhould be deemed lawful, and what unlawful, on feſtival days. Their Preſident had the title of *Pontifex Maximus*; and his office was one of the moſt honourable in the common-wealth. Some ſay, the King reſerved this eminent dignity to himſelf; and others, that he conferred it on his kinſman *Numa Marcius*.

§. X. SUCH were the eight claſſes into which *Numa* divided the prieſts and miniſters of ſacred things, multiplying the ceremonies and amuſements of religion, in order the more effectually to divert the *Romans* from the purſuits of ambition, and the violence of arms. It was with the ſame view, or at leaſt to give a check to the haſty proceedings of this fierce and rugged people, ever ready, upon the ſlighteſt occaſions, to begin a war, that he cauſed a particular reverence to be paid to [b] *Janus*, whoſe two faces being the ſymbol of prudence, which looks backwards and forwards, and conſiders the cauſes and conſequences of things, were to be a memento to them, to recollect themſelves, before they gave way to their fury. He ordered the temple of that God to be kept ſhut in time of peace, and open in time of war.

Bona Fides.

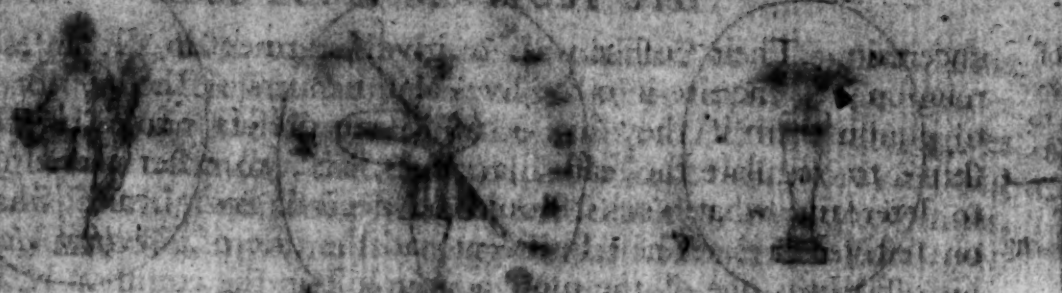
But there is no part of *Numa*'s management, which *Dionyſius* admires ſo much, as his contrivance to make the *Romans* honeſt, by turning *Good Faith* into a Goddeſs, and appointing her a divine worſhip. It was a new invention unknown both to *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, and contributed greatly, as that hiſtorian obſerves, to bring the republick to be faithful to her treaties, and the private citizens to their contracts with one another, into which they entered without witneſſes. A ſcrupulous regard to truth became in time ſo univerſal among them, that the magiſtrates frequently determined doubtful cauſes between man and man by the bare

The firſt eight were, according to ſome, ſtyled *Pontifices majores*, and the reſt *Pontifices minores*. According to others, theſe titles diſtinguiſhed the *Patrician Pontifices* from the *Plebeian*.

It will appear in the latter ages of the republick, that the people claimed the right of chuſing the inferior *Pontifices*: for as to the *Pontifex Maximus*, he ſeems to have been always choſen by the people, aſſembled in their *Comitia*. At leaſt, we find inſtances of this kind in *Livy*, eſpecially in B. 25. at the very time when the inferior *Pontifices* were choſen by the pontifical college. The *Pontifex Maximus* was alſo generally taken out of the other *Pontifices*. The Emperors aſſumed this dignity from *Octavius*'s time; and the Chriſtian Emperors continued to bear this title, to the time of *Gratian*, who (as we learn from *Zozimus*) abſolutely refus'd it.

[a] *Tully*, in his oration, *pro domo ſua*, tells the *Pontifices*, that the honour and ſafety of the commonwealth, the liberty of the people, the houſes and fortunes of the citizens, and the very Gods themſelves, were all committed to their care.

[b] *Livy* leaves it uncertain, whether *Numa* built the temple of *Janus*, or not. *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* ſay nothing of it. *Varro*, as quoted by St. *Auſtin*, ſays, that *Romulus* cauſed the firſt temple of *Janus*, in *Rome*, to be erected, after the treaty made between him, and *Titus Tatius*; and that he gave this God two faces, to ſhew, that at *Rome* two Kings reigned at the ſame time, and two nations were united, and become one.







A. *A* Terminus *representing* Hercules *with his Club, and the Head of the* Nemæan *Lion in his Hand.* B. *Another* Terminus *representing an armed* Pallas. C. *A third* Terminus *with the Head of a* Mercury. D. *A Fourth* Terminus *representing* Hercules *in a Lion's Skin.* E. *A Fifth* Terminus *representing* Venus, *or some other Goddess.*

affirmation, *ex fide*, as it was called, of the plaintiff or defendant. This *veracity*, and this ſtrictneſs in the performance of covenants were virtues ſtill ſubſiſting among the *Romans* in the time of *Polybius*, who gives them the glorious teſtimony, that they inviolably kept their word, making witneſſes and ſecurities needleſs; whereas ten ſecurities, twenty promiſes, and as many witneſſes, were no fence againſt the knaveries of the *Greeks*.

§. XI. THE ſame ſpirit of equity in *Numa* made him likewiſe introduce other Deities, under the name of *Termini* or *Boundaries*. In *Romulus*'s time, neither the *Roman* territory in general, nor the eſtates of private perſons had any fixed limits. That ambitious Prince would have betrayed his own cauſe; and his encroachments on his neighbour's lands would have been too manifeſt, had he ſet bounds to his own. But *Numa*, having no views of enlarging his dominion, ordered ſtones, dedicated to *Jupiter Terminalis*, to be placed on the borders of the *Roman* ſtate, to mark the juſt extent of it. The ſame was done with regard to the lands of private property, and theſe land-marks became themſelves a kind of Deities. To remove them was deemed a ſacrilege of ſo heinous a nature, that any man might with impunity ſlay the tranſgreſſor. And, in order to render the law yet more inviolable, *Numa* inſtituted a feſtival, called *Terminalia*, in honour to the *Dii Termini*: It was celebrated the 22d or 23d of the month of *February*. The owners of lands met on the confines of their eſtates, and there made their offerings, not of bloody victims, as was afterwards the cuſtom, but of loaves, and the firſt gatherings of their fruits and harveſts. Thus did this wiſe King make a great variety of ſuperſtitions ſerviceable to the purpoſes of equity.

Theſe following laws of *Numa*, concerning religion, ſubſiſted in *Rome* ever after: *Let none appear in the preſence of the Gods, but with a pure heart, and ſincere piety. Let none there make a vain ſhew and oſtentation of their riches, but fear leſt they ſhould thereby bring on themſelves the vengeance of Heaven. Let no one have particular Gods of his own, or bring new ones into his houſe, or receive ſtrange ones, unleſs allowed by edict. Let every one preſerve in his own houſe the Oratories eſtabliſhed by his Fathers, and pay his domeſtick Gods the worſhip that has always been paid them. Let all honour the ancient* Gods of Heaven, *and the heroes whoſe exploits have carried them thither, ſuch as* Bacchus, Hercules, Caſtor, Pollux *and* Quirinus. *Let altars be erected to the virtues which carry us up to Heaven; but never to vices.* Cic. de Leg. B. 2, c. 8.

§. XII. THOUGH religion was *Numa*'s chief care, the explaining and amending the Civil Laws took up a great part of his attention: particularly, he reformed that law of *Romulus* which gave fathers an unlimited power over their children; he would not ſuffer them to ſell

[a] The *Dii Termini* invented by *Numa*, were in his time nothing more than ſquare ſtones, or poſts, to which a religious worſhip was paid. Afterwards they were adorned with ſtatues repreſenting human figures, were crowned with flowers, and rubbed with perfumes.

Year of ROME XLI to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

their ſons after marriage, becauſe it was very unjuſt, that a woman who had married a freeman ſhould be conſtrained to live with a ſlave.

This King in his regulations had an eſpecial regard to the preſerving modeſty in women. He excluded them from all publick affairs, in ſo much, that a woman having appeared in a court of juſtice to plead her own cauſe, it was looked upon as one of thoſe prodigies which foreboded danger to the ſtate, and as an ill omen which ought to be averted by expiations. He alſo forbad proſtitutes to enter into the temple of *Juno*. Nevertheleſs, he permitted huſbands to lend out their wives when theſe had born them children. It was a ſort of temporary divorce, in favour of thoſe men whoſe wives were barren, but the lender continued to have the power of a huſband over his wife, and could call her home, or lend her to others, as he pleaſed.

A. Gell. B. 4. c. 3.

Numa, obſerving that the expences in mourning habits and funeral * Ceremonies were carried to exceſs, put a reſtraint upon that kind of extravagance. Nor would he ſuffer the dead to be buried or burnt within the walls of *Rome*. He forbad the mourners at funerals to make loud lamentations, and aboliſhed the mad cuſtom of the women's tearing their faces upon the death of their children or huſbands; and laſtly, he limited the time of mourning to ten months.

§. XIII. NOR were theſe the only reformations made by *Numa*, *Romulus* having employed his people in continual wars, his ſucceſſor was much embarraſſed with a ſoldiery, who had been accuſtomed to plunder, and who were now without buſineſs. He ſhared therefore among them thoſe lands which the late King had obtained by conqueſt, and had left uncultivated. And the better to keep them conſtantly attentive to the improvement of their farms, he diſtributed them into *Pagi*, or villages, over each of which he appointed a Chief or Super-intendant. The buſineſs of the Super-intendant was, to have a watchful eye over the huſbandmen to encourage them when diligent, and to puniſh them when ſlothful. He was alſo to make a report of the progreſs of agriculture in his diſtrict to the King, who, judging of every man's capacity for publick affairs by his prudence and œconomy in the management of his farm, frequently advanced the induſtrious huſbandman to the firſt dignities in the ſtate. *Plutarch* obſerves another great advantage ariſing from this manner of employing the idle ſoldiery; that hereby they were not only inured to fatigue, as in time of war, but became accuſtomed to a peaceable and regular way of living; for there is nothing which ſo reconciles the minds of men to peace, as huſbandry and a country life; it makes them abhor all violence, at the ſame time that it gives them courage and reſolution to defend their arable lands and paſtures from the encroachments of their neighbours.

* The dead were anciently carried on funeral-beds, which were adorned with flowers and crowns. And when luxury prevailed, the *Romans* took a pride in multiplying theſe beds, adorning them in a coſtly manner, and expoſing the images of the anceſtors of the dead upon them, to make the proceſſion the more ſtately and magnificent.

§. XIV. BUT

Year of ROME XLI to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

§. XIV. BUT the maſter-piece of *Numa*'s policy, according to *Plutarch*, was his [a] diſtribution of the tradeſmen of *Rome* into diſtinct corporations. The city had been long divided into two factions, occaſioned by the mixture of the *Sabines* with the firſt *Romans*. Hence aroſe the diſſentions of the *Interreges*; and it was an inexhauſtible ſource of diſcord. *Numa* therefore to remedy this evil, and to aboliſh the very names of *Tatian* and *Romuliſt*, made all the artiſts and tradeſmen of *Rome*, of whatſoever nation they originally were, enter into ſeparate companies, according to their reſpective profeſſions. The muſicians had the firſt rank; doubtleſs becauſe they were employed in the offices of religion, and contributed to the pomp of the ſacrifices. The Goldſmiths, Carpenters, Curriers, Dyers, Taylors, &c. formed diſtinct communities. He ordained particular ſtatutes for each of them, and granted them peculiar privileges, and a power of making by-laws. Every corporation was permitted to hold lands, have a common treaſury, and to celebrate feſtivals and ſacrifices proper to itſelf; in a word, to become a ſort of petty republick. By this means, ſays *Plutarch*, the *Sabines* and *Romans* forgetting all their old partialities and party names were brought to an entire union.

§. XV. THE laſt reformation which this ſecond King of *Rome* undertook, was that of the calendar: And if he did not bring it to its utmoſt perfection, he at leaſt purged it of its groſſeſt faults.

The year is ſaid to have conſiſted, before his time, of but 304 days; which is neither agreeable to the ſolar nor lunar year. *Numa* therefore did his utmoſt to make it agree with the courſes both of the ſun and moon: And he took this method in order to it. He knew the lunar year conſiſted of 354 days, and he made his to conſiſt of 355: The additional day was given to it out of ſuperſtition, *Numa* being perſuaded, that the Gods were pleaſed with odd [b] numbers. And upon the ſame principle, when he added [c] *January* and *February* to the old year, which

Varro. Macrob. Sat. B. 1. c. 14.

[a] This regulation of *Numa*'s is not mentioned by *Livy*, or *Dion. Hal.* and indeed it ſeems inconſiſtent with what the latter ſays, B. 2. p. 95. That only two ſorts of employment, *War* and *Agriculture*, were permitted to the freemen by *Romulus*, and that all other occupations were for *a long time* look'd upon by the native *Romans* as diſhonourable, and left to ſlaves and ſtrangers.

[b] This whimſical notion was built on the moſt chimerical foundation. The *Pagans* looked on an even number, as the ſymbol of diviſion, becauſe it could be divided into two equal parts: whereas an odd number was, for the contrary reaſon, the ſymbol of concord. This prejudice gave birth to a thouſand ſuperſtitious practices, ſome of which are continued even among thoſe whom reaſon, enlightened by religion, ought to have undeceived. 'Twas a notion that came originally from the *Egyptians*.

[c] *January* had its name from *Janus*. *February* was ſo called from the expiations ſignified by the word *Februa*, which were in this month performed. *March* had its name from *Mars*, the ſuppoſed father of *Romulus*, which upon that account had been placed firſt. *April* from *Aphrodite* or *Venus*, becauſe of the ſuperſtitious worſhip them paid to her. *May* from *Maia*, the mother of *Mercury*, to whom this month was made ſacred. *June*, from *Juno*, or as ſome will have it, from *Juvenius*, becauſe the ſeaſon is warm, or as it were, *juventâ*. The reſt had their names from their order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November* and *December*. Only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* were afterwards turned into *July* and *Auguſt*, by *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*.

Year of ROME XLI to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

consisted of only ten months, he appointed that the months which before contained, some of them more than 35 days, others fewer than 20, should now have each 29 days, or 31. *February* only consisted of 28; and it was therefore looked on as a fatal month, and consecrated to the infernal Gods, who were thought to be pleased with even numbers. *Numa* appointed likewise, that the year, which before begun with the month of *March*, should henceforwards begin with that of *January*. And after he had in some measure regulated his year by the course of the moon, he turned his thoughts to make it agree with that of the sun. He was not ignorant that the course of the sun took up about eleven days more than that of the moon: And therefore he appointed that every two years an intercalary month of 22 days should be added to the rest; which month the *Romans* called [a] *Mercidinus*. And as he was sensible that the solar year consisted of three hundred sixty five days and six hours, and that these six hours made a whole day, in four years; he therefore commanded that the month *Mercidinus* after every four years, should consist of twenty three days. Thus did this learned Prince remedy the disorders of the calendar, as far as he could, and put it into a condition of more easily admitting of new corrections.

§. XVI. *NUMA* had now filled the throne near 43 years; and was about 82 years old when he died of some chronical distemper, which gradually wore him away, without lessening the vigour of his mind. During his whole reign no declaration of war had obliged the *Romans* to open the temple of *Janus*. He became the arbiter of all the differences among his neighbours; and his virtues seemed to have communicated themselves to all the nations round about *Rome*. As to the *Romans* themselves, it might be literally said, that their weapons of war were changed into instruments of husbandry. No intestine seditions, no ambitious desires of the throne, nor attempts upon it, nor so much as any murmurs against the person, or administration of the King, appeared among them. *Plutarch.* When he died, they lamented him as sincerely, as if every man had lost his own father; and the concourse of strangers to *Rome*, to celebrate his obsequies, was exceedingly great. *Numa* had forbidden the *Romans* to burn his body; they therefore put it into a stone-coffin, and, pursuant

[a] *Plutarch*, in the life of *Julius Cæsar*, calls this month *Mercedonius*. And *Festus* tells us of certain days, which he calls *Mercedonios Dies*, because they were the times appointed for the payment of workmen and domesticks. The intercalary month began the day after the *Terminalia*. A little astronomy is sufficient to shew, that *Numa*'s year could not agree with the courses of the sun and moon. The exact periods of the revolutions of the sun and moon were not then known. *Livy* writes, that *Numa* first instituted the days the *Romans* called *Fasti* and *Nefasti*. *Macrobius*, B. 1. distinguishes three sorts of days, which he calls *Festi*, *Profesti*, and *Intercisi*. The first were consecrated to the worship of the Gods; the second set apart for publick and private business; the last were divided between both.

to

to his own orders, buried the greateſt part of the books he had written, in the ſame ſepulchre with him. In conſequence of the law he had made, that no dead body ſhould be interred within the city, he himſelf had choſen a burial-place beyond the *Tyber*, at the foot of the *Janiculum*: And thither he was carried on the ſhoulders of his Senators, and followed by all the People, who bewailed their loſs with tears. He left no children, except a daughter, named *Pompilia*, who was married to *Numa Marcius* (the ſon of his kinſman *Marcius*, who had perſuaded him to accept of the government) and was the mother of *Ancus Marcius*, fourth King of *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* XLI to LXXXII.

* Theſe books, when dug up ſome time after, were burnt by a decree of the Senate. He had therein explained his reaſons for the novelties he had introduced into the *Roman* worſhip. We are indebted to *Varro* for this account. He tells us, that one *Terentius* had a piece of ground near the *Janiculum*: and that a huſbandman of his, one day accidentally running his plough over *Numa*'s tomb, turned up ſome of that Legiſlator's books; wherein he gave his reaſons for eſtabliſhing the religion of the *Romans* upon the foot on which he left it. The huſbandman carried theſe books to the *Prætor* of *Rome*, and the *Prætor* to the Senate; who, when they had read the frivolous reaſons he aſſigned for his religious eſtabliſhments, agreed, that the books ſhould be deſtroy'd according to *Numa*'s intentions: and it was accordingly decreed, that the *Prætor* ſhould throw them into the fire. *Varro, apud S. Aug. lib. 7. de Civit. Dei. cap.* 34. St. *Auſtin* thinks there were ſome footſteps of magick in theſe books; of which *Numa* muſt in his life-time have been ſuſpected.

CHAP. IV.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

§. I. Tullus Hoſtilius a man of a generous and martial diſpoſition is elected by the Romans *to ſucceed* Numa. *§. II. The rivalſhip between* Rome *and* Alba *for ſuperiority. §. III. The diſpute is decided by the famous combat between the three* Horatii *and the three* Curiatii, *in which the latter are all ſlain, and two of the former. §. IV. The ſurviving* Horatius *in his return to the city, in triumph, ſtabs his own ſiſter, for reproaching him with the death of her Lover. He is tried by the* Duumviri, *and condemned to die. He appeals to the People, and they mitigate the ſentence. §. V.* Tullus, *in conjunction with the* Albans, *engages in a war againſt the* Veientes, *and defeats them. The treachery of the* Albans. Tullus *demoliſhes* Alba, *and tranſplants the inhabitants to* Rome. *§. VI. He vanquiſhes the* Fidenates, Sabines, *and* Latines; *and inſtitutes the* Saturnalia. *§. VII. In his old age, he falls into ſuperſtition, and ſtudies magick. He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace.*

§. I. THE two factions of the *Romuliſts* and *Tatians*, whoſe quarrels ſuſpended for ſo long a time the election of a ſucceſſor to *Romulus*, being now no more, the *Interregnum* which followed the death of *Numa* proved very ſhort. *Tullus Hoſtilius*, a man of a warlike genius, was unanimouſly choſen King by the People, and accepted by the Senate. He was grandſon to a noble *Roman*, named *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*, who is ſaid to

Year of *ROME* LXXXIII.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS Third King.

Year of ROME LXXXIII.

to have ſignalized his courage in *Romulus*'s time, in the ſecond battle with the *Sabines*, and to have married either the famous *Herſilia* or her daughter.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS Third King.

Tullus having riches enough in his own patrimony, both for the maintenance of his houſhold, and the expences of the publick worſhip, was no ſooner upon the throne, than he diſtributed among ſuch of the citizens as remained unprovided for, thoſe portions of the conquered lands which his predeceſſor had reſerved for the royal demeſnes, or ſet apart for the uſes of religion: And thus he began his reign by a ſhining act of generoſity, which gained him immediately the univerſal affection of his people.

This Prince being not only generous and brave, but of an enterprizing genius, found in himſelf a greater inclination to tread in the ſteps of *Romulus* than thoſe of *Numa*: But the laws eſtabliſhed by his pacific predeceſſor laying ſuch reſtraints upon his martial ardor, as he could not inſtantly break through, he waited till fortune ſhould be ſo favourable, as to ſet him free: And it was not long before ſhe furniſhed him with a pretext to open the temple of *Janus*.

§. II. THE *Albans*, upon the death of *Romulus*, ſeeing the race of their ancient Kings extinct, had reſumed their independence upon *Rome*; and they choſe their own Governours. *Cælius* or (according to *Livy*) *Cluilius* was now at the head of affairs in *Alba*. He is ſometimes ſtyled King, by the hiſtorians, and ſometimes Dictator. His jealouſy of the growing greatneſs of *Rome*, which by the conqueſts of *Romulus*, and the wiſe adminiſtration of *Numa*, was already become equal to any city in *Italy*, made him impatient to put a ſtop to its growth; and having no plauſible reaſon at preſent to give his people for engaging them in a war with the *Romans*, he made uſe of the following ſtratagem to bring them into his ſentiments and meaſures. He privately commiſſioned ſome of the vileſt and moſt indigent of his ſubjects to go and ravage the *Roman* lands, not doubting but *Rome* would immediately fly to arms to revenge herſelf, and thereby give him a fair opportunity to make her paſs, in the minds of the *Albans*, for the firſt aggreſſor, and the beginner of the war. Nor was *Cluilius* diſappointed in his expectation. A *Roman* army entered the territories of *Alba*, attacked the robbers, ſlew many of them, and took abundance of priſoners. *Cluilius* being now ſufficiently provided with matter for his purpoſe, convened an aſſembly of the people, inveighed againſt the *Romans*, produced a great many of the wounded, as alſo the relations of thoſe who had been killed or taken, and, by exaggerating the loſſes which *Alba* had ſuſtained, at length brought the Aſſembly to this concluſion: That an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the *Romans* to demand ſatisfaction of them, and, in caſe they refuſed it, that war ſhould be declared.

D. *Hal.* B. 3. p. 132.

When the Ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome*, *Tullus*, gueſſing at their errand, reſolved to prevent them, and be the firſt in demanding ſatisfaction; that ſo he might throw upon the *Albans* all the odium of the breach between the mother city and the colony: For it had formerly been agreed between them,

them, that they ſhould never make war againſt one another, till a repa-
ration of the damages ſuſtained on either ſide had been previouſly aſked
in a friendly manner. It was for this reaſon that *Cluilius* had haſtened the
departure of his deputies; but *Tullus*, no leſs artful than he, made uſe of
various pretences to defer giving them audience; and he contrived to have
them ſo agreeably entertained in the houſes where they were lodged, that
they neither cared to ſtir abroad, nor had any uneaſineſs about theſe delays.
In the mean time, the *Roman* King ſent an embaſſy to *Alba*, with orders
to require ſatisfaction on the part of *Rome*, and to preſs the concluſion of
the affair. A *Fecialis* was at the head of the Ambaſſadors, who, ſetting
out at ſun-riſing, reached *Alba* the ſame morning. They found *Cluilius*
in the midſt of the publick *Forum*, and there diſcharged their commiſſion,
putting him in mind to conform himſelf to the old treaty of alliance:
To which *Cluilius* briſkly anſwered, *It is you alone who violate the treaty,
my part has been already performed; I have ſent Ambaſſadors to your King,
but to no effect; and I therefore declare war againſt you.* The *Fecialis*
then aſked him, whether that King, of the two, who firſt refuſed to hear
the other's complaints, ought not to be deem'd guilty of the firſt breach
of the alliance? and, upon *Cluilius*'s anſwering, *Without doubt*, the other
invoked the Gods to atteſt, that the *Alban* King was the firſt violator of
it. After which he and the Ambaſſadors inſtantly took their leave, and
ſet out for *Rome*.

Year of ROME LXXXIII.
TULLUS HOSTILIUS Third King.

They were no ſooner returned thither, but *Tullus* ſent for the *Alban* De- *Livy*, B. 1.
puties, received them in an obliging manner, and then enquired into the
deſign of their embaſſy. Theſe civilly made long excuſes for the diſagree-
able commiſſion with which they were charged; proteſting, that they
had accepted it contrary to their inclinations, and were very ſorry to
find themſelves under a neceſſity to demand ſatisfaction of him, and to
declare war, in caſe of a refuſal. To which *Tullus* replied, *Go, tell your
King, that the King of* Rome *calls the Gods to witneſs, which of the two na-
tions did firſt refuſe the other ſatisfaction, that upon that nation they may heap
all the miſeries of this war.*

The *Roman Fecialis* had given *Cluilius* but thirty days to conſider of the
means to prevent hoſtilities. This time was employ'd on both ſides, in
making preparations for the war, and getting ſuccours from their allies.
At length, both armies took the field; *Cluilius* pitched his camp five
miles from *Rome*, and fortified it with a good ditch; (which continued *D. Hal.* B. 3.
long after, and was called *Foſſa Cluilia.*) King *Tullus* poſted his *Romans*
on an advantageous ground, within view of the enemy.

But now, whatever was the cauſe of it, the two armies were no ſooner
in ſight of each other, than their ardour for fighting cooled, and they
both kept cloſe within their intrenchments. This inaction made the *Al-
bans* begin to murmur at their Commander as the Author of a fruitleſs
war; ſo that, to free himſelf from their reproaches, he reſolved at length
to offer the enemy battle; but the next morning, he was found dead in
his tent with all his guards about him, and without any ſigns of violence.

Year of ROME LXXXIII.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS Third King.

Upon the death of *Cluilius*, the army ſaluted *Metius Fuffetius* Dictator. He was a man of the ſame turbulent character, and in the ſame views with his predeceſſor; but, receiving advice that the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* intended to fall upon both armies when they ſhould be weakened by a battle, he, inſtead of purſuing the war, deſired a conference with the King of *Rome*, in order to a reconciliation. *Tullus* having received the ſame information, liſten'd readily to the propoſal. When the two commanders came to a parley, both of them expreſſed a willingneſs to have a union formed between the *Albans* and *Romans*. *Tullus* propoſed, as the beſt means to make it durable and perfect, that all, or the chief of the *Alban* families ſhould remove to *Rome*; or, in caſe they were unwilling to leave their native city, that one common ſenate ſhould be eſtabliſhed to govern both cities, of which the more worthy ſhould have the dominion over the other. The *Albans* who attended *Fuffetius*, and whom he took aſide to conſult with them upon theſe expedients, would by no means conſent that *Alba* ſhould be deſerted by its inhabitants; but they approved of the motion for a common ſenate, and giving one city the command over the other. The only difficulty now was to ſettle which city ſhould have the preference. *Fuffetius* ſpoke in favour of *Alba*, making this his chief plea, that ſhe was the mother-city, from which *Rome* was but a colony; and *Tullus* urged, in behalf of *Rome*, her ſuperiority of ſtrength and grandeur. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he offered to terminate the diſpute by a ſingle combat between himſelf and *Fuffetius*. The *Alban* General not being brave, or perhaps not thinking himſelf a match for *Tullus*, brought ſeveral prudential reaſons, to prove that it would be better to chooſe three champions out of each camp, whoſe ſwords ſhould terminate the conteſt, than to hazard the lives of the Generals. This propoſal *Tullus* accepted; and the Chiefs retired into their entrenchments.

§. III. AS ſoon as the conditions of the union of *Alba* and *Rome* were known in the two armies, there was in both of them a ſtrong emulation among the young warriors, for the honour of being choſen to this important combat. *Dionyſius* tells us, that *Fuffetius* caſt his eyes on three brothers, whom he imagined the Gods themſelves had pointed out to be the champions for *Alba*; believing alſo, that three brothers who were then in the *Roman* camp, were under the like deſtiny of being the champions for *Rome*. It was the extraordinary circumſtances of their birth, which made *Fuffetius* entertain this notion. *Sequinius*, an illuſtrious *Alban*, had two daughters; one he married to *Curiatius*, a citizen of *Alba*, the other to *Horatius*, a citizen of *Rome*: and theſe two women were brought to bed on the ſame day, each of three male children. The *Horatian* and *Curiatian* brothers were now in the flower of their age, and all ſix remarkable for their ſtrength and dexterity in fighting. The *Alban* General having fix'd his choice on the three *Curiatii*, and gained their conſent, communicated his thought to the King of *Rome*, and exhorted him to pitch upon the three *Horatii*. Fate, ſaid he, appears to have brought three champi-

ons

ons on each ſide into the world, on purpoſe to decide by their ſwords the fortune of their countries. *Tullus* propoſed the matter to the *Horatian* family, but would lay no injunction upon them. Old *Horatius*, the father of the three brothers, left them free to act as they would do, if he were not living; and, when he underſtood, that they, following the example of the *Curiatii*, preferred a glorious death, or important victory, to an inglorious life, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and embracing them, cried out, *I am a happy Father*; and then commanded them to declare his conſent to the King.

Year of ROME LXXXIII. TULLUS HOSTILIUS Third King.

When the day appointed for the combat came, *Tullus* led the *Horatii*, and *Fuffetius* the *Curiatii*, into the plain between the camps; where the two Kings, attended by their *Feciales*, met in the middle of it, and, before the engagement, concluded a * treaty in form.

And now the *Alban* and *Roman* champions advanced with a ſlow pace, each to meet his adverſary. But in the inſtant, when the people expected to ſee them in a fierce encounter, they quitted their arms, and, with tears in their eyes, flew to embrace each other. The ſpectators, greatly moved at this ſight, began to murmur at their Kings, who had engaged ſuch tender and generous friends in a cruel rivalſhip for glory. A new ſcene quickly put an end to their pity, captivated all their attention, and employed all their hopes and fears. The triple combat began; and fortune, for a long time, held an even balance. At length, the eldeſt of the *Horatii* received a mortal wound, and fell; a ſecond of the *Roman* champions had the ſame fate, and expired upon the body of his brothers. The *Alban* army, hereupon, gave a great ſhout, while conſternation and deſpair ſpread themſelves through the *Roman* camp. The *Roman* cauſe *Livy*, B. 1.

* The form of this treaty eſcaped the injuries of time, till *Livy*'s days: he gives us the following account of it; and it ſerved as a pattern for the greater part of the treaties which were afterwards made by the *Romans*.

Firſt, one of the college of the *Feciales*, named *Marcus Valerius*, demanded of King *Tullus*, *Whether he gave him orders to conclude a peace with the* Pater Patratus *of the* Albans? The King anſwered, *He did. Give me then*, replied the herald, *ſome Vervein*, [the ſign of his commiſſion]. *Yes*, anſwered the King, *bring me ſome that is pure*. At theſe words, the *Fecialis* went and gathered ſome Vervein on a little hill, brought it, and went on thus: *Do you then appoint me to be* Fecialis *and Plenipotentiary of* Rome *to the* Albans, *and engage to protect my equipage and retinue? Yes*, replied the King, *as far as is conſiſtent with my intereſt, and thoſe of the* Roman *people*: and then *Valerius* the *Fecialis* appointed *Spurius Fuſius* to be *Pater Patratus* of the treaty, by crowning him with Vervein. His office was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath, in the name of the *Roman* King and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty.

After this ceremonial, which paſſed only among the *Romans*, the *Pater Patratus* read the articles of the convention in the preſence of the *Albans*; and then expreſſed himſelf thus: *Hear*, O Jupiter, *hear*, O Pater Patratus *of the* Alban *people, hear*, O Alban *people*: *Of theſe articles as I have juſt now read them out of theſe waxed tablets, without fraud or deceit, and as they have been from one end to the other clearly underſtood, the* Roman *people will never be the firſt violators. If they ſhould violate them by publick authority, and by fraud, may* Jupiter *at that inſtant ſtrike them, as I ſhall now ſtrike this hog! May thy ſtroke, great* Jupiter! *be as much heavier, as thy power is greater*. At which words he kill'd the hog, [that was to be offered up in ſacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty,] by a blow on the head with a flint. The heralds of the *Albans* took the like oaths, and alſo offered their ſacrifices.

Year of ROME LXXXIII.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS Third King.

however was not yet deſperate; for[a] all the *Alban* champions were wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* unhurt, and undaunted. Nevertheleſs, he did not think himſelf able to ſuſtain the attack of the three brothers at once, and therefore made uſe of a ſtratagem to ſeparate them: He pretended fear, and fled before them. The *Curiatii* purſued him, but at unequal diſtances, and as their ſtrength would permit. *Horatius* turned ſhort upon the nimbleſt, and ſlew him. He then flew to the next, and, at one ſtroke, cut off his arm; after which he ran him thro' the body. The third was in no condition to fight. Being deſperately wounded he could hardly ſupport himſelf on his buckler. *Horatius* cried out, *To the glory of* Rome *I ſacrifice thee*, ſtruck him on the throat, and, big with victory, ſeized the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed. Thus ended this famous combat, which gave *Rome* the ſuperiority over her mother *Alba*. *Fuffetius* immediately ſaluting King *Tullus* as his maſter, aſked him, what were his commands? *I command you nothing*, ſaid *Tullus*, *but to keep the* Alban *youth in readineſs to march at my orders, in caſe I make war with the* Veientes. He likewiſe endeavoured to comfort the *Albans*, who were grievouſly caſt down, by aſſuring them, that he would change nothing in their laws or form of goverment.

§. IV. BUT now, in the height of young *Horatius*'s joy, when his glory ſeems to have dazzled his own eyes, and to have made him forget that he was a man, he fell into a crime, that obſcured the luſtre of his exploit, brought diſgrace upon him, and even merited, in ſtrictneſs of juſtice, a much ſeverer puniſhment. As he was returning to the city in a ſort of *Triumph*, his temples encircled with a crown the King had put upon his head, and his ſhoulders loaded with the ſpoils of the three *Curiatii*, he, to his great ſurprize, beheld his ſiſter, unaccompanied by her mother, and without any attendance, hurrying forward in the promiſcuous crowd to meet him. However, in his own mind, he excuſed the uncommon indecency, by imputing it to an impatient deſire of ſeeing and congratulating her victorious brother. But, alas! the zeal which had brought her from home was of another kind: One of the *Alban* champions had been her lover, and was to have been her huſband. Upon the firſt report of his being ſlain, ſhe had ſtolen from her mother, and was come, running like a diſtracted creature, to learn the certainty of his fate: And, when ſhe ſaw the conqueror bearing in triumph her lover's military robe (a robe which ſhe had wrought with her own hands) all ſtained with his blood, ſhe tore her hair, beat her breaſt, and reviled her brother in the bittereſt expreſſions. *Thou monſter of wickedneſs*, ſhe cried, *how couldſt thou dip thy hands in the blood of thy relations, whom thou haſt ſo often called thy brothers? How couldſt thou murther the man thy ſiſter ſhould have married?* *Horatius*, ſtill warm with ſlaughter, and enraged at theſe reproaches, and the untimely grief of his ſiſter, *Go then to thy lover, with thy unſeaſonable paſſi-*

D. Hal. B. 3. p. 151.

[a] *Dionyſius* ſays, that there remained only three brothers was killed in the beginning two of the *Curiatii*, and that one of thoſe of the fight.

on,

ill, Tove, who favoureſt thy Roman people, Quirinus' kindred, and thy country. Thus *let every* Roman *perish, who* [illegible] *of an enemy to* Rome! As he uttered theſe laſt words he ſtabbed her with his ſword; and, without longer ſtay, without fight of prieſt or ſacrifice, went ſtrait on to his father's houſe. The father approved of the cruel deed, and refuſed to let his daughter be buried in the ſepulchre of her family.

Year of ROME LXXXIII. TULLUS HOSTILIUS Third King.

Nevertheleſs, when King *Tullus* returned to *Rome*, *Horatius* was arraigned before him upon an acculation of murder; and ſome of the moſt eminent of the citizens concerned themſelves in the proſecution. They thought it of dangerous conſequence to ſlacken the rigour of the laws in favour of any man, meerly on account of his bravery or ſucceſs in battle; and the law expreſly forbad to kill any perſon whatſoever who had not been firſt condemned. This affair threw the King into ſome perplexity, being divided between his regard for the laws, eſpecially in the caſe of murder, and the deſire he had to ſave the young warrior, who had done him ſuch important ſervice. To avoid the odium he might bring upon himſelf by either acquitting or condemning the criminal, he, as *Livy* tells us, turned the affair into a ſtate crime, and, having called the people together, named two commiſſioners or *Duumviri* to try him as a traitor. This was conformable to the law, in caſes of treaſon. The law ran thus. *Let two Commiſſioners be appointed to try ſtate crimes. If the criminal appeal from the ſentence of theſe judges, let his appeal be received. If their ſentence be confirmed, let him be hood-wink'd and hanged with a rope upon a curſed tree, having been firſt ſcourged either within or without the pomerium.* The fact of which *Horatius* was accuſed being notorious, and not diſowned by the priſoner, the *Duumviri*, without delay, pronounced ſentence againſt him in theſe words: Horatius, *we judge you to be guilty of treaſon. Go, Lictor, tie his hands.* The executioner had already laid hold of him, when *Horatius*, by the King's advice, appealed to an *Aſſembly of the People*; and this ſhews, that the authority of the People was ſuperior to that of the King. *Horatius* appeared there with the ſame undaunted reſolution that he had ſhewn in his combat with the champions of *Alba*; and his father pleading for him, and even juſtifying the fact, the Aſſembly, through admiration of his courage, rather than for the juſtice of his cauſe, revoked the ſentence that had been paſſed againſt him. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpuniſhed, they condemned *Horatius* to paſs under the yoke, an ignominy to which they uſually ſubjected priſoners of war who had cowardly ſurrendered their arms. (The yoke was a kind of gallows, in form of a door caſe.) The King likewiſe appointed expiations to pacify the anger of the Gods; and the *Pontifices* erected two altars, one to *Juno*, the protectreſs of women, and another to *Janus* (deemed perhaps one of the guardian *Genii* of men) now ſtyled *Curiatian Janus*, from the name of *Horatius*'s couſins, whom he had ſlain. An annual commemoration of the thing was likewiſe ordered to be obſerved, with ſacrifices on thoſe altars; which altars, with the yoke under which *Horatius* paſſed, were ſtill remaining in the time of *Auguſtus*. All the honour done

Year of ROME
TULLUS HOSTILIUS Third King.

to *Horatius* for his victory was erecting a square column in the middle of the *Forum*, and hanging thereon the spoils of the *Curiatii*.

§ V. *TULLUS* did not forget the treacherous designs of the *Fidenates*, during his war with the *Albans*, and he at length resolved to take his revenge. But, to proceed regularly, he first cited them to appear before the Senate of *Rome*, and answer for their conduct. They, being conscious of guilt, and in secret intelligence with *Fuffetius*, who hoped to free himself from the *Roman* power, refused to obey, and, in conjunction with the *Veientes*, took the field. *Fuffetius*, in obedience to *Tullus*'s orders, joined him with the *Alban* troops; but, the day before the battle, he imparted to his chief officers his secret intention, which they approved. It was to stand neuter till fortune had decided the day, and then to fall upon that side which should be routed. Accordingly, just before the action began, he retired with his men to a hill. *Tullus* had notice of his desertion; and, in this distress, privately made a vow to add twelve priests to the college of the *Salii*, and to build a temple to *Fear* and *Paleness*. Then telling his men, in the hearing of the enemy, that the motion *Fuffetius* had made was by his order, he confidently attacked the *Fidenates*, who being disheartened by the apprehension of treachery in the *Albans*, were easily routed; and then *Fuffetius* poured down from his hill upon the runaways. *Tullus* concealed his knowledge of *Fuffetius*'s treachery, went privately in the night to *Rome*, consulted the Senate, and returned to the camp before break of day. Instantly he detached *Horatius* with a chosen band of horse and foot to go and demolish *Alba*; and while these orders were executing, he commanded both the *Romans* and *Albans* troops to attend him unarmed, but with private instructions to the *Romans* to bring their swords under their clothes. When they were all assembled, he made a speech to them, in which he laid open the perfidiousness of *Fuffetius*; and, in the conclusion, ordered him to be fastned to two chariots, and torn asunder, by driving the horses contrary ways. His chief accomplices were also put to the sword; but the King transplanted the rest of the *Alban* soldiers and citizens to *Rome*, and even admitted the principal of them into the *Roman* Senate. Of these the historians particularly mention six families; the *Julii*, *Quintii*, *Servilii*, *Geganii*, *Curiatii* and *Cælii*: Others were promoted to the dignity of Knights, and all without exception enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens.

This new increase of inhabitants obliged *Tullus* to enlarge the limits of the city; he took in mount *Cælius*, and allotted it for the *Albans* to settle upon (without excluding them from other parts of the city) and built his own palace there.

§ VI. THE *Fidenates* persevered in their revolt, and *Tullus* spent the winter in making preparations to attack them early in the spring. He then took the field, defeated them under the walls of *Fidenæ*, and obliged them to retire into the city; where by cutting off all succours and provisions from it, he reduced them to such extremities that they surrendered at discretion. He punished the heads of the revolt, but suffered the rest

rest to continue in their city, under their own form of government, only in dependence upon *Rome*. This compleat victory procured them the honours of a triumph, in which the spoils of the enemy were carried as trophies.

Year of ROME. *Tullus Hostilius Third King.*

And now the *Romans*, flush'd with success, and strengthened by their union with the *Albans*, demanded satisfaction of the *Sabines* for the insults which some *Roman* citizens had formerly suffered from them at the temple of the Goddess *Feronia*, (i. e. *Flora*, or *Proserpina*) which stood at the foot of mount *Soracte*, upon the banks of the *Tyber*, and was frequented by both *Sabines* and *Romans*. The *Sabines* not being able to get succours, kept themselves for some time on the defensive only. At length they came to so bloody a battle with the *Romans*, that both armies, terrified with the numbers of their slain, retired into their own countries, and attempted nothing more that campaign. The next year the war was renewed with greater fury. The two armies met near *Fidenæ*, a town about 13 miles from *Rome*, and the battle continued long in suspence; till *Tullus* by making a vow to [a] *Saturn* and *Ops*, to institute a festival to their honour, so raised the courage of his men, that he obtained a compleat victory. The *Sabines* submitted, and the Senate prescribed the conditions of a treaty with them; which, when concluded, was written on pillars erected in holy places, that those pillars might be lasting monuments of the superiority of *Rome*.

So much success carried the *Romans* to make new pretensions. They summoned all the *Latin* towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, to submit to the *Roman* laws. Upon this, an assembly of the *Latin* nation was held at [b] *Ferentinum*, where it was resolved not to bow under the yoke of *Rome*; and two Generals were chosen to command their forces. The *Romans* did not make war upon them in a regular way, but after the old manner of inroads and incursions, destroying their harvest. *Medullia*, which had submitted to *Romulus*, and since revolted, was the only town taken by King *Tullus*, in this war.

[a] These festivals of *Saturn*, and *Ops*, or *Rhea*, were kept at *Rome*, in the month of *December*, under the name of *Saturnalia*, and *Opalia*. They, properly speaking, were but one and the same solemnity, continued for several days together. The festival appropriated to *Saturn*, was fixed to the 16th of the calends of *January*; and that of *Ops*, which was likewise a part of the *Saturnalia*, to the 14th. *D. Hal.* attributes the origin of them to *Tullus Hostilius*'s vow. Because all the fruits of the earth were gathered in in *December*, the *Romans* therefore fixed the festival of these Deities in that month, one of which represented the Heavens, and the other the Earth, to whose united influences and power all fruits owe their production. These festivals were celebrated with mutual entertainments; the slaves themselves eat at their masters tables. Which was not only to reward them for their labours in cultivating the earth, and gathering the fruits of it, but likewise to renew the remembrance of the golden age, in which all men were equal. Servants had at this time a right of being served by their masters, wearing their clothes, and reproving them for their faults. In this sense we are to understand *Horace*'s applying himself to his servant,

——— *Age, libertate Decembri,*
(Quando ita majores voluerunt) utere: narra.
Sat. 7. B. 2.

[b] The *Ferentinum* here spoken of, was in *Latium* near *Monte Albano*, in the same place where *Marino* now stands.

Year of ROME. Tullus Hostilius Third King.

The *Sabines*, some years after, thinking themselves in a condition to take revenge upon *Rome*, invaded the *Roman* territory, and in small parties, spread themselves all over it to pillage; and the little opposition they met with, encouraged them to think of besieging *Rome*. But *Tullus* marched against them, and once more entirely defeated them near the *Malefactors Forest*.

§. VII. IT is related, that King *Tullus*, when grown old, fell into superstition and credulity, and was much imposed upon by stories of prodigies, and voices from heaven, on which occasion he ordered expiatory sacrifices for nine days, the time usually employed afterwards in expiations, when the people were terrified with prodigies. He is said also by some to have studied magic, and to have hid himself in a private place to perform a magical sacrifice, in order to raise *Jupiter Elicius*; but that, omitting some part of the necessary ceremonies, the God in a rage set his palace on fire by lightning, so that the King, his wife and children all perished in the flames. But others are of opinion, that *Tullus* died by the hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his successor; who, when the King and his whole family were met to perform a domestic sacrifice, first slew them, and then set fire to the palace, to conceal his crime.

CXIII.

Tullus had been more inclined to fighting, than to legislation. No law is mentioned to have been made by him but this, That whenever three male children should be born at a birth, they should, in memory of the *Horatii*, be brought up at the publick expence. Generosity and personal courage were his chief merit. As for his rekindling in the *Romans*, that love of war, and ambition of conquest, which his predecessor *Numa* had, during his long reign, so industriously extinguished, it conduced indeed much to the aggrandising the *Roman* state, and getting it a name, but not much to the real happiness of its people.

* The art of raising some Daemon, under the name of *Jupiter Elicius*, was pretended to in *Italy*, from the times of the old Kings of the *Aborigines*. We are told, that *Faunus* and *Picus* practised it in their time; and that, by their enchantments, they forced this pretended Divinity to appear to them by the side of a spring in *Italy*, and were by him enabled to raise a storm of thunder and lightning, when they pleased. *Arnob.* B. 5.

CHAP. V.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

§. I. Ancus Marcius, *the grandson of* Numa, *is chosen to succeed* Tullus Hostilius. *He declares war against the* Latines *in all the forms prescribed by* Numa. *He vanquishes the enemy in several battles, and takes many of their towns.* §. II. *He strengthens* Rome *by new fortifications, and builds* Ostia *at the mouth of the* Tyber. *He defeats the* Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes *and* Volsci. §. III. *He dies, leaving two sons under the tuition*

Year of R. O M. E. CXIV.

ANCUS MARCIUS Fourth King.

§ I. THE deceased King being look'd upon as a man ſtruck by the (Gods) no honours were done to his aſhes. After a ſhort *Interregnum*, the People and Senate unanimouſly choſe *Ancus Marcius* (ſon of *Pompilia*, the daughter of *Numa*) to ſucceed *Tullus*. The new King began his reign, by endeavouring to reſtore *Rome* to the condition in which *Numa* had left it; to revive huſbandry, and the neglected worſhip of the Gods. He was ambitious of imitating his grandfather: But he ſoon found, that his devoting himſelf wholly to works of peace drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations.

The *Latines* pretending that their treaty with the *Romans* was no longer binding, than while King *Tullus* lived, had committed hoſtilities in the territory of *Rome*: *Ancus* determined to revenge it; nevertheleſs out of reſpect to the laws of *Numa*, he previouſly obſerved all the * forms appointed

* Every *Roman* had ordinarily three, and ſometimes four names. The firſt was called *Prænomen*, the ſecond *Nomen*, the third *Cognomen*, and the fourth *Agnomen*. The *Nomen* ſhowed the family from which he was deſcended: the *Prænomen* and *Cognomen* were often nick-names, taken from the circumſtances of the perſon's birth, or his defects, or his bodily qualities. And the laſt names were, to ſome, titles of honour, as thoſe of *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. *Valerius* aſſures us, that *Ancus Marcius* had his name of *Ancus* from the *Greek* word ἀγκὼν, becauſe he had a crooked arm.

† Theſe forms were as follow. A *Fecialis* was deputed to go to the *Latines*: he no ſooner arrived on the borders of that people, but he cried out, *Hear, great* Jupiter, *hear, ye confines of the* Latine *nation, let juſtice hear. I am a publick meſſenger from the* Roman *people, I come juſtly and religiouſly commiſſioned; let credit therefore be given to what I ſay.* After which he laid open his demands; and then, having called *Jupiter* to witneſs, he added theſe words: *If I have unjuſtly, and impiouſly made theſe demands* [*which were of perſons or goods to be delivered up to him*] *may'ſt thou never ſuffer me to return to my own country.* He repeated theſe words at his entring the *Latine* territory, then to the firſt perſon he met, then at the gate of the city, then in the market place. If in about thirty days his demands were not granted, he ſaid, O Jupiter, Juno, [*Mars, Quirinus, and all ye Gods of Heaven, of Earth, and of Hell; hearken! I call you*

No ſooner was the *Fecialis* returned, but the King referred the affair to the Senate, which he did in the form preſcribed by *Numa*, addreſſing himſelf to every particular Senator, in theſe very words: *Say, what think you of the refuſal which the* Pater Patratus, *and whole nation of the* Latines *have given the* Pater Patratus *of the* Romans, *of reſtoring and granting us what we demanded of them?* To which every Senator gave this anſwer: *Let us again demand our rights by juſt and lawful means: This is the opinion for which I declare myſelf.* And when the greater part of the Senators had declared their opinions in this manner, the war was conſidered as unanimouſly concluded on. Then the *Fecialis* went to the confines of the enemy's country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was either headed with iron, or burnt at the end, and dipped in blood. When he came to the territory of the *Latines*, he pronounced the following preſcribed form of words, in the preſence of at leaſt three perſons, not under 14 years of age. *On account of the damages which the ancient* Latines *have done the* Roman *people, and in obedience to a decree made by the Senate and People of* Rome, *importing, that war be declared againſt the ancient* Latines; *I, and the* Roman *People declare it and begin it.* At which words, he threw a dart upon the enemy's lands. All this ceremonial had been inſtituted by *Numa*; tho' that Prince

Year of ROME. ANCUS MARCIUS Fourth King.

pointed by him to be used in declaring war. He then raised an entirely new army, marched to *Politorium*, a *Latine* city, and surprized it. He shed no blood, nor destroyed the city, but transplanted the inhabitants to *Rome*; and these, with the inhabitants of *Tellene* and *Ficana*, two other cities of *Latium*, which he likewise took, he seated on the hill *Aventinus*, which he inclosed, and made a part of *Rome*, but without consecrating the boundaries.

The next year the *Latines* repeopled *Politorium*, which obliged *Ancus* to besiege it again; and, upon the second reduction of it, he demolished it entirely. After this he led his troops four years successively to the siege of *Medullia*, which he at length took and plundered. *Ficana*, which he had neglected to demolish, he reduced a second time, and now destroyed it. The *Latines*, not discouraged, appeared in the field, but being defeated in one pitched battle, they durst not venture another. They divided their troops into small parties, and contented themselves with making incursions into the *Roman* territory; and *Ancus*, to oppose them, made a like division of his army, which he left to the conduct of *Tarquinius*, (a foreigner lately come from *Hetruria*) and full of glory returned to his Capital.

§. II. *Rome* was exceedingly enlarged in this Prince's time, for, not content with carrying its walls round the *Aventine* hill, he likewise encompassed the hill *Janiculum*, (which stood on the other side of the *Tyber*) with a wall, and made it a sort of citadel for *Rome*; and in order to have a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge, called *Sublicius*, (the first perhaps known in *Italy*) over the *Tyber*, in that place where it washes the foot of the hill *Aventinus*. To suppress the licentiousness of the people, he next built a prison in the *Roman Forum*. And lastly, observing that *Rome* lay open to surprizes from an enemy, in those places where the country about it was low and flat, he caused a wide ditch to be dug there, which was ever after called *Fossa Quiritium*, because all the people were employed to make it.

When *Ancus* had finished these works of peace, the first enemies that felt the return of his martial disposition were the *Fidenates*, who being rebels, he did not send a *Fecialis* to them, but marched strait to *Fidenæ*, which he besieged and took by Sap; this being the first instance we meet with in *Roman* story of that kind of attack. He next marched against the *Sabines*, who, since the death of King *Tullus*, believing themselves discharged from the engagements they had entered into with *Rome*, had renewed hostilities. He quickly forced them to sue for peace, and they obtained it on easy terms. The four following years *Ancus* employed in enlarging the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, in building the port and city of *Ostia*,

D. Hal. B. 3. p. 172.

having never engaged in any war, had never put it in practice; and *Tullus*, who was of an active spirit, had not confined himself to these tedious formalities. But *Ancus Marcius* established the use of them; and from his time they were always practised. And it ought here to be observed, that at this time, no use was made of the King's name or authority in treaties; only the Senate and the People are mentioned.

and

and in distributing salt gratis on the first day. The distribution of salt which he made among his subjects at this time gave rise to those publick liberalities, called *Congiaria*, from the word *Congius*, a measure in use among the ancient *Romans*, containing about a gallon. After this he twice defeated the *Veientes*, and was decreed a triumph by the Senate; and, to reward the merit of *Tarquinius*, who had distinguished himself at the head of the *Roman* cavalry, the King promoted him to the rank of a *Patrician*, and Senator. The *Volsci* were next attacked, and *Velitræ*, their capital, besieged by *Ancus*; but the inhabitants, being reduced to extremity, and sending out their old men as suppliants, obtained first a truce, and afterwards a peace. The King of *Rome* then turned his arms against those of the *Sabines*, who had not yet been conquered. Success attended his expedition, and he returned triumphant to *Rome*, where he passed some time in tranquillity.

Year of ROME. Ancus Marcius Fourth King. *Plin.* l. 3. c. 7.

§. III. *ANCUS*, after a reign of 23 or 24 years, (in which, according to *Livy*, he shewed himself not inferior to any of his predecessors, either in civil or military government) is said by *Plutarch* to have died by violence; but other writers speak of his death as altogether natural. He left two sons, one an infant, the other near fifteen years of age, and both under the guardianship of *Tarquinius*, an able politician, who had found the secret to make himself equally the favourite of his master and of the people. *Life of Numa.*

CHAP. VI.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

§. I. *The politick management of* Tarquinius *to obtain the kingdom. He is elected King, and adds to the Senate* 100 *new Senators chose out of the* Plebeians. §. II. *The* Latines *renew the war against the* Romans. Tarquin, *by repeated victories over them, reduces them to sue for peace. At his return to* Rome, *he builds a* Circus *for the* Roman *games.* §. III. *He totally subdues the* 12 Lucumonies *of* Hetruria. §. IV. *He applies himself to cleanse and beautify* Rome. §. V. *He renews the war with the* Sabines. *He increases the number of the* Roman *Knights. The adventure of* Nævius *the* Augur. §. VI. Tarquin *subdues the* Sabines. §. VII. *He marks out the area of a temple to* Jupiter, Juno, *and* Minerva, *on the hill* Tarpeius, *afterwards called the* Capitol. *He marries one of his daughters to* Servius Tullius. §. VIII. *The sons of* Ancus *conspire the death of* Tarquin. *He is assassinated in his own palace. The stratagem of Queen* Tanaquil, *to secure the kingdom to her son-in-law, who takes possession of it, without being legally elected to the throne.*

§. I. TARQUINIUS was the son of *Demaratus*, a merchant of *Corinth*, who, to secure his great wealth from *Cypselus*, the Tyrant of that place, had retired with it to *Tarquinii*, one of the most considerable

Year of ROME CXXXIX. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

cities of *Hetruria*. The *Greek* merchant married there a woman of distinction, by whom he had two ſons, *Arruns* and *Lucumo*. The elder died before his father; and tho' he left his wife with child, yet his father not knowing it, and dying ſoon after him, left all his wealth to *Lucumo*: So that the poſthumous ſon of *Arruns*, diſinherited before he was born, took the melancholy name of *Egerius*, from *egere* TO WANT. *Lucumo*, now in poſſeſſion of all his father's immenſe riches, aſpired to the higheſt dignities in *Tarquinii*; and his wife *Tanaquil*, an *Hetrurian*, was no leſs ambitious than he of his advancement: But he being looked upon as a ſtranger, this hindered him from riſing to any conſiderable poſt. At the inſtigation of his wife therefore he reſolved to remove, with all his effects, to *Rome*, where merit never failed of being rewarded with honours. No ſooner was he admitted a citizen there, but he endeavoured to appear entirely *Roman*. He changed his names of *Lucumo Damaratus*, for thoſe of *Lucius Tarquinius*; artfully inſinuated himſelf into the King's favour; became popular by his liberalities and polite addreſs; and, leſt his great wealth ſhould create ſuſpicions of him, offered to depoſit it in the publick treaſury, to ſupply the wants of the city. Beſides all this, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military exploits, (the ſureſt ſteps to greatneſs,) and appeared to be no leſs able in council, than formidable in arms.

Tarquin as ſoon as the throne was vacant, turned his thoughts to bring on the election of a new King with the utmoſt expedition, before the elder of the late King's ſons ſhould be full fifteen; and, to keep him out of the ſight of the people during the *Comitia*, he ſent him a hunting in the country. This aſpiring *Greek* was the firſt who introduced into *Rome* the cuſtom of ſoliciting for offices, and openly making intereſt to obtain them. Nay he did not ſcruple to extol his own merit in a publick harangue, and to propoſe himſelf to the people for a ſucceſſor to *Ancus*. As he had already gained them by money and careſſes, he was choſen by a majority of votes; and the *Roman* people *commanded* him (for that was the term then uſed) to ſit down at the helm of affairs. And then to ſtrengthen his party in the *Senate*, he created an hundred new *Senators*, who were called *Senators Minorum Gentium*, becauſe choſen out of *Plebeian* families. But this name was never authorized by any publick act. They had the ſame authority in the Senate as the other Senators, and their children were deemed *Patricians*.

§. II. ALMOST all the nations ſubdued by the *Romans*, pretending that their treaties with them were no longer binding than during the lives of thoſe Princes by whom they had been ſubdued, *Tarquin* had inevitable wars to ſuſtain. The *Latines* were the firſt who attacked him, but not the whole nation of them jointly. *Tarquin* beſieged *Apiola*, took it by ſtratagem, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. The *Crustumini*, who had revolted, repented and ſubmitted; the King treated them mildly, but ſettled a *Roman* colony among them. *Nomentum* likewiſe experienced the clemency of *Tarquin* upon its ſubmiſſion. *Collatia* being more obſtinate, the King, after its reduction, diſarmed, and taxed the inhabitants,

and

and placed a garriſon there to keep it in ſubjection. He gave the ſovereignty of this city to *Egerius*, his brother *Arruns*'s ſon, who from thence took the name of *Collatinus*, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. *Corniculum* was beſieged next, and after a brave reſiſtance, was carried by aſſault, and reduced to aſhes.

Year of ROME. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

The fate of theſe cities induced ſeveral others to unite their forces to oppoſe the King's progreſs: But he defeated theſe forces in a bloody battel near *Fidenæ*; and then, taking advantage of the terror his victories occaſioned, ſollicited thoſe cities to enter into alliance with him; to which ſome of them conſented, chuſing rather to ſubmit to a ſort of dependance upon *Rome*, than to run the hazard of being reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. This ſubmiſſion ſo alarmed the reſt of *Latium*, that, in a national aſſembly held at *Ferentinum*, they came to a reſolution to employ their whole ſtrength to oppoſe the torrent that threatened them; and they engaged all *Sabinia*, and a part of *Hetruria* to join with them. In two actions the King vanquiſhed theſe confederate armies; and then thoſe *Latine* cities which had refuſed his alliance, ſued for it and obtained it.

Tarquin at his return to *Rome* after ſo many victories, had the honour of a *triumph*, and he applied the wealth he had brought from the conquered cities to the building a *Circus*[a] for the *Roman Games*, otherwiſe

[a] *Tarquin* was of a *Greek* family: and this led him to think of building a *Circus* at *Rome*, in imitation of the chief cities of *Greece*. The firſt *Circus* which was ever built, and was a pattern to all the reſt, was in *Elis*, where the *Olympic* games were celebrated.

It is certain the *Roman* games were alſo called, *The great games*: *Livy* aſſures us of it. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not from thence conclude, that all the ſports which were celebrated in the *Circus*, and which were called *Circenſes*, were *the great games*. Some were celebrated in the *Circus*, to *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. which were different from *the great* or *Roman games*: Nor were thoſe called *Megalenſes*, the ſame with *the great games*. The former were celebrated before the *Nones of April*, and the latter on the eve of the *Nones of September*. Beſides, *the Roman games* were inſtituted in honour of *the great gods*, whence they were called *the great games*; and the *Megalenſes* only in honour of *Cybele*. Laſtly, *the great games* were inſtituted by the elder *Tarquin*; and the *Megalenſes*, not till *Junius Brutus*'s time, who appointed them to the honour of *Cybele*, then called μεγαλόπολις, or *the Great Goddeſs*.

At one end of the *Circus* ſtood the poſts round which the chariots were obliged to turn; at the oppoſite end the chariots ſtarted, and on each ſide of the *Circus* the ſpectators ſate in two great galleries. It is certain, that the end where the turning-poſts ſtood, deſcribed a portion of a circle: and it is probable the oppoſite end where the chariots ſtarted, was ſemi-circular: But this is not abſolutely certain.

Dion. Hal. plainly tells us, that this *Circus* was three *Stadia* and a half long and four *Jugera* broad: and that 150000 men could ſit in it at their eaſe: but *Pliny* makes it only three *Stadia* long. He probably omitted the half *Stadium*, mentioned by the *Greek* hiſtorian, for the ſake of a round number. Nothing therefore remains, but to compute how long and wide the *Circus* was, according to our meaſures. Now *Pliny* tells us, *B. 2. ch. 3.* the length both of the *Roman Stadium* and *Jugerum*. The former, according to him, contained ſix hundred twenty-five *Roman* feet, each of which feet contained twelve inches, or ſixteen fingers-breadths: ſo that conſequently the *Circus*, as it was three *Stadia* and an half, muſt have been two thouſand one hundred and eighty-ſeven *Roman* feet long. And it being four *Jugera* broad, each of which *Jugera* contained, according to him, two hundred and forty *Roman* feet; it is from thence eaſy to infer,

Year of ROME.

TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

wise called the *Great Games*. The place chosen for this *Circus*, was in the valley which reached from the *Aventine* to the *Palatine* hill.

§ III. THE long war which this King waged with the *Hetrurians*, and the signal victories he gained over them, greatly advanced his glory, and both enabled and inclined him to introduce magnificence into his Court. *Hetruria* was a very large country, extending itself from the *Tyrrhenian* sea to the *Apennine* hills, and from *Liguria* to the *Tyber*. The *Latines* called the inhabitants of it sometimes *Tuscans*, and sometimes *Hetrurians*; but the *Greeks* more frequently, *Tyrrhenians*; who, possessing so much of the south coast of *Italy*, gave their name to the sea, which washes it. This great state was divided into twelve cantons called *Lucumonies**, which were subject to twelve heads, who governed them with a sort of sovereign authority, under the name of *Lucumons*. Sometimes one *Lucumony* made war by itself; at other times the *Hetrurians* all joined in a national body, in defence of their common interests.

Strabo, Pliny, Mela.

Tarquin having gained some advantages over certain of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies*, this awakened the jealousy of the whole nation. Besides, they had reason to complain of a want of justice in the King of *Rome*, who had not only refused audience to the Ambassadors they had sent to him with a reasonable demand, but had detained them as so many hostages for the obedience of the *Hetrurians*. The twelve *Lucumonies*, therefore, came to a resolution to make war upon the *Romans*; and it was decreed, that if any city of *Hetruria* stood neuter, it should be for ever cut off from the general alliance. They took the field, made themselves masters of *Fidenæ* by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, and ravaged the *Roman* territory. *Tarquin*, not being prepared, suffered them to go on without opposition till the next year, when he had put himself into a better condition to engage with them. He then divided his army into two bodies; the *Romans* he commanded himself, and gave the command of the allies to his cousin *Collatinus*. The latter by his ill conduct suffered a defeat: But the King routed the *Hetrurians*, first near *Veii*, and then under the walls of *Cære*.

Fidenæ being a key to the dominions of *Rome*, the conquest of it was of the utmost importance to her. The *Romans* therefore bent their forces that way, and after defeating the Enemy in a sharp engagement besieged the place, and took it. All those of the *Fidenates* who had been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were whipped to death; the rest sent into banishment, and their lands distributed by lot among the *Ro-*

infer, that the *Circus* was nine hundred sixty *Roman* feet broad, and consequently was above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the *Circus* was somewhat more than three *English* furlongs, very near half an *Italian* mile, or about a quarter of a *French* league.

* The names of the capital cities of the twelve *Lucumonies*, according to *Cluverius* and *Holstein*, *Clusium*, *Perusia*, *Cortona*, *Arretium*, *Volaterra*, *Vetulonium*, *Rusellæ*, *Tarquinii*, *Volsinii*, *Cære*, *Faleriі*, and *Veii*. *Hetruria* was long the mother of all the learning and politeness of the *Romans*: they sent their children thither to cultivate their minds, till the conquest of *Greece* furnished them with a better school.

man





Romans *in the* Toga.

new ſoldiers. Then *Tarquin* haſtened to attack the *Hetrurians* once more, before the whole ſtrength of the new army they were raiſing could be got together. He came up with them near *Eretum*, a ſmall city of the *Sabines*, and gave them an entire overthrow; for which the Senate decreed him a *triumph*. And now the *Lucumonies* deſpairing of any future ſucceſs againſt the *Romans*, ſent an humble deputation to aſk peace; which *Tarquin* granted without inſiſting on any other condition, than their owning his ſovereignty over them. To this they readily agreed, and ſent him all the enſigns of authority they had among them: a crown of gold; a throne of ivory; a ſcepter with an eagle on the top of it; a tunick embroidered with gold and adorned with the figures of palm branches; and a purple robe enriched with flowers of various colours. But the King deferr'd the making uſe of theſe ſtately ornaments, till the People and Senate had conſented to it by an expreſs decree: He then employed them in the decoration of his *triumph*, and never after laid them aſide. In *this triumph* he rode in a gilt chariot drawn by four horſes.

Year of ROME. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

§. IV. HAVING now an interval of reſt from his wars, he turned his thoughts to the fortifying, cleanſing, and beautifying the city. He undertook to build the walls of *Rome* of hewn ſtone, and drained the low grounds about the *Forum*, and between the hills, in order to the making thoſe *common ſewers*[b], which when made by the ſecond *Tarquin*, were among the

[a] This the *Latines* called *Tunica palmata*. It is true, authors ſometimes confound it with what they call *Toga picta*: but theſe were two different ornaments worn by thoſe who triumphed; and it is neceſſary to ſhew here the difference between them. The *Tunica palmata* was not, properly ſpeaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a veſt, which was partly hid under the robe. It at firſt had no ſleeves, and afterwards but very ſhort ones. As all the *Romans* wore *Tunicks*, they ſhewed the difference of their rank, by that of their *Tunicks*. Some ſewed upon theirs purple flowers, which were ſtuck on like the heads of nails; and hence comes the word *Laticlavium*. Only the chief Magiſtrates and Senators, and general officers of the army, could wear theſe. The inferior Magiſtrates, the *Roman* Knights, and ſome other officers in the army, wore indeed *Tunicks* with purple flowers; but theſe flowers were ſmaller than the others: and from hence comes the name *Anguſticlavium*. As for thoſe who triumphed, of whom we are now ſpeaking, they, inſtead of embroidered flowers, wore purple *Palm Branches* upon their tunics, thence called *Tunicæ palmatæ*. The *Toga picta*, ſome think, was a robe common among the *Romans*, only of a purple colour: And as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a ſort of very long mantle, which hung in great folds quite down to the ground, and which they put on upon their right ſhoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. The robes of the Senators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as their *Tunicks*; and thoſe of the Knights with ſmaller. And the *Robes* of thoſe who triumphed were likewiſe probably adorned with palm-branches, as their *Tunicks* were. At leaſt, it is certain they were made of rich ſtuffs, and had ſome gold in them: and they were called *Togæ picæ*. Only two perſons ever had the privilege of wearing them out of a triumph, and in common, *Paulus Æmilius* and *Pompey*.

[b] All the arches of theſe common-ſewers were of hard ſtone, and neither expence nor labour was ſpared to make the work durable. Their height and breadth were ſo conſiderable, that a cart loaded with hay could eaſily paſs through them. But the greateſt difficulty of the work was, to convey the waters (which through theſe ſewers were to carry off the filth) into the *Tyber*. It was neceſſary to cut through hills, and under the city, through rocks, a channel large enough for a navigable ſtream, and covered with arches ſtrong enough to bear the weight of houſes, which were often built upon them, and ſtood as firm as on the moſt ſolid foundations. The expence of this incomparable work was never ſo well underſtood as when it came to be repaired. The *Cenſors* gave no leſs than a thouſand *Talents* to him who undertook to cleanſe theſe ſewers.

wonders

Year of ROME. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

wonders of the world. He likewiſe adorned the *Forum*, ſurrounded it with galleries, made ſhops in it for bankers and money-changers, erected temples, ſchools for the youth of both ſexes, and halls for the adminiſtration of publick juſtice.

§. V. *TARQUIN* after ſome time ſpent in theſe works of peace, entered into a new war with the *Sabines*, on pretence of their having aſſiſted the *Hetrurians*; and he came to a battle with them, which laſted the whole day. The advantage was ſo equal on both ſides, that the two armies ſtood in awe of each other, and retired into their reſpective countries, without committing any further hoſtilities the reſt of the campaign. During this ceſſation of arms, *Tarquin*, conſidering that he had often been hindred from ſufficiently purſuing the advantages of a victory, for want of horſe, reſolved to add ſome new bodies of Knights to thoſe of the firſt inſtitution: But as the firſt diviſion of the horſe into three *corps*, had been determined by *Auguries*, *Attius Navius*, the moſt famous Augur of that time, oppoſed the King's deſign as irreligious. *Tarquin* could not perſuade himſelf that the Augur was ſerious in this oppoſition, and therefore ſent for the diviner into his preſence, being reſolved to confound and diſcredit, in him, that divining art, which ſuperſtition maintained to the diminution of the Royal Authority.

Livy, B. 1. ch. 36. *D. Hal.* B. 3. and *Florus.*

As ſoon as *Navius* appeared before *Tarquin*, in the midſt of the *Forum*, and in the ſight of all the people, the King ſaid to him, *Diviner, canſt thou diſcover by thy art, whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not? Go and conſult thy birds.* The *Augur* did as he was ordered, and returning quickly, anſwered, *Yes*, Tarquin, *my art tells me, that what you are thinking of may be done.* Upon which *Tarquin*, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied with a contemptuous ſmile, *I was thinking whether it were poſſible to cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy own craft; the introducing the Gods into thy deciſions is all cheat and impoſture. If thou canſt perform what is impoſſible, do.* At theſe words the people burſt out into laughter, whilſt *Navius* alone diſcovered no emotion. He addreſſed himſelf to the King with an air of aſſurance, and ſaid, [a] *Put the razor to the flint, and try; I readily ſubmit to any puniſhment, if what you thought of be not done.* Upon trial, the razor paſſed through the flint ſo eaſily and ſo ſuddenly, that, *Tarquin* having given more force to it than was neceſſary, it wounded and drew blood from his hand. The people hereupon gave a great ſhout, the King's contempt for the *Augur* turned into admiration, and, from this time, the augural ſcience had a higher degree of credit in *Rome* than ever before. (*Tarquin* afterwards erected a ſtatue of braſs to the memory of *Navius*, in the place called *Comitium*, where the publick aſſemblies were held; and there it continued till the time of *Auguſtus*: The razor and flint, kept as monuments of the miracle, were depoſited near the ſtatue, under an altar, at which they ſwore witneſſes in civil cauſes.)

But

[a] *Livy* ſays, *Navius* took the flint into his own hands, and cut it, in *Tarquin*'s preſence.

[b] The reader will no doubt think it ſtrange that an event related with ſo many circumſtances,

Year of ROME.

TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

But tho' *Tarquin* laid aſide his project of increaſing the number of the *Corps* of horſe, he increaſed the number of the Knights in each *Corps*; making the *Roman* cavalry amount in all to 1800 men.

§. VI. WITH this reinforcement the King marched out to renew the war with the [a] *Sabines*, who had got ſuccours from *Hetruria*, and were encamped near *Fidenæ*, by the place where the *Anio* joins the *Tyber*. The *Hetrurians*, poſted on one bank of the *Tyber*, and the *Sabines*, on the other, had a communication by a bridge of boats. *Tarquin*, who had pitched his camp upon the *Anio*, at a little diſtance from the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the *Tyber*, perceived, that the current of that little river would carry into the *Tyber* any thing, which was ſent down it; and that if the ſame wind, which then blew, continued, it would, with a little help, carry barks up the *Tyber* againſt the ſtream, and bring them to the enemy's bridge. With this view, he built flat-bottom boats, like rafts, and loaded them with dry wood, ſulphur and roſin: and in the night, while the wind continued favourable to his deſign, he ſent theſe fire-ſhips, ſome down the *Anio*, and others up the *Tyber*, at the ſame time; ſo that the bridge, being thus inveſted on both ſides with fire, was quickly all in a flame. The *Sabines* ran inſtantly to extinguiſh it; and, as is very frequent on ſuch unforeſeen and ſudden accidents, left their camp unguarded. *Tarquin*, who, to attack it, had, with the beſt part of his forces, marched out of his intrenchments while it was yet dark, was by break of day maſter of it. On the other bank, a detachment, which by his order had paſſed the *Tyber* in the night, fell ſuddenly upon the camp of the *Hetrurians*, in the inſtant that the bridge of boats took fire, which was the ſignal the King had given. The enemy, diſconcerted and routed on both ſides of the river, periſhed, ſome of them by the flames, others by the ſword, and others by leaping into the *Tyber*, to ſave themſelves; and their arms which floated down the ſtream, carried the news of the victory to *Rome*, before the couriers, diſpatched by the King, arrived there. *Livy*, B. 1.

After this, *Tarquin* would give his enemies no reſt, but immediately entered the territory of the *Sabines*; whoſe misfortunes had not yet abated

ſtances, reported by all the writers of the *Roman* Hiſtory, and adopted even by ſome of the Fathers of the church, who without queſtioning it, imputed it to magick, ſhould be a mere fabulous invention: and yet this is the judgment which *Tully* himſelf formed of it, tho' an *Augur*. *Look with contempt*, ſays he to his brother *Quintus*, *look with contempt on the razor and flint of the famous* Attius; *when we reaſon as philoſophers, we ought to lay no ſtreſs upon fables.* Cic. B. 1. de Div.

[a] This war of the *Sabines* in conjunction with the *Hetrurians*, may perhaps be thought miſplaced, the *Romans* having made peace with the *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria*, from the time that *Tarquin* triumphed for his victory over them. Nor is it improbable, that this war of the *Sabines* againſt *Rome*, might be ſome years before their other wars which are mentioned immediately after it. But as the hiſtorians have not given us the exact dates of theſe *Sabine* wars, they are here related in one continued chain, to the triumph of *Tarquin the Elder*, upon the entire reduction of the *Sabines*. We have by this means in one view, thoſe events which did not perhaps immediately follow one another: which may ſerve for an excuſe to the reader for the anachroniſm, ſince he has notice given him of it.

Year of ROME. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

their courage. They ventured to face the *Romans*, with an army tumultuously aſſembled. Being once more routed, they ſued for peace; but the King did not think fit to grant them more than a truce.

This truce was no ſooner expired, than the *Sabines* paſſed the *Anio*, and made incurſions on the territory of *Rome*; but tho' they were equal in numbers and bravery to the *Romans*, *Tarquin*, in a pitched battle, defeated them by the ſtratagem of detaching a body of horſe, which fetched a compaſs and came upon their rear during the action. The *Sabines* imputing their ill ſucceſs to the incapacity of their General, choſe a more experienced Commander for the next campaign. The King of *Rome* appeared early in the field, and ſhewed himſelf to the enemy: and when he found that their new General, not having got together all his troops, avoided a battle, and kept within his camp, he blockaded him there, and reduced him to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions: however, the latter, taking the advantage of a dark ſtormy night, marched his army ſecretly out of his entrenchments, and ſtole off; and thus the campaign ended.

The next year, the *Sabines*, pleaſed with the conduct of their General, took courage again, enliſted all their youth capable of bearing arms, and formed a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies. *Tarquin* on the other ſide augmented his forces with troops from *Latium*, *Hetruria*, and all his allies, and divided them into three armies, which were always to encamp near each other. He commanded the *Romans* himſelf, put his nephew *Collatinus* at the head of the *Hetrurians*, and gave the command of the *Latines* and other allies to *Servius Tullius*, a foreigner who had been a ſlave, and had ſince obtained the privileges of a *Roman* citizen. The battle laſted the whole day; and *Tarquin* obtained the victory; but not till he had inſpired his men with freſh courage, by making a vow to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, to build them a magnificent temple. While he was marching afterwards to beſiege the *Sabine* cities, they ſent Deputies to him to ſue for peace, offering to give him poſſeſſion of their fortified places, and of all their country, if he would grant them tolerable conditions. He treated them favourably, as he had done the *Hetrurians*; and then, returning to *Rome*, entered it in triumph, and with the ſame pomp as after the conqueſt of *Hetruria*.

§. VII. THE victorious King did not forget his vow to build a temple to *Jupiter*, *Juno* and *Minerva*. He level'd the top of the hill *Tarpeius* (formerly *Saturnius*) marked out the plan of the temple, and laid the foundations of it. *Navius* the *Augur*, having been conſulted about what part of *Rome Jupiter* would like beſt to be placed in, had declared for the hill *Tarpeius*: but then a difficulty aroſe about removing the Gods, who had already got poſſeſſion of this hill, without giving them offence. By the help of *Augury*, it was diſcovered, that they were all willing to be removed, except the God *Terminus*, and the Goddeſs *Youth*, who having no mind to go, were afterwards incloſed within the walls of the temple, the *Area* of which was now dedicated by *Navius*.

D. Hal. B. 3. p. 192.

This

Year of ROME. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

This famous *Augur* ſoon after diſappeared. He was ſuppoſed to be murdered; and the people were very inquiſitive after the authors of his death. The ſons of *Ancus Marcius* endeavoured to fix the calumny upon the King, and accuſed him publickly. *Tarquin* attempted in vain to appeaſe the tumult which they excited; *Servius Tullius*, the King's ſon-in-law, and the moſt popular man in *Rome*, was obliged to employ all his credit to quiet the rage of the people. At length the falſeneſs of the accuſation being known, the ſons of *Ancus* were deteſted for having raiſed the ſlander. However, *Tarquin* pardoned them, in conſideration of the favours he had received from their father.

He was more ſevere to *Pinaria*, a proſtitute *Veſtal*. He cauſed her to be buried alive, and the man, who had diſhonoured her, to be whipped to death. Nevertheleſs, he did not loſe his eſteem for the claſs of *Veſtals*; on the contrary, he added two to their number, augmenting it to ſix.

§. VIII. *TARQUIN* being now eighty years old (of which he had reigned 37) and drawing near his end, the ambition of the ſons of *Ancus* grew more active. They always remembered with indignation the arts by which their guardian had ſecured to himſelf their father's kingdom, nor could they brook to ſee a foreigner ſit upon the *Roman* throne to their prejudice: But when they perceived that the kingdom was not likely to paſs to them, even after the death of *Tarquin*, but that *Servius Tullius* would probably ſucceed his father-in-law, they no longer ſet any bounds to their reſentment. *What!* ſaid they, *while we, the ſons of* Ancus Marcius, *are living, ſhall the* Roman *throne lye open, not only to ſtrangers, but even to ſlaves?* Nevertheleſs, they bent their fury rather againſt the life of *Tarquin* than of *Servius*, both becauſe the revenge of a King was more to be dreaded than that of a private man, and becauſe, ſhould they deſtroy *Servius*, *Tarquin* might provide himſelf another ſon-in-law to ſucceed him. The method they took to compaſs the death of the old King was this: They hired two young men who dreſſed themſelves like peaſants, with hatchets on their ſhoulders as if they were wood-cleavers: Theſe going near the King's palace pretended to have a quarrel about ſome goats. The noiſe they made reaching the inmoſt rooms of the palace brought the officers of the Court about them, who carried them before the King, to whom they both appealed. At firſt they began to bawl and rail at each other till they were reſtrained by a *Lictor*, and ordered to ſpeak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his ſtory, and, while the King was wholly attentive to it, the other lifting up his hatchet gave him a great cut in the head; after which, leaving his weapon in the wound, he inſtantly ran out of doors with his fellow. But, while ſome of the company haſtened to aſſiſt the wounded King, others purſued the ruffians and ſeized them; and being put to the torture, they confeſſed by whom they had been employ'd. By this time there was a great concourſe of people at the palace wondering at the attempt, and curious to know the event.

Year of ROME CLXXIV.

TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

Queen *Tanaquil* did not loſe her preſence of mind on this occaſion. She cleared the palace of the crowd, ſhut herſelf up in the apartment of the expiring King, with only her ſon-in-law, *Servius Tullius*, his wife, and *Ocriſia* his mother, and preſſed him to aſcend the throne, that *Tarquin*'s two grandſons[a] might be ſafe under his protection. *Servius, if thou art a man, the kingdom is thine, and not theirs who have committed the greateſt villany by the hands of other men. Take courage then, and follow the Gods thy conductors, who foretold thy future glory by the divine*[b] *fire which ſhone round thy head. Let that celeſtial flame now warm thee. Rouze thyſelf in earneſt. We who were ſtrangers have reigned here. Think who thou art, not of whom thou waſt born; and if thy counſels are at a ſtand by reaſon of this unexpected accident, follow mine.* She then opened the window which looked upon the ſtreet, and bid the people be in no concern; ſhe told them that the wound was not deep, that the King was ſtunned with the ſudden blow, but was come to himſelf again, and ſhe hoped they would ſee him very ſhortly; that in the mean time he ordered them to obey *Servius Tullius*, who would adminiſter juſtice to them, and perform all other Kingly Offices. This ſtratagem ſucceeded. The report, that the King would ſoon be well again, and appear in publick, being ſpread and believed, this ſo terrified the ſons of *Ancus*, that they went of their own accord into baniſhment.

The ſecond day after the murder of *Tarquin*, *Servius Tullius*, attended by the *Lictors*, ſat on the throne in the royal robes, and heard cauſes; ſome he decided, and upon others he pretended he would conſult the King. As it became him to revenge the attempt againſt the perſon of his Sovereign, he accordingly cited the ſons of *Ancus* to appear before his tribunal; and, upon their non-appearance, they were declared infamous, and their eſtates confiſcated. The Regent continued for ſome time to act this part, and ſo managed his affairs, as to gain the hearts of the *Romans*, by his prudent adminiſtration. At length, when he thought his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, the death of *Tarquin* was proclaimed as a thing recent, with loud lamentations, and *Servius* performed magnificent obſequies for him: after which, without being legally elected King, either by[c] Senate or People, he continued to hold the reins of Government, appearing in publick with a ſtrong guard, and with all the enſigns of royalty.

[a] It is much conteſted whether the children here ſpoken of, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Arunx*, were the ſons or grandſons of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. *Dion. Hal.* contends warmly for the latter opinion.

[b] A report had been carefully propagated, that when *Servius* was a child, and aſleep, a ſudden light or flame, in form of a crown, encompaſſed and reſted upon his head.

[c] *Livy* ſays, that *Servius Tullius* took poſſeſſion of the kingdom with the conſent of the *Fathers*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

§. I. *The Birth and Education of* Servius Tullius. *The honours he pays to the Goddeſs* Fortune *upon his elevation to the Throne.* §. II. *The Patricians conſpire to diſpoſſeſs him. He gains the people to his intereſt, is legally elected King by the* Curiæ, *and though the Senate refuſes to confirm this election, keeps poſſeſſion.* §. III. Servius *defeats the rebellious* Hetrurians. *He enlarges* Rome, *and adds a fourth Tribe to the three old ones. He inſtitutes the* Compitalia *in favour of ſlaves. He divides the* Roman *territory with its inhabitants into* TRIBES. *He marries his two daughters to* Lucius Tarquinius *and* Aruns, *the grandſons of the late King. He ſubdues the* Hetrurians. §. IV. Servius *divides the* Roman *citizens into ſix* CLASSES, *and theſe into* CENTURIES. *He inſtitutes the* CENSUS *and the* LUSTRUM, *and coins money.* §. V. *He gives the* LIBERTI *or* Freed-men *the privilege of* Roman *Citizens.* §. VI. *He reforms the Regal Power, and executes a ſcheme for ſecuring to the* Romans *the fidelity and friendſhip of the* Latines *and* Sabines. §. VII. *The wicked intrigues of* Tarquin *and the younger* Tullia. Tarquin *accuſes the King of uſurpation before the Senate.* Servius *pleads his cauſe there, but appeals to the People, and is by them confirm'd on the throne.* §. VIII. Tarquin *regains the King's favour by ſubmiſſions, but ſoon after cauſes him to be murdered and uſurps the kingdom.*

§. I. *SERVIUS Tullius*, the ſixth King of *Rome*, was the ſon of *Ocriſia*, a woman of extraordinary beauty and diſtinguiſhed virtue, taken captive at the ſacking of *Corniculum*: but who his father was is uncertain. *Dionyſius* reports, that one *Tullius*, a warrior of royal extraction, and killed in the defence of that city, was the huſband of *Ocriſia*, and at his death left his wife with child of this ſon. *Tarquin* made a preſent of the fair captive to Queen *Tanaquil*, who being ſoon after apprized of her quality and merit, conceived a particular eſteem for her and reſtored her to freedom. Nevertheleſs, *Ocriſia*'s ſon, being born while ſhe was yet in a ſtate of *ſervitude*, had thence the name of *Servius*. This is *Dionyſius*'s account. But *Plutarch* will have *Ocriſia* to have been a virgin at the time of her falling into captivity, and to have afterwards married one of the King's clients, by whom ſhe had *Servius Tullius*. Nor have there been wanting writers who have given this Prince a divine origin and made him the ſon of *Vulcan*, a fable which probably owed its riſe to another fable, reported for truth by *Tanaquil* and *Ocriſia*, of a ſudden flame, in form of a crown, which ſurrounded the head of *Servius* when he was a child and aſleep.

From ſuch different accounts, as alſo from the ſilence of the Capitoline marbles on this head, 'tis pretty certain that nothing was leſs known to the

Year of ROME CLXXV to CCXIX.

SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

B. 4. p. 198.

Plut. de Fort. Rom. p. 323.

See *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 199.

Year of *ROME.*

SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

hiſtorians than the true* deſcent of *Servius*. In theſe things however they all agree, That King *Tarquin* and his Queen had the ſame tenderneſs for the ſon of *Ocriſia* as if he had been their own offspring, and took the ſame care of his education; and that, nevertheleſs, it was chiefly to his own wife, noble, and uniform conduct that he owed his gradual elevation to the higheſt ſtep of honour.

Servius Tullius diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military atchievements, even before he was arrived to the age of manhood. The reputation of a brave warrior, which he then acquired, increaſed as he advanced in years; and this, with his amiable polite manners, his eloquence, and his extraordinary ability in council, ſo gained him the eſteem and affection of the people, that with unanimous approbation he was raiſed to the rank of a Patrician and to a place in the Senate. The King and Queen nevertheleſs did not originally intend him the honour of an alliance with the Royal Family. They married him to *Gegania* a *Roman* lady of illuſtrious birth; and it was only after her death that they firſt thought of giving him their daughter *Tarquinia*; but after this alliance the King repoſed an intire confidence in him for the management both of his domeſtick concerns, and the affairs of the publick; in which latter *Servius* acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the people were quite indifferent whether they were governed by him or *Tarquin*; and this it was that made it ſo eaſy for him to ſeat himſelf on the throne upon the death of his father-in-law.

Plut. de Fort. Rom.

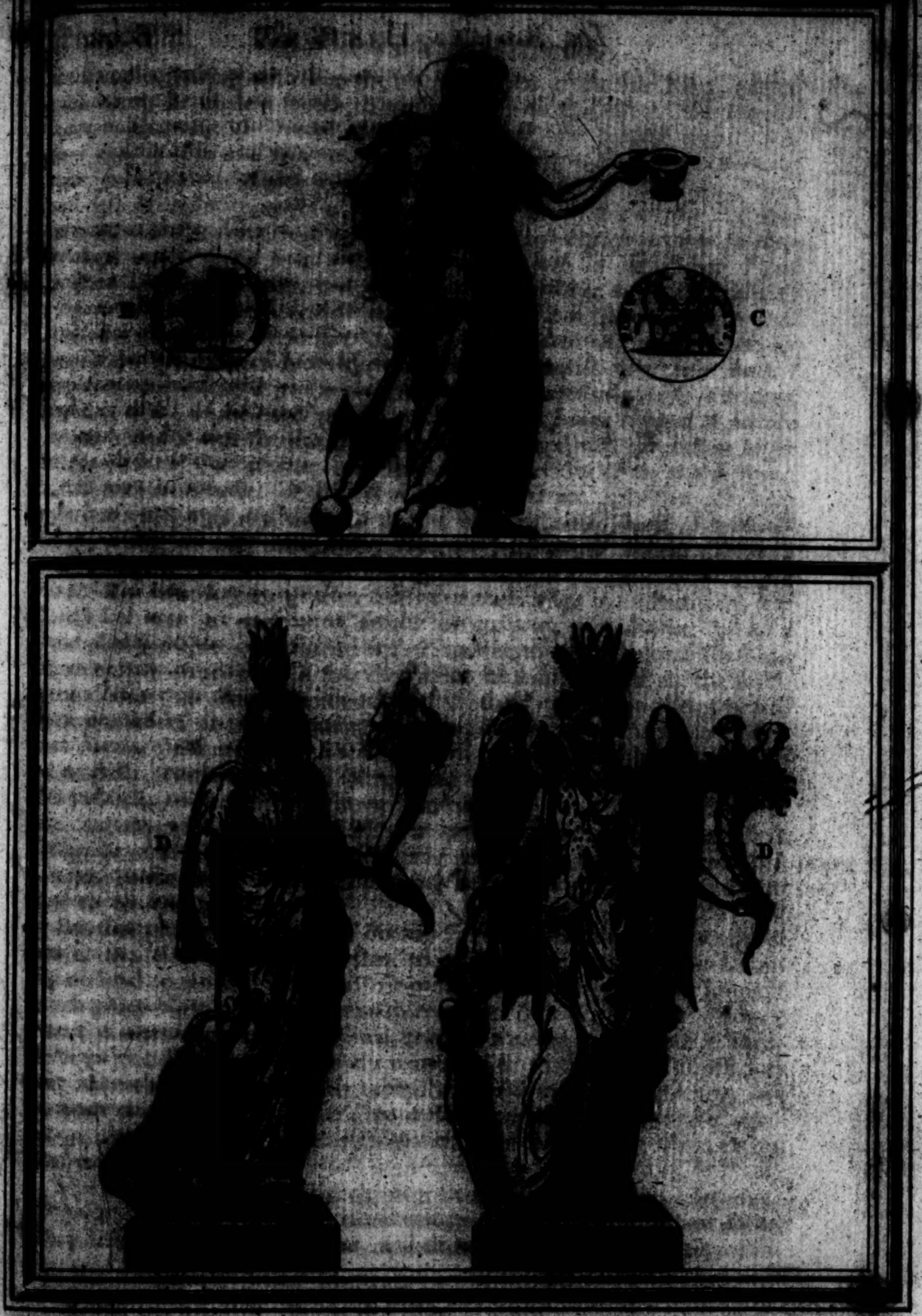
As *Servius*, notwithſtanding his ſuperior merit, looked upon himſelf to be wholly indebted to *Fortune* for his grandeur, the firſt homage he paid, after he was King, was to this Goddeſs; and he erected an incredible number of altars and temples to her, ſtiling her by various epithets: And being reſolved to make the peaceful *Numa* his pattern, and aſpire to fame by eſtabliſhing as much order in the civil polity of *Rome* as that wiſe Prince had done in the religious, he, like him, pretended to have private converſations with a Goddeſs, and *Fortune* was his *Egeria*.

Plut. Quæſt. Rom. p. 281.

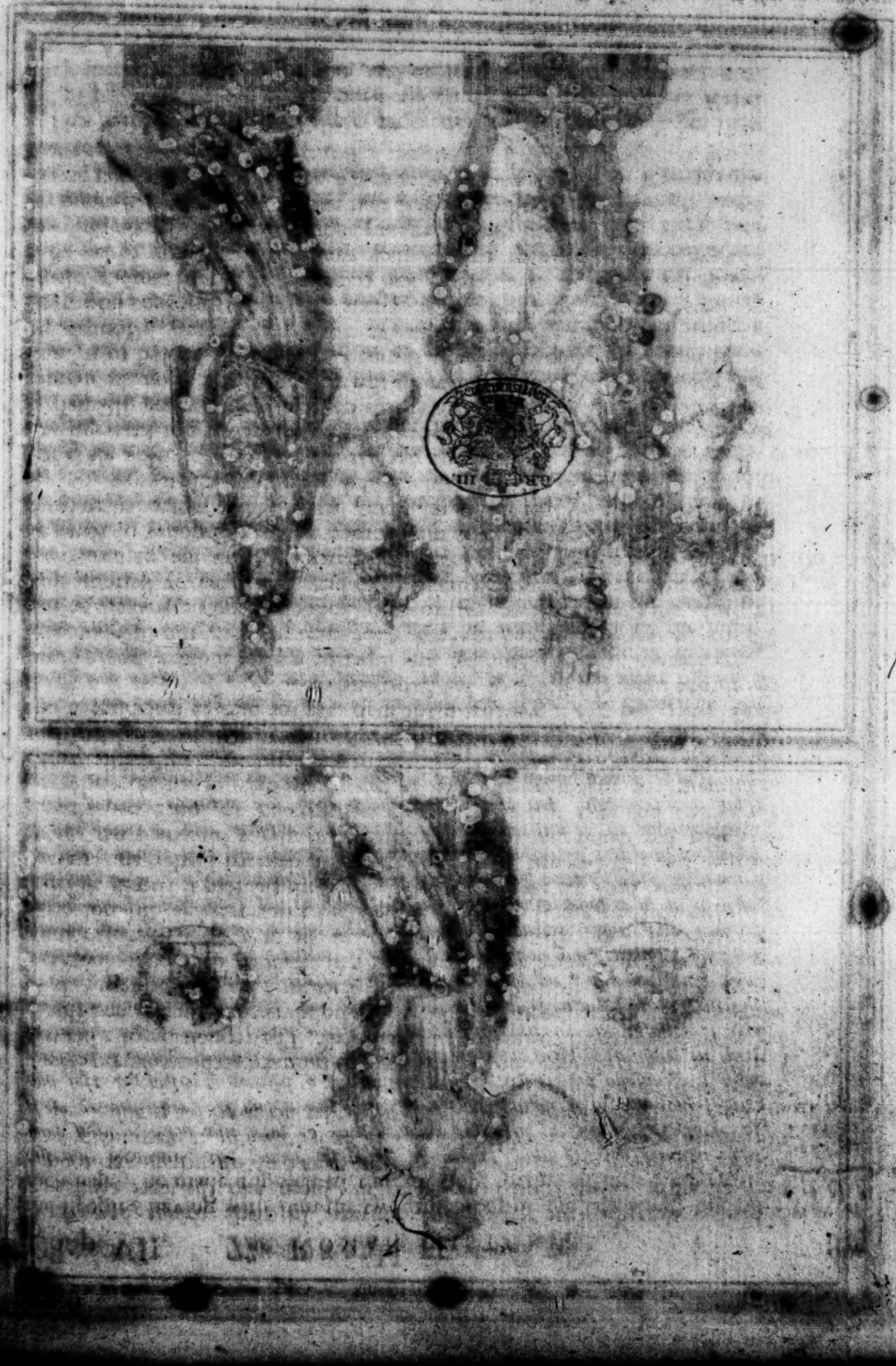
§. II. BUT how much ſoever *Servius* had been favoured by his Goddeſs in poſſeſſing himſelf of the government, the beginning of his reign was not without diſturbances. The *Patricians* eſpecially were much diſſatisfy'd with the little reſpect he had ſhewn to the ancient uſages, upon the demiſe of a King. He had aſcended the throne without being elected to it, and only as a Regent; there had been no *Interregnum* as formerly. Complaints of theſe things were firſt drop'd in private aſſemblies, but ſoon improved into almoſt a general conſpiracy; and the Senators agreed among themſelves, that the firſt time they met, they would force the King to lay aſide his royalty. *Servius*, in this emergency, applied himſelf to gain the people, and employ their power againſt that of the *Patricians*. Among his other natural endowments, he had a ready and lively eloquence, proper to make impreſſions on a multitude. When therefore he had convened

* Father *Catrou* thinks it ſtrange that none of the hiſtorians have made *Tarquin* himſelf the Father of *Servius*; but would it not have been more ſtrange if any of them had, ſince *Tarquin* thought fit to marry him to one of his daughters?

the



A Fortuna Virilis. B. *The reverse of a Medal of* Faustina the Younger *with this inscription,* FORTUNA. MULIEBRIS. C. *The reverse of a Medal of* Commodus, *on which we see a* Fortune *holding a Horn by the Girdle with this inscription,* FORTUNA. MANENTI. D.D. *Two other Figures of* Fortune. *The wings and the* Cornu-Copiæ *denote the inconstancy of this False Goddess in the distribution of her Treasures. The two heads issuing out of the* Cornu-Copiæ, *represents according to some* Jupiter, *and* Juno; *according to others, the* Sun *and* Moon.



Year of ROME. Servius Tullius Sixth King.

the People, having with him the two grandſons of the late King, one on each hand, he made a ſpeech to the aſſembly to this effect. *See here, illuſtrious* Romans, *the tender offspring of one of your greateſt Kings. The bare ſight of them will bring to your remembrance the virtues and victories of their grandfather. A melancholy death, and cruel parricide robbed you of him, and left his poſterity expoſed to the artifices and fury of his aſſaſſins. I alone received a charge from the dying King to protect theſe helpleſs children in their infancy: and to this I found myſelf pre-engaged, both by the alliance I had made in* Tarquin's *family, and by the favours heap'd on me by that generous Prince. Be you,* Romans, *their joint guardians with me; and whatever gratitude you owe me for the ſervices I have formerly done you, which I need not remind you of, let it all be transferred to theſe my pupils. But why ſhould I employ many words with you in their favour? You know what is fit to be done, and will do it. I ſhall now only tell you the benefits I have reſolved to procure for you; and it was for this reaſon I called you together. You ſhall no longer be the ſlaves of your creditors, nor bear the chief burthen of the publick taxes. I will provide remedies for both theſe evils. It is not juſt, that the lands which are conquered at the expence of your toils and blood, ſhould be diſtributed only among the moſt audacious of the great; whilſt you continue without a foot of land of your own, and are obliged to cultivate the eſtates of others for hire. You have long enough born the contemptuous uſage of the* Patricians *who hardly look upon you as freemen, becauſe you are poor. I will never reſt till I have eſtabliſhed you in perfect liberty.* Nor was this harangue of the King mere empty words: for a few days after he commanded all the inſolvent debtors to ſend him an account of their debts, and the names of their creditors; and then cauſing compting-houſes to be opened in the *Roman Forum*, he there paid all with his own money. He likewiſe publiſhed an edict, commanding all ſuch as had uſurped any lands belonging to the publick, to quit them at an appointed time; and ordered thoſe of the citizens, who had no land of their own, to petition for them. And, laſtly, he made ſome new laws, which retrench'd certain pretended privileges, made uſe of by the *Patricians*, in their law-ſuits with the *Plebeians*, to vex and oppreſs them. *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 236.

But though the inclinations of *Servius Tullius* led him more to works of peace, and civil government, than to military exploits, he found himſelf obliged to embark in a war. It proved a very long one, but brought much glory both to the *Roman* people, and to their King. The *Veientes*, whom *Tarquin* had often ſubdued, refuſed now to recogniſe the Sovereignty of *Rome*, and had lately treated with ſcorn ſome ambaſſadors ſent from thence to claim their ſubmiſſion. *We entered*, ſaid they, *into no treaty with the ſon of a ſlave; nor will we ever ſubmit to* Servius's *dominion.* Tarquin *is dead, and our obligations to be ſubject to the* Romans *are dead with him.*

This confidence of the *Veientes* proceeded partly from the hopes they had of profiting by the diſſentions between the King and Senate of *Rome*. They therefore prepared for war, and drew two other *Lucumonies*, *viz.* thoſe

Year of ROME. SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

thoſe of *Cære* and *Tarquinii*, into their party. But *Servius*, by his courage and conduct ſubdued theſe confederates, and, judging it proper to make them examples of ſeverity, becauſe they had been the aggreſſors, he deprived them of their lands, and transferred the property of them to ſuch of the new citizens of *Rome*, as had yet no lands of their own: After which, ſupported by his own glory and the favour of the people, he obtained the honours of a *Triumph*, in ſpight of the hatred of the Senate.

D. Hal. B. 4. p. 222.

The Senators now finding the People entirely well affected to the King, ſuppreſſed their complaints, leſt if they inſiſted on an *Interregnum*, it ſhould occaſion a legal election of *Servius* by the *Curiæ*. This Prince had too much penetration not to ſee into the myſtery of their policy, and therefore reſolved to make advantage of the preſent favour of the multitude, to render his title to the throne leſs diſputable. He aſſembled the citizens, and, in a moving ſpeech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a deſign formed by the *Patricians* to take away his life and to bring back the ſons of *Ancus*, *And this*, ſaid he, *for no other reaſon but the kindneſs I have ſhewn to the* Plebeians. In the concluſion of this harangue he left the kingdom abſolutely to their diſpoſal, and begged them to determine between him and his pupils on one ſide, and their competitors on the other. *If you give ſentence againſt us, theſe children, with the reſt of* Tarquin's *family and blood, ſhall immediately leave the city. As for me, I have lived long enough for the views of virtue and glory: nor when I have once loſt the hearts of you, my people, which I value above all things elſe, will I conſent to drag on an ignominious life among ſtrangers. Take then theſe* faſces, *and if you ſo think fit, give them to the* Patricians; *I will trouble you no more with my preſence.* As he ended theſe words he ſtepp'd down haſtily from the *Tribunal*, in order to leave the aſſembly; but they called to him to ſtay, intreated him to be their King, and even uſed violence to ſtop him. Some cried out, *Let the* Curiæ *be aſſembled, that we may elect* Servius *without delay.* Accordingly a day was appointed; and, when the day came, he was choſen King. However the Senate could never be brought to confirm this election; and their faction was ſo formidable, that *Servius* deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people: but imparting his perplexities to *Tanaquil*, ſhe encouraged him, and even took an oath of him, whereby he engaged himſelf not to reſign the kingdom. This magnanimous Queen died ſoon after; and the King, to immortalize her domeſtick virtues, the true glory of a woman, hung up her diſtaff in the temple of *Hercules*.

Plut. de Fort. Rom.

§. III. AS *Servius* was now reſolved to continue on the throne, the *Hetrurians* furniſhed him with an opportunity to augment his glory. His victory over them obtain'd him the honour of a ſecond *Triumph*. An interval of reſt after this war he dedicated to the enlarging and adorning the city. *Romulus* had incloſed at firſt only the hill *Palatinus*, and afterwards added the hill *Tarpeius*; to theſe *Numa* joined the *Quirinalis*: *Tullus Hoſtilius* took in the hill *Cælius*; *Ancus Marcius* incloſed mount

Aventine



A Plan of Rome containing its [illegible] of Servius Tullius to that of



1. The Forum Romanum.
2. The Via Sacra.
3. The Carinæ.
4. The Great Circus.
5. The Ox-market.
6. The Velabrum Tuscan Street.
7. The New Street.
8. The Temple of Vesta.
9. The Curia Hostilia.
10. The Temple of Jupiter Stator.
11. The Temple of Quirinus.
12. A Temple dedic.d to Fortune.
13. The Temple of Fortuna Virilis.
14. The Temp.le of Jupiter Capitolinus.
15. The Temple of Fidius.
16. The Temple of Quirinus.
17. The Temple of Health.
18. The Temple of Saturn.
19. Hostilius's Palace.
20. The Temp.le of Juno Lucina.
21. Servius Tullius's Palace.
22. The Temple of Peace.
23. The Temp.le of Jupiter Tonitrius.
24. The Temple of Diana.
25. The Temple of Victory.
26. The Temple of Queen Juno.

G. Viminalis.
G. Collatina.
G. Collina.
Tarquin's Bullwark.
G. Pincia.
The Tribe.
Collina
The Hill Viminalis
Suburra.
The Hill of Gardens or of Pincus.
The
G. Flumentalis.
Campus
Martius.
G. Carmentalis
The Bridge Sublicius.
The Janiculus.
G. of the Janiculus.

…g its Several Additions from the time
…hat of its being taken by the Gauls.



27. The Campus Sceleratus.
28. The Temple of Venus Cloacina.
29. The Temple of Apollo.
30. The Temple of Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine.
31. The Temple of Castor & Pollux.
32. The Temple of Faith.
33. The Temple of Good Fortune.
34. The Temple of the Elder Fortune.
35. The Temple of Obedient Fortune.
36. The Temple of Hercules.
37. The Temple of Janus.
38. The Temple of Jupiter Sponsor.
39. The Temple of Libitina.
40. The Temple of Mars.
41. The Temple of Mercury.
42. The Temple of Murcia.
43. The Temple of Neptunus Equestris.
44. The Comitium.
45. The Temple of Venus Acræa.
46. The Temple of Vulcan.
47. The Temple of Carmenta.
48. The Temple of Carna.
49. The Temple of Concord.
50. The Fountain of Mercury.
51. The Palatine Tribe.
52. The Tarpeian Rock.



Aventine mount, and from *Janiculum* to the city by a wooden bridge; *Tarquinius Priscus* only built the walls of *Rome* of hewn stone, without enlarging its compass, but *Servius* included within its limits the hills *Esquilinus* and *Viminalis*, on the first of which he fixed his own palace, in order to draw inhabitants thither; and he added a fourth tribe to the three of *Romulus*'s division, and called it *Tribus Esquilina*.

This King, in order to have an exact register of the inhabitants of *Rome*, obliged every one to stay in the *Tribe* wherein he was born; and he likewise made a law, That a piece of money should, upon every death, be paid into the temple of the Goddess *Libitina*, who presided over funerals; another into the temple of *Juno Lucina*, upon every birth; and another into the temple of *Youth*, as soon as any person was past the state of childhood. By this means it became easy to know the number of the *Roman* citizens, and who of them were able to bear arms.

It was partly perhaps to do honour to his first condition, that *Servius* made an institution in favour of slaves. He erected little wooden oratories in all the cross-ways, dedicated to the *Dii Compitales*, or Gods of the cross-ways, and commanded that slaves only should be priests to these Gods. They had their particular festival, on which masters gave their slaves rest from all labour.

To establish equal order throughout the *Roman* state, *Servius* disposed into distinct tribes all the citizens that dwelt in the country; and he ordered, that in each of these *country tribes* there should be one place of refuge situated on a steep hill to secure the effects of the peasants upon sudden alarms. These strong holds he called *Pagi*, which signifies villages or boroughs; and he appointed a festival, called *Paganalia*, to be held every year in each of these *Pagi*. All the peasants of the several tribes were to be present at the yearly sacrifices offered to the tutelary Gods of their respective villages, and every person was to bring a piece of money, the men a piece of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third sort, to be paid into the hands of those who presided at the sacrifices. By counting these pieces of money they learnt the exact number, age, and sex of the persons belonging to each tribe.

[a] The three tribes of *Romulus*'s division were called the tribe of the *Rhamnenses* or *Tribus Palatina*, the tribe of the *Tatienses* or *Tribus Suburana*, and the tribe of the *Luceres* or *Tribus Collina*.

As taxes were raised by laying a certain sum on each *Tribe*, it was hence, as *Varro* tells us, that those taxes were called *Tributes* and *Contributions*; although *Livy* says that the *Roman Tribes* were so called from the *Tributes* levied on them.

[b] What the number of these tribes was, into which *Servius* divided the freemen of *Rome* who lived in the country, seems to be uncertain. The learned Jesuits, Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, make it to be just 15, but they give no reason for their conjecture. They offer good reasons why the number could not be 30 as *Dionysius* (following *Varro* an antient Author) believed. For according to the same *Dionysius* there were in all, including the 4 city tribes, but 21 who voted at *Coriolanus*'s tryal many years after. *Livy* and *Pliny* speak of an augmentation of the tribes in the year 258, after which augmentation the number was but 21: and *Livy* afterwards speaks of another addition of tribes. Now the whole number of *Roman* tribes never exceeded 35. which number would have been compleat in *Servius*'s time, according to *Varro*'s account.

Year of ROME. SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

In the midſt of his cares for the publick ſafety, this provident King did not forget his own. His two wards *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Aruns* being now ſufficiently advanced in years to be capable of diſturbing his government, ſhould they prove ill affected to him, he the better to ſecure their fidelity, married them to his two daughters: And though the elder of theſe daughters, being of a mild and virtuous diſpoſition, reſembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters who was violent and vicious, yet he thought it moſt adviſable to match them according to priority of birth, that ſo the mildneſs and diſcretion of the elder *Tullia* might reſtrain the dangerous impetuoſity of *Lucius*, and the vivacity of the younger *Tullia* quicken the unambitious indolence of *Aruns*.

During the publick rejoicings for this double marriage, the *Hetrurians* were preparing to make war upon the *Romans* in a national body. The hiſtorians have not been particular in their accounts of this war; they only tell us that *Servius*, by repeated victories over them, reduced them to aſk peace, and to ſubmit to him upon the ſame conditions on which they had ſubmitted to his predeceſſor: and that for this ſucceſs he was honoured with a third *triumph*.

§. IV. AFTER this the King returned to the purſuit of his political ſchemes. Taxes had been hitherto levied upon the people at ſo much a head, without diſtinction of rich and poor; and as both ſorts were equally obliged to ſerve in the field at their own expence, it was often very hard upon the poorer ſort. There was likewiſe this farther inconvenience in the preſent government of affairs, that, as war and peace, the creation of magiſtrates and the making and abrogating of laws were determined by a majority of the *Curiæ* aſſembled, and as in theſe *Curiæ* the Rich and the Poor, the *Patrician* and the *Plebeian* were mingled without any diſtinction, and every man's voice was of equal value, the indigent and ignoble, though leſs qualified to judge, and more eaſily corrupted, yet being uſually the more numerous, had in theſe aſſemblies a greater ſhare in all decrees than the noble and wealthy. *Servius* formed a project to remedy theſe evils. He ordered all the *Roman* citizens under the ſevereſt penalties to give an account in writing of their names and ages, with thoſe of their fathers, wives, and children. He further obliged all the heads of families to deliver in upon oath a juſt eſtimate of their effects, and to mention the places of their reſidence, whether in town or country. Having got information of theſe things, he undertook to eaſe the poor, by burthening the rich, and yet to pleaſe the latter, by augmenting their power.

To this end, he divided the *Roman* citizens into ſix *Claſſes*: and as all the ſoldiery was to be raiſed out of theſe, he appointed them offenſive and defenſive arms, according to their dignity and pre-eminence. The firſt *Claſs* conſiſted of thoſe, whoſe eſtates in land and effects were worth at leaſt a hundred thouſand *Aſſes* of braſs, according to the *Latin* way of computing, or ten thouſand *Drachmæ*, according to the *Greek*. This firſt *Claſs* was ſubdivided into fourſcore *Centuries*, or companies of foot,

322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

Year of ROME. SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

forty of which companies were made up of young men; that is, of ſuch as were from ſeventeen to forty-five years of age, and theſe alone were obliged to take the field: the other forty companies of the ſame claſs were old men; that is, ſuch as were paſt forty-five, whoſe only duty was to defend the city. Every ſoldier of this firſt and moſt honourable body of the *Roman* infantry was defenſively armed with a ſmall oval ſhield after the *Greek* faſhion, an helmet of braſs, a cuiraſs, and *curſſes* of the ſame mettle; and their weapons were a pike, a javelin and a ſword. To theſe fourſcore *Centuries* of foot, *Servius* joined eighteen *Centuries* of *Roman* Knights, who fought on horſe-back. Hitherto there had been but three *Centuries* of Knights. What number of men they contained is uncertain. *Livy* tells us, that of theſe three *Centuries Servius* made ſix, and added twelve new *Centuries* to them, and ordained that this conſiderable body of horſemen ſhould be at the head of the rich *Claſs*: becauſe, doubtleſs, the eſtates of theſe Knights exceeded the ſum neceſſary for being admitted into this firſt *Claſs*. But tho' they were rich, yet the publick ſupplied them with horſes; and a tax was laid on widows, who were exempt from all other contributions, for maintaining their horſes. This firſt *Claſs*, including infantry and cavalry, conſiſted of ninety-eight *Centuries*. *Liv.* B. 1.

The ſecond *Claſs* comprehended thoſe *Romans*, whoſe eſtates were worth at leaſt 75000 *Aſſes* of braſs, or 7500 *Drachmæ*. It was divided into twenty *Centuries* of ſoldiers, all foot: Ten of young men, and ten of old. And to theſe twenty were joined two other *Centuries* of carpenters, ſmiths, and other artificers for the engines of war; ſo that the ſecond *Claſs* contained in all twenty-two *Centuries*. The ſoldiers of this *Claſs* were armed like thoſe of the former; with this only difference, that they had no cuiraſs, and inſtead of the ſmall oval ſhield had a buckler of the figure of an oblong ſquare, which almoſt covering their whole body made the cuiraſs needleſs. *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 212. 242 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.*

In the third *Claſs* were thoſe, who were eſteemed worth 50000 *Aſſes*, or (which amounts to the ſame) 5000 *Drachmæ*. Theſe wore no defenſive armour but the helmet and ſquare buckler; but they fought as the others did, with the pike, javelin and ſword. Theſe were alſo divided into twenty *Centuries*. 161 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.*

The fourth *Claſs* conſiſted of ſuch as were worth 25000 *Aſſes*, or 2500 *Drachmæ*, and this likewiſe contained twenty *Centuries*, ten of old men and ten of young; and to theſe were added two other *Centuries* of trumpets and blowers of the horn, who ſupplied the whole army with this martial muſick. The ſoldiers of this *Claſs* had no defenſive arms but a ſquare buckler; their offenſive ones were the ſame with thoſe of the former. 80 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.*

In the fifth *Claſs* were included thoſe whoſe whole ſubſtance did not amount to more than 12500 *Aſſes*, or 1250 *Drachmæ*. They were divided into thirty *Centuries*, fifteen old, and fifteen young. They were not ſuffered to wear any defenſive armour, and their only weapons were ſlings and darts.

l.	*s.*	*d.*
43	7	3 1/2

Aul. Gel. B. 16.

Year of ROME. SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

The fifth *Claſs* comprehended all thoſe who either had no eſtates or were not worth ſo much as the ſoldiers of the fifth *Claſs*. The number of them was ſo great, as to exceed that of any of the other *Claſſes*, yet they were reckoned but as one *Century*.

By this enumeration we ſee that the *Roman* people were, in *Servius*'s time, divided into one hundred and ninety-three *Centuries**, reckoning the

* It may be proper here to explain, once for all, the difference between the three ſorts of *Comitia* ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed in the *Roman* government, with the manner in which the people gave their votes in theſe aſſemblies.

The *Comitia*, according to *Sigonius*'s definition, were *general aſſemblies of the people lawfully called by ſome magiſtrate, for the enactment or prohibition of any thing by their votes**.

The proper *Comitia* were of three ſorts; *Curiata*, *Centuriata*, and *Tributa*; with reference to the three grand diviſions of the city and people into *Curiæ*, *Centuriæ*, and *Tribus*: For by *Comitia Calata*, which we ſometimes meet with in authors, in elder times were meant all the *Comitia* in general; the word *Calata*, from *καλέω* or *calo*, being their common *epithet*; tho' 'twas at laſt reſtrained to two ſorts of aſſemblies, thoſe for the creation of prieſts, and thoſe for the inſpection and regulation of laſt wills and teſtaments †.

The COMITIA CURIATA owe their original to the diviſion which *Romulus* made of the people into thirty *Curiæ*; ten being contained under every *Tribe*. They anſwered, in moſt reſpects, to the pariſhes in our cities, being not only ſeparated by proper bounds and limits, but diſtinguiſh'd too by their different places ſet apart for the celebration of divine ſervice, which was perform'd by particular prieſts (one to every *Curia*,) with the name of *Curiones*.

Before the inſtitution of the *Comitia Centuriata*, all the grand concerns of the ſtate were tranſacted in the aſſembly of the *Curiæ*; as, the election of Kings, and other chief officers, the making and abrogating of laws, and the judging of capital cauſes. After the expulſion of the Kings, when the commons had obtained the privilege to have *Tribunes* and *Ædiles*, they elected them for ſome time at theſe aſſemblies: But that ceremony being at length tranſferr'd to the *Comitia Tributa*, the *Curiæ* were never convened to give their votes, except now and then upon account of making ſome particular law, relating to adoptions, wills, and teſtaments, or the creation of officers for an expedition; or for the cloathing of ſome of the prieſts, as the *Flamines*, and the *Curio Maximus*, or ſuperintendant of the *Curiones*, who themſelves were choſe by every particular *Curia*.

The power of calling theſe aſſemblies, belonged at firſt only to the Kings; but upon the eſtabliſhment of the Democracy, the ſame privilege was allowed to moſt of the chief magiſtrates, and ſometimes to the *Pontifices*.

The perſons who had the liberty of voting here, were ſuch *Roman* citizens as belonged to the *Curiæ*; or ſuch as actually lived in the city, and conformed to the cuſtoms and rites of their proper *Curia*; all thoſe being excluded who dwelt without the bounds of the city, retaining the ceremonies of their own country, though they had been honoured with the *Jus Civitatis*, or admitted free citizens of *Rome*. ‡

The place where the *Curiæ* met was the *Comitium*, a part of the *Forum*, as has been already mentioned §.

No ſet time was allotted for the holding of theſe or any of the other *Comitia*, but only as buſineſs required.

The people being met together, and confirmed by the report of good omens from the *Augurs* (which was neceſſary in all the aſſemblies,) the *Rogatio*, or buſineſs to be propos'd to them, was publickly read. After this (if none of the magiſtrates interpoſed,) upon the order of him that preſided in the *Comitia*, the people divided into their proper *Curiæ* and conſulted of the matter; and then the *Curiæ* being called out, as it happened by lot, gave their votes, man by man, in ancient times *viva voce*, and afterwards by Tablets ‖; the moſt votes in every *Curia* going for the voice of the whole *Curia*, and the moſt *Curiæ* for the general conſent of the people ‡ ‖.

In the time of *Cicero*, the *Comitia Curiata* were ſo much out of faſhion, that they were formed only by thirty Lictors repreſenting

* *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Civ. Rom.* l. 1. c. 17. † *A. Gell.* l. 15. c. 27. ‡ *Sigon de Antiq. Jur. Prov.* l. 3. c. 1. § *See* Part II. l. 2. c. 5. ‖ *Tabellæ.* ‡ ‖ *Roſin.* l. 7. c. 7.

the

the whole fixth *Claſs* as but one *Century*: And, after a full enquiry, it appeared

Year of ROME. Servius Tullius Sixth King.

the thirty *Curiæ*; whence in his ſecond oration againſt *Rullus*, he calls them *Comitia adumbrata*.

THE *Comitia Centuriata* were inſtituted by *Servius Tullius*; who obliging every one to give a true account of what he was worth, according to thoſe accounts divided the people into ſix Ranks or *Claſſes*, which he ſubdivided into 193 *Centuries*. The firſt *Claſſis* containing the *Equites* and richeſt citizens, conſiſted of ninety eight *Centuries*. The ſecond, taking in the tradeſmen and mechanicks, made up two and twenty *Centuries*. The third, twenty. The fourth, twenty-two. The fifth, thirty. And the laſt, filled up with the poorer ſort, but one century *.

And this, though it had the ſame name with the reſt, yet was ſeldom regarded, or allowed any power in publick matters. Hence 'tis a common thing with the *Roman* authors, when they ſpeak of the *Claſſes*, to reckon no more than five, the ſixth not being worth their notice. This laſt *Claſſis* was divided into two parts, or orders, the *Proletarii*, and the *Capite Cenſi*. The former, as their name implies, were deſigned purely to ſtock the commonwealth with men, ſince they could ſupply it with ſo little money. And the latter, who paid the loweſt tax of all, were rather counted and marſhalled by their heads, than their eſtates †.

Perſons of the firſt rank, by reaſon of their pre-eminence, had the name of *Claſſici*; whence came the phraſe of *Claſſici Authores*, for the moſt approved writers. All others, of what *Claſſis* ſoever, were ſaid to be *infra Claſſem* ‡.

The aſſembly of the people by *Centuries* was held for the electing of *Conſuls*, *Cenſors*, and *Prætors*; as alſo for the judging of perſons accuſed of what they called *Crimen Perduellionis*, or actions by which the party had ſhow'd himſelf an enemy to the ſtate; and for the confirmation of all ſuch laws as were propoſed by the chief magiſtrates, who had the privilege of calling theſe aſſemblies.

The place appointed for their meeting was the *Campus Martius*; becauſe in the primitive times of the commonwealth, when they were under continual apprehenſions of enemies, the people, to prevent any ſudden aſſault, went armed, in martial order, to hold theſe aſſemblies; and were for that reaſon forbid by the laws to meet in the city, becauſe an army was upon no account to be marſhalled within the walls: Yet in latter ages, 'twas thought ſufficient to place a body of ſoldiers as a guard in the *Janiculum*, where an imperial ſtandard was erected, the taking down of which, denoted the concluſion of the *Comitia*.

Tho' the time of holding theſe *Comitia* for other matters was undetermined; yet the magiſtrates, after the year of the city 601, when they began to enter on their place on the *Kalends* of *January*, were conſtantly *deſign'd* about the end of *July*, and the beginning of *Auguſt*.

All the time between their election and confirmation, they continued as private perſons, that inquiſition might be made into the election, and the other candidates might have time to enter objections, if they met with any ſuſpicion of fouk dealing. Yet at the election of the *Conſuls*, this cuſtom did not hold; but as ſoon as they were pronounced elected, they were immediately inveſted with the honour §.

By the inſtitution of theſe *Comitia*, *Servius Tullius* ſecretly conveyed the whole power from the commons: For the *Centuries* of the firſt and richeſt claſs being called out firſt, who were three more in number than all the reſt put together, if they all agreed, as generally they did, the buſineſs was already decided, and the other *Claſſes* were needleſs and inſignificant. However the three laſt ſcarce ever came to vote ‖.

The commons, in the time of the free ſtate, to rectify this diſadvantage, obtained, that before they proceeded to voting any matter at theſe *Comitia*, that *Century* ſhould give their ſuffrages firſt, upon whom it fell by lot, with the name of *Centuria Prærogativa*; the reſt being to follow according to the order of their *Claſſes*. After the conſtitution of the five and thirty *Tribes*, into which the *Claſſes* and their *Centuries* were divided, in the firſt place, the *Tribes* caſt lots, which ſhould be the *Prærogative-Tribe*; and then the *Centuries* of the *Tribe*, for the honour of being the *Prærogative-Century*. All the other Tribes and Centuries had the appellation of *Jure vocatæ*, becauſe they

* See *Dionyſ.* l. 4. † *A. Gell.* l. 7. c. 13.
‖ *Dionyſ.* l. 4. ‡ Vid. *A. Gell.* l. 16. c. 10. § *Liv.* l. 40.

were

Year of ROME. Servius Tullius Sixth King.

peared that the number of freemen, who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to eighty-four thousand, seven hundred *.

These were called out according to their proper places.

The *Prerogative-Century* being chosen by lot, the chief magistrate facing in a * Tent in the middle of the *Campus Martius*, ordered that *Century* to come out and give their votes; upon which they presently separated from the rest of the multitude, and came into an inclosed apartment, which they termed *Septa*, or *Ovilia*, passing over the *pontes*, or narrow boards, laid there for the occasion; on which account, *de Ponte dejici* is to be denied the privilege of voting, and persons thus dealt with, are called *Depontani*.

At the hither end of the *Pontes*, stood the *Diribitores* (a sort of under-officers, called so from dividing or marshalling the people) and delivered to every man, in the election of magistrates, as many † Tablets as there appeared Candidates, one of whose names was written upon every Tablet.

A fit number of great chests were set ready in the *Septa*, and every body threw in which Tablet he pleas'd.

By the chests were placed some of the publick servants, who taking out the Tablets of every *Century*, for every Tablet made a prick, or a point in another Tablet, which they kept by them. Thus the business being decided by most points, gave occasion to the phrase of *omnes tulit punctum* ‡, and the like.

The same method was observed in the judiciary processes at these *Comitia*, and in the confirmation of laws; except that in both these cases only two Tablets were offer'd to every person, on one of which was written *U. R.* and on the other *A.* in capital letters; the two first standing for *Uti Rogas*, or, *Be it as you desire*, relating to the magistrate who proposed the question; and the last for *Antiquo*, or, *I forbid it*.

'Tis remarkable, that though in the election of magistrates, and in the ratification of laws, the votes of that *Century*, whose Tablets were equally divided, signified nothing; yet in trials of life and death, if the Tablets *pro* and *con* were the same in number, the person was actually acquitted §.

THE division of the people into *Tribes*, was an invention of *Romulus*, after he had admitted the *Sabines* into *Rome*; and tho' he constituted at that time only three, yet as the state increased in power, and the city in number of inhabitants, they rose by degrees to five and thirty. For a long time after this institution, a *Tribe* signified no more than such a space of ground with its inhabitants. But at last the matter was quite altered, and a *Tribe* was no longer *pars urbis* but *civium*; not a quarter of the city, but a company of citizens living where they pleased. This change was chiefly occasioned by the original difference between the *Tribes* in point of honour. For *Romulus* having committed all sordid and mechanic arts to the care of strangers, slaves, and libertines, and reserved the more honest labour of agriculture to the free-born and citizens, who by this active course of life might be prepared for martial service; the *Tribus Rusticæ* were for this reason accounted more honourable than the *Urbanæ*: And now all persons being desirous of getting into the more creditable division, and there being several ways of accomplishing their wishes, as by adoption, by the power of the *Censors* and the like; thus *Rustic Tribe* which had most worthy names in its roll, had the preference to all others, tho' of the same general denomination. Hence all of the same great family, bringing themselves by degrees into the same *Tribe*, gave the name of their family to the *Tribe* they honoured; whereas at first, the generality of the *Tribes* did not borrow their names from persons but from places ||.

The first assembly of the *Tribes* we meet with, is about the year of *Rome* 263, conven'd by *Sp. Sicinius, Tribune* of the commons, upon account of the trial of *Coriolanus*. Soon after the *Tribunes* of the commons were ordered to be elected here; and at last all the inferior magistrates and the collegiate priests. The same *Comitia* served for the enacting of laws relating to war and peace, and all others proposed by the *Tribunes* and *Plebeian* officers, tho' they had not properly the name of *Leges*, but *Plebiscita*. They were generally conven'd by the *Tribunes* of the commons; but the same privilege was allowed to all the chief magistrates.

* D. Hal. B. 4. p. 216.

* *Tabernaculum.* † *Tabellæ.* ‡ *Hor. de Arte Poet.* § *Dionys.* l. 7. || See Mr. Wallace of cities, p. 226.

They

Year of ROME, SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

These regulations being made, the troops were no longer raised at so many men each *Tribe*, nor were taxes levied at so much a head as formerly; but every *Century* furnished so many men and so much money; and the first and richest *Class*, being more numerous in *Centuries* * than all the rest together, furnished of consequence more men and more money for the publick service than the whole *Roman* state besides. However, that ample amends might be made this *Class* for the weight laid on it, *Servius* gave it in effect the whole authority in publick affairs, by assembling the People in *Comitia* by *Centuries*, instead of *Comitia* by *Curiæ*. For the votes in the former being reckoned by *Centuries*, and the rich *Class* containing more *Centuries* than all the other five, had consequently every thing at its disposal. The votes of this *Class* were the first taken, so that if the 98 *Centuries* happened to agree in opinion, or only 97 of them, the affair was determined, because these made the majority of the 193 *Centuries* which composed the 6 *Classes*. There was very rarely any occasion to go so low as the fourth *Class* for a majority of votes. After this time the assemblies of the *Curiæ* were only held for the election of the *Flamines*, and the chief *Curio*, and for some other matters of no great moment.

Servius having established this distinction among the citizens according to the * *census*, or valuation of their estates, commanded them to appear on a day appointed, under arms, and according to their *Classes* and *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, which was a large plain field, lying without the city near the *Tyber*. It had been consecrated by *Romulus* to the God *Mars*. Here by the King's order was made a solemn lustration or expiatory sacrifice in the name of all the people. The sacrifice consisted of a sow, a sheep and a bull, whence it took the name of *Suovetaurilia*. The whole ceremony was called *Lustrum*, *à luendo*, from *paying*, *expiating*, *clearing*, or perhaps from the Goddess *Lua* (so named from the verb *luo*) to whom *Servius* is said to have built a temple. She was invoked in all expiations, and when people made up their accounts and paid their debts. Because of the continual change of mens estates, it was ordered, that the *Census* should be renewed every 5 years, and it being usually closed by the *Lustrum*, it

* From *Censeo* to rate or value.

They were confined to no place, and therefore sometimes we find them held in the *Comitium*, sometimes in the *Campus Martius*, and now and then in the capitol.

The proceedings were in most respects answerable to those already described in the account of the other *Comitia*, and therefore need not be insisted on; only we may farther observe of the *Comitia* in general, that when any candidate was found to have most Tablets for a magistracy, he was declared to be *designed* or *elected* by the president of the assembly: And this they term'd *renunciari Consul*, *Prætor*, or the like: And that the last sort of the *Comitia* only could be held without the consent and approbation of the *Senate*, which was necessary to the convening of the other two *. *Kennet*'s Antiq. P. 2. B. 3. c. 16.

* It is uncertain whether the *Centuries* of the first *Class* contained each of them so many as one hundred effective men; but if they did, 'tis certain that the *Centuries* of all the other *Classes* must have each contained more than one hundred; otherwise, the levies being made by *Centuries*, the richer *Centuries* would have been subject to no greater contributions than the poorer.

* *Dionys.* l. 4.

was

Year of ROME. Servius Tullius Sixth King.

was hence that this word came to ſignify that term of years. 'Tis probable, that the firſt coined money ever known in *Rome* was ſtruck at this time. The ſacrifices of the *Luſtrum* might perhaps lead *Servius* to ſtamp the figures of the animals there ſlain on pieces of braſs of a certain weight. It is undoubted, that money was called *Pecunia*, from the word *Pecus*, i. e. *Cattle*.

§. V. THIS wiſe Prince contrived alſo to augment the number of the citizens, by an expedient which none of his predeceſſors had ever thought of. Remembering his former ſervile condition, he commiſerated the caſe of thoſe whom an unſucceſsful war had reduced to ſlavery, and who were often perſons well born. He judged, that ſuch of theſe unfortunate people, who by long and faithful ſervices to their maſters had deſerved and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy to be made citizens of *Rome*, than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were uſually admitted without diſtinction. He gave the *Freed-men* their choice therefore, either to return to their own countries, or continue at *Rome*. Such as choſe to continue there he divided into the four City Tribes. They were ſtill diſtinguiſhed from the other *Plebeians*, by their old name of *Liberti*, or freed-men, but enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens. The Senate at firſt took offence at this regard ſhew'd to ſuch mean people; upon which the King having aſſembled them, addreſſed himſelf to them in the following manner.

D. Hal. B. 4. p. 211, & 217.

If nature *has made any diſtinction between ſlaves and ſuch as are born free, we ought indeed to obſerve the order ſhe has eſtabliſhed, and to divide thoſe from the reſt of mankind whom ſhe has ſeparated from them: but if the placing ſome in a ſtate inferior to others, be owing to fortune only; does it not become your wiſdom to rectify the capricious determinations of a blind Goddeſs? Has this* Fortune, *who now inſpires you with ſo much contempt for men taken in war, promiſed you that your happineſs ſhall be perpetual? Are you ſure you and your children ſhall uninterruptedly enjoy this proſperity which renders you ſo haughty? Brave and illuſtrious nations have been often known to experience the viciſſitudes of the fortune of war. Such as have play'd the tyrants over thoſe they had conquered, have been themſelves reduced to undergo tyranny and oppreſſion from them in their turn. How many inſtances of theſe unexpected revolutions have we in* Greece, *and the barbarous nations? But to return to us* Romans; *how inconſiſtent are our proceedings, when we refuſe the rights of citizens to thoſe men, to whom we grant liberty? If your ſlaves were vicious, why did you ſet them free? And if they were men of probity, why are they not to be incorporated in our tribes? You have hitherto admitted to be citizens, all ſuch perſons of the neighbouring nations as the love of your laws has drawn to your city. And have you enquired whether their birth was not blemiſhed by the ſlavery of their fathers? Why then are you influenced, to the diſadvantage of your ſlaves, by ſuch reflections as have no weight with you againſt fugitives who are utter ſtrangers? In ſhort, if we muſt compleat the peopling of* Rome, *let us fill it with ſuch as have for the moſt part breathed its air from their infancy, ſuch as education has already made entirely*

Year of ROME. Servius Tullius Sixth King.

Romans, and what a noble ambition has always shown them worthy of recovering their liberty. The publick interest requires you to do it, and it is the private interest of every noble family, that it should be done. The more of your freed-men you see made citizens of Rome, the greater credit and influence will you have in our Comitia. Gratitude will not suffer them to refuse you their suffrages; and your authority will encrease in proportion to the number of your new clients. This discourse entirely appeased the Senators, and they passed his institution into a law which subsisted ever after.

When *Servius* had thus established order among the people, and encouraged the slaves to virtue, he came at last, from a love of the publick good, to reform the Regal Power. His predecessors had reserved to themselves the cognizance of all causes both publick and private. It is true, the Senate and People decided in publick affairs by their votes, but it was the King's business to draw up in form and report the matters that were to be laid before them: So that in reality the whole weight of the government lay upon the King: and he finding the duties of his office too much for one man to discharge them as he ought, transferred to other judges, chosen out of the Senate, the care of hearing and deciding all private causes, excepting state crimes; but he prescribed to these judges certain rules and laws by which they were to proceed.

All these regulations at home being finished, *Servius Tullius* then turned his thoughts abroad; and he laid a scheme for securing more effectually the friendship and fidelity of the *Latines* and *Sabines*, by such social ties as should be strengthened by religion. He summoned the several cities of *Latium* and *Sabinia* to send their deputies to *Rome*. When they were come, he proposed to them to build a temple to *Diana*, at which the *Latines* and *Sabines* should meet every year, and join with the *Romans* in offering sacrifices to the Goddess; that this festival should be followed by a council, at which all disputes, which had happened between the cities, should be amicably determined; that there proper measures should be taken to pursue their common interests; and lastly, that, in order to draw the common people thither, a fair should be kept, at which every one might furnish himself with what he wanted. To this proposal the deputies readily consented, leaving to the King to chuse a proper place where to erect the sanctuary. *Servius* chose the hill *Aventinus*; the temple was finished, and assemblies were annually held in it. The treaty of alliance with the *Latines*, the laws ordained to be observed in those assemblies, as likewise their decrees were engraved on a pillar; which in *Augustus*'s time was still to be seen in the temple of *Diana*.

§. VII. TO compleat his work of making the *Roman* people entirely free, this republican King is said to have come to a resolution in the latter part of his life, to abdicate the throne and reduce the government to a democracy. But whatever scheme he might have of this kind, it was frustrated by the ambition and violence of *Tarquin*, the elder of his sons in-law, afterwards surnamed *the Proud*. *Tarquin*'s wife endeavoured by all the ways of sweetness and insinuation, to moderate and soften the haughty

Year of ROME. Servius Tullus Sixth King.

fierceness of her husband, and to divert him from all criminal enterprises; while her younger sister, a very fury of a woman, was ever urging the quiet, the good-natured *Arruns* to the most villanous attempts, in order to reach the throne. She loudly lamented her fate in being ty'd to such an indolent and dronish husband. Similitude of temper and manners formed by degrees a great intimacy between her and *Tarquin*. At length she proposed to him nothing less than the murdering her father, sister, and husband,- that they two might meet and ascend the throne together; and their converſation on this head ended in their anticipating the pleaſures of an inceſtuous marriage. Shortly after they contrived the poiſoning, he of his wife, ſhe of her huſband; and then impudently aſked the King's and Queen's conſent to their marriage. *Servius* and *Tarquinia*, though they did not give it, were ſilent, through too much indulgence for a daughter, in whom now was their only hope of poſterity. Theſe criminal nuptials were followed by intrigues againſt the King. The *Patricians*, apprehenſive of the King's deſigns in favour of the people, were many of them eaſily brought over to favour the pretenſions of *Tarquin*; and, by the help of money, he gained alſo great numbers of the poorer citizens to his intereſt. *Servius*, being informed of what was doing, had frequent conferences in private with his ſon-in-law and daughter, to perſuade them by reaſon to deſiſt from ſuch proceedings, and to wait for the kingdom till his death: But *Tarquin* and *Tullia* loved violent meaſures, and to make a noiſe; they deſpiſed the counſels of the King, and reſolved to lay their pretenſions before the Senate. So that the affair came to a formal proceſs; and *Servius* was obliged to ſummon the Senate to hear it. *Tarquin* reproached his father-in-law, that he had placed himſelf upon the throne, without ſuffering a previous *Interregnum*; that he had bought the votes of the people, and had deſpiſed the ſuffrages of the Senate. He then urged his own right of inheritance to the kingdom, and the injuſtice of *Servius* (who was only his tutor) in keeping poſſeſſion of it, when he himſelf was of an age to govern. To this *Servius* anſwered, that he had not been intruſted with the Regal Authority under an obligation to preſerve it for his pupils, but to ſecure their lives againſt the ſons of *Ancus*; who, if there could be an hereditary right to the ſcepter, had a much better one than the grandſons of the late King, who muſt himſelf have been an uſurper. *Take your choice*, ſaid he, *either to lay aſide all hopes of reigning till after I am dead, or to ſubmit from this inſtant to obey the murderers of your grandfather. But I am ſurprized, that there ſhould be any among you*, Fathers, *who would join with this man in endeavouring to diſthrone me. What injuſtice have I done you? Is there any violence, any oppreſſion, any one tyrannical act you can accuſe me of? No. But perhaps I am too proud and arrogant. Which of your former Kings ever ſhewed that moderation in the exerciſe of power which I have done? Have I not treated the citizens as a tender father his children? Have I not relinquiſhed ſome part of the Regal Authority to you, and remitted all private cauſes to your cognizance and judgment? You have nothing to accuſe me of but my kindneſs to the people. This is my only crime, and*

Year of ROME. SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

and with regard to this, I have often justified myself to you. But it is needless to mention these things at present. If this Tarquin *seems to you better qualified to govern, I will not envy the state a better prince than I am. I received the kingdom from the people; to them I will restore it; and will endeavour to shew, when reduced to the condition of a private man, that as I knew how to govern, I know how to obey.*

When *Servius* had thus spoken, he immediately dismissed the Senate, and appointed an assembly of the People, which was proclaimed by heralds all over the city. The *Roman Forum* was soon filled with auditors, and the King harangued them in such a manner as gained all their affections. He began with an account of his exploits in war; he gave them the particulars of the battles he had fought, the victories he had won, and the triumphs he had obtained. And then passed on to the wholsome institutions of which he had been the author. The People repeated their applauses upon the mention of every action of *Servius*, and were a great while in suspence, not knowing to what this long preamble tended: Till, after an exact numeration of all the benefits for which the publick was indebted to his government, he fell at last upon *Tarquin*. *A new competitor for the throne offers himself to you, and comes to dispute with me the remains of a reign which I have dedicated to the happiness of the publick. He pretends that his dying grandfather bequeathed the kingdom to him, and that you had no right to dispose of the property of another. Can you hear this without indignation? Will you suffer your rights to be called in question? As for me, if the hardships of a tyrannical administration have made you weary of me, or if the virtues of* Tarquin *have made him more worthy to reign, I consent that you resume the sceptre which I received from you; but I do not think myself at liberty to resign it into any hands but yours; and to you therefore I restore it.* As he ended these words, he would have immediately left the tribunal, but the people stopped him; they all cried out to him not to yield the throne to another. And amidst their confused noises, these words were likewise heard, *Let* Tarquin *perish, let him die, let us kill him!* This language terrified the proud Prince, and he retired to his house in great haste: whilst the King was conducted back to his palace with the acclamations of the people.

§. VIII. AND now *Tarquin* finding the ill success of violent measures, acted a new part. By caresses and submissions he entirely regained the King's favour, and lulled him into an agreeable security. Tranquillity seemed for some time to be re-established in the royal family; but it was not long before the cruel *Tullia* put an end to it. To reflect that *Tanaquil* a foreigner had made two Kings of *Rome* successively, and that she herself, a King's daughter, was not able to make one, were such afflicting thoughts as would allow her no repose. She fancied her husband grown stupid and insensible, she upbraided him with cowardice, and incited him to act every crime which could serve ambition. *I thought to have found in thee a man of spirit, a true* Tarquin, *one who had rather* have *than* hope *for a kingdom. If thou art the man whom I thought I married, I must call*

Year of ROME. SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

thee King as well as husband. Rouze thyself. Thou hast no need like thy grandfather to come from Corinth *or* Tarquinii *to seek a kingdom. Thy household Gods, the Gods of thy country, the royal palace, the regal throne in that palace, the name of* Tarquin, *create and call thee King. But if thou art unmoved by all this, why dost thou deceive the expectations of the People? Why dost thou suffer them to regard thee as a man of a princely soul? Go, coward, get thee hence to* Tarquinii *or* Corinth; *thou hast more in thee of thy brother, than of thy grandfather.*

Tarquin, incited by these reproaches of his wife, renewed his intrigues among the Senators. He went from house to house to beg votes, and made his own house a rendezvous of pleasure for the young *Patricians*. Having formed his party, he chose the time of harvest (when most of the principal citizens were in the country) to put in practise a stratagem which surprized the People by its novelty, and succeeded by the boldness of its execution. Cloathed in royal robes, preceded by some of his domesticks bearing *Fasces*, and followed by a great number of his party, who had swords under their robes; he crossed the *Roman Forum*, and came to the gate of the temple where the Senators were wont to assemble. From thence he sent expresses to them all, commanding them, in King *Tarquin*'s name, to repair immediately thither. He then advanced with a grave pace, and seated himself on the royal throne. Those of the Senators who were of his faction he found already in their places, having given them private notice to be there early; and he now exhorted them resolutely to pursue the intention of their meeting. In the mean time, the rest of the Senators made all the haste they could to the place to which they were summoned. The greater part of them thought *Servius* dead, since *Tarquin* assumed the title and the functions of King; and no one durst keep away from the assembly, for fear his absence, in the beginning of a reign, should be made a crime. When the Senators were got together, *Tarquin* repeated the invectives they had so often heard him utter against his father-in-law: *That being a slave and the son of a slave, he had, after the cruel murder of* Tarquin *the late King, possessed himself of the kingdom, not by the free voices of the People, or the approbation of the Senate; but by the meer artifice of a woman. That thus born, and thus created King, he had ever been a favourer of mean wretches like himself, and, out of hatred to the* Patricians, *for their noble birth, had stript them of their estates to give them to the vilest of the people; that the burdens which were before common to all he had heaped on the nobles alone; and had instituted the* Census *for no other reason, but that the fortunes of the rich might be more visible to the eye of envy, and that he might have them ready to bestow on beggars whenever he pleased.*

Livy, B. 1.

While he was yet speaking, *Servius Tullius* appeared. He had been informed of the part his son-in-law was acting in the Senate, and immediately hasted thither with but few attendants, and with more boldness than discretion. As soon as he beheld *Tarquin* on the throne, he cried out at a distance, and with a loud voice, *What is it, thou most flagitious of men, that*

Year of ROME CCXIX. SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

that has made thee thus audacious to converse the Senate, and take poſſeſſion of my throne, while I am alive?——It is thy impudence, Servius, replied *Tarquin, it is thy iniquity. I fill the place of my grandfather, which thy vileneſs was not aſhamed to uſurp. Is a King's* grandſon *or his* ſlave *the more worthy to inherit his kingdom? A ſlave that has been too long ſuffered, licentiouſly to inſult his maſters?* Theſe words threw the old King into a tranſport of paſſion, which made him raſhly give way to the motions of his courage, without conſidering his ſtrength. He drew near the throne to pull *Tarquin* down from it. This raiſed a great ſhout in the aſſembly, and the people crowded into the temple; but no body ventured to part the two rivals. *Tarquin*, who was now under a neceſſity of coming to extremities, being more ſtrong and vigorous, ſeized the old man by the waiſt, and hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the ſteps into the *Forum*. The King, grievouſly hurt and covered with blood, raiſed himſelf up with ſome difficulty, but all his friends had deſerted him; only two or three of the people, touched with compaſſion, lent him their arms to lead him to his palace. As they were ſlowly training him along, the cruel *Tullia* appeared in the *Forum*. She had come haſtily in her chariot, upon the report ſhe had heard of what paſſed in the Senate. She found her huſband on the top of the ſteps of the temple, and, being tranſported with joy, was the firſt who ſaluted him King; and her example was immediately followed by the Senators of *Tarquin*'s party. She then took her huſband aſide, and ſuggeſted to him the thought of not leaving his work imperfect; upon which he inſtantly diſpatched ſome of his domeſticks, to overtake the old King and deprive him of his ſmall remains of life.

Tullia having heard the orders given for the parricide, mounted her chariot again with an air of triumph to return home. The way to her houſe was through a narrow ſtreet called *Vicus Cyprius* [a], or the good ſtreet. Extended acroſs it lay the King's body, which was ſtill panting. The charioteer perceived it, and being ſtruck with horror, checked his horſes and made a ſtop. *Why don't you go on?* cried *Tullia* to him. *What is it that ſtops you?* The charioteer turned about to her, *alas!* ſaid he, *it is the body of the King your father.* At theſe words *Tullia* catching up a ſtool which was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head; *Go on, villain*, ſhe cried, *are you afraid of driving over a dead corps?* The charioteer obeyed; and the blood of the father is ſaid to have dyed the chariot wheels, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. And from hence the ſtreet was called ever after *Vicus Sceleratus*, the wicked ſtreet.

Such was the deplorable end of *Servius*, a Prince of ſo excellent a conduct, ſays *Livy*, that even a good ſucceſſor, a reaſonable King, would have found it difficult to emulate him. He ſubdued all the enemies of *Rome*, and never made it his buſineſs to create her new ones. He did not conquer merely for the ſake of glory; he rated the value of his conqueſts only by their tendency to the publick good. One triumph did not beget the ambition

[a] The word *Cyprius*, according to *Varro*, who had inhabited this quarter, *good* or ſignified in the old language of the *Sabines*, *happy*.

Year of ROME CCXIX. SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

bition of obtaining another. He made *Rome* more formidable by twenty years of peace, than his predeceſſors had done by many victories, and the ſacking of a hundred cities. He introduced order in the *Militia* and publick revenues; he rectified the confuſion of the aſſemblies of the People; he extended the juriſdiction of the Senate, and yet kept its authority within due bounds. He diſtinguiſhed the rich, only to make them bear the heavieſt burdens; and he eaſed the poor, that he might keep them contented, and without murmuring, in their inferiority. In a word, he was beloved by the People, eſteemed by the *Patricians*, and perhaps would have had no enemies if he could have preſerved the affections of his own family. He died at ſeventy-four years of age, after he had reigned forty-four. *Tarquin* refuſing to ſuffer the uſual obſequies to be performed for him, leſt it might occaſion a dangerous commotion among the People, *Tarquinia* conveyed the body of her huſband privately by night to his tomb; and the night following ſhe died herſelf; but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedneſs of *Tullia*, is uncertain. The veneration the people had for the memory of *Servius* ſeems to have placed him among the Gods. The ſlaves annually celebrated his feſtival in the temple of *Diana Aventina*, on the day he loſt his life.

CHAP. VIII.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

§. I. *The tyranny of* Tarquin *who gets the ſurname of the* PROUD. *His haughty treatment of the* Latine *deputies and treacherous contrivance to deſtroy* Turnus Herdonius. §. II. *The* Latine *aſſociation, and the inſtitution of the* FERIÆ LATINÆ. Tarquin *aſſiſted by the* Latines *defeats the* Volſci *and ſubdues the* Sabines. *He finiſhes the* COMMON SEWERS *and* CIRCUS MAXIMUS *at* Rome. §. III. *His war with the people of* Gabii, *and the cruel ſtratagem whereby he becomes maſter of that city.* §. IV. *The adventure of the woman with the* SYBIL'S BOOKS. *The riſe of the written civil law.* Tarquin *builds the temple of* JUPITER CAPITOLINUS. §. V. *He ſends two of his ſons with* Brutus *to conſult the oracle at* Delphos. §. VI. *The rape of* LUCRETIA. *The* Tarquins *are baniſhed, and a* COMMONWEALTH *eſtabliſhed at* Rome.

Year of ROME CCXX. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

OF the ſeven Kings, who ſucceſſively governed *Rome*, only the four firſt ſeem to have aſcended the throne by the people's free choice, according to the original conſtitution of the State. The elder *Tarquin* (diſtinguiſhed after this time by the ſurname of *Priſcus*) had indeed the voices both of the *Curiæ* and of the Senate for his elevation; but, as he bought theſe voices, he in reality bought the kingdom: His ſucceſſor *Servius Tullius* (tho' his merit entitled him to it) may be ſaid to have artfully ſtole it: and as for the preſent *Tarquin*, the laſt of the *Roman* Kings, he ſeized upon it as his property, his undoubted right by inheritance. He

who

Year of ROME CCXX.

TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

who had so often reproached his predecessor with usurpation, for his want of a legal election to the government, disdained any other title to it himself, but that of hereditary right, or possession acquired by regicide.

The whole series of this Prince's reign was suitable to the manner of his accession to the throne. Scarce had he seated himself there, when for his capricious humour and arrogant behaviour he got the surname of *the Proud*. He communicated no affairs of State either to Senate or People. Having made sure of a sufficient number of soldiers, partly strangers, to guard his person and to execute his pleasure, all his proceedings were by acts of power; and how grievous soever was the oppression, the oppressed were denied the privilege of complaining. Informers were dispersed throughout the city; the King was the sole judge of the accused; wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes. Of this latter the Tyrant gave a remarkable proof in the murder of *M. Junius*, a venerable old man, the father of the famous *L. Junius Brutus*, who afterwards destroyed the Regal Power. This *M. Junius* was descended of a noble family and had an ample patrimony, upon which considerations the first *Tarquin* had given him his youngest daughter in marriage. The new King to get possession of his estate caused both him and his other son to be assassinated, and *Brutus* escaped only by counterfeiting stupidity. In short, *Tarquin* carried his tyranny to such excess, that the flower of the Senate went into a voluntary banishment, to avoid the effects of his cruelty and avarice. The People, who had rejoiced at first to see the Senate humbled, were now in their turn as ill treated as the *Patricians*, and all the laws made in their favour were annulled. The poor were constrained to pay the same taxes as the rich. No *Census*, no *Lustrum*, no division of the citizens into *Classes* and *Centuries*. All assemblies of the people, even for diversion and recreation, were prohibited, both in town and country.

But now *Tarquin* being sensible that all the orders of men in a state could not be long under oppression, without uniting against the oppressor, turned his thoughts to gain foreigners to his interest. And to this end he married his daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, a man of bravery and experience in war, and of the most considerable interest of any among the *Latines*. *Mamilius* procured his father-in-law many friends of the chief persons of *Latium*; but *Tarquin* had like to have lost them again by his haughty behaviour. He had desired the *Latines* to convene a national Council at *Ferentinum*, where he would meet them on a day appointed by himself. The deputies came and took their places in the sacred grove of the temple of *Flora*. There they waited many hours, but *Tarquin* did not appear. The assembly grew impatient, and *Turnus Herdonius*, an enterprizing eloquent man, who hated *Tarquin*, and was jealous of *Mamilius*, laid hold of this occasion to inveigh against the King. *I am not at all surprized*, said he, *that* Rome *has given* Tarquin *the surname of* the Proud. *What can be a greater instance of pride than thus to trifle with the whole* Latine *nation; to summon hither the* Latine *Chiefs to meet him, and not to appear himself? Doubtless he means to put our patience to the test, and to judge by our manner of bearing his insults, how*

D. Hal. B. 4.

Livy, B. 1.

Year of ROME. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

how far he may oppress us whom he has brought so under his yoke. If my advice may have any weight with you, let us return home and take no more notice of the assembly-day than he who appointed it. But *Mamilius* rose up and excused his father-in-law, by imputing his absence to some unforeseen and urgent affairs which hindered his coming, and he prevailed to have the council adjourned to the next day*. Then *Tarquin* appeared, and being put in mind by those who were near him to make some excuse to the *Latines* for having disappointed them the day before, *I was engaged*, said he very coldly, *in making up a difference between a father and his son.—Of all differences*, (briskly answered *Herdonius*) *there is none requires so little time and so few words to compose it. There needs only to tell the son, that if he do not obey his father some dreadful mischief will befall him.* This beginning did not please *Tarquin*, but he concealed his resentment for the present, and proceeded to tell the assembly, that his design in calling them together was to claim his right of commanding the *Latine* armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grandfather; but which he desired might be confirmed to him by them. These words were scarce ended when *Herdonius* stepping forth into the midst of the assembly, with great warmth renewed his invectives against the King and opposed his demand. *What!* said he, *does* Tarquin the Proud *pretend to an hereditary right to govern us? Needs there any stronger proof, than such a claim, of the injustice and wickedness of him who makes it? Was it then a condition in the treaties we made with his grandfather, that we should be subject to his posterity? Was this the meaning of the voluntary and temporary concession we made to him?* Tarquin *employs the same pretence of hereditary right against us, which he has improved to the ruin of* Rome. *Latines! if you hearken to him, your slavery is as certain as that of the* Romans. *And will it be less severe? His own subjects have been some of them murdered by him, others banished their country, others stript of their estates; the very best among the* Romans *have been thus treated, and all in general are deprived of liberty. Will strangers find* Tarquin *a less cruel and less covetous master? Judge of the fate you are to expect by that of* Rome.

Tarquin was disconcerted by the boldness of this orator, and desired that the assembly might sit again the following day, when he promised to give an answer to the invectives of *Herdonius*. In the mean time, he corrupted some of *Herdonius*'s domesticks, and engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their master's baggage. The next morning entering the assembly with an air of confidence, he told them that one word was sufficient to destroy all the calumnies of *Herdonius*. *In reality* (he added) *my accuser has himself acquitted me. Were I such a person as he represents me, would he have sought an alliance with me? He earnestly sollicited me to give him my daughter in marriage; but for good reasons I refused to accept him for a son-in-law; and here is the source of his malice. But this is no time to enter further into my justification. Your own interests, your own safety, your*

* *Livy* says, B. 1. That the assembly was formed early in the morning, and that *Tarquin* arrived the evening of the same day.

liberties and lives demand of present all your attention. He then accused his adversary of having laid a plot to cut off all the Deputies there present, and to usurp a tyranny over the *Latine* cities; and, as a proof of this, he informed them of the arms in *Herdonius*'s baggage. An accusation of such importance threw all the assembly into a fright, except the accused, who knowing nothing of those arms, and believing that his innocence would quickly appear, desired his baggage might be searched; declaring, at the same time, his consent to be judged guilty, if the fact, alledged in evidence of the crime, proved true. Accordingly a examination was made, and the arms being found and brought into the assembly, it put the Deputies into such a rage, that, without suffering *Herdonius* to make his defence, they immediately sentenced him to be thrown into a bason at the head of the spring of *Ferentinum*, where a hurdle being laid upon him, and stones heaped upon the hurdle, he was pressed down into the water and drowned.

§. II. BUT the death of an enemy was not the only advantage *Tarquin* drew from this monstrous treachery: The *Latines* look'd upon him as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grandfather, and declared the King of *Rome* General of the *Latine* armies. And, soon after, this, the *Hernici*, and two Cantons of the *Volsci*, entered into a league with him upon the same terms. In order to keep these confederates firm to their engagements, *Tarquin*, with their approbation, erected a new temple in the midst of them to *Jupiter Latialis*. It stood on a hill near the ruins of *Alba*. There the Diets of the united Cantons were annually to assemble; and it was agreed that the several nations in league should upon no pretence do any act of hostility against each other during that time; but should there jointly offer sacrifices to *Jupiter* and feast together in token of union. These assemblies were called *Latia*; and the day appointed for their annual meeting, which was the twenty-seventh of *April*, was called *Feriæ Latinæ*. The *Romans*, as the chief members of the alliance, always presided at the sacrifices and deliberations. The Diet consisted of forty-seven Deputies, from so many cities, forming that *Latine* association, which, in after-times, was the best part of the *Roman* strength, and contributed more than all the rest of *Italy* to the conquest of the world.

Tarquin, thus strengthen'd and supported, resolved to make war upon those of the *Volsci* who had refused to enter into alliance with him. But he did not raise his army upon the foot of *Servius*'s division of the *Roman* soldiery by *Centuries*, nor were the allies any longer a separate corps. Not having sufficient confidence in the fidelity of his *Romans*, he chose only a small number of them, such as he could most depend on, and blended them with the *Latines* in the same *Legions*. The inhabitants of *Suessa Pometia*, one of the most flourishing cities of the *Volsci*, having committed some depredations on the *Latines*, *Tarquin* laid hold of this pretence to begin the war. He defeated their army, took their city by storm, and gave the plunder of it as free booty to the soldiers, reserving only the tenth part of the spoil towards the expence of finishing the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. CCXXIV.

Year of ROME. TARQUIN II. Seventh King. *Faſt. Cap.*

He then turned his arms againſt the *Sabines*, who had divided all their forces into two bodies, and poſted them, one near *Eretum*, the other near *Fidenæ*. By his maſterly conduct, he entirely defeated both armies, and made the whole *Sabine* nation tributary. And it is probable, that the King at this time decreed himſelf two triumphs, one for his victory over the *Volſci*, the other for having ſubdued the *Sabines*.

CCXXX. Upon his return to *Rome*, he ſet the people at work to finiſh the common ſewers, and the great *Circus*. He thought an idle populace, who did not love their Prince, dangerous. The artificers were likewiſe taken out of their ſhops, and obliged to painful drudgeries, with ſhort allowance: but by theſe vexatious methods he brought to perfection thoſe two ſtructures which his grandfather had begun.

CCXXXV to CCXLI. §. III. IN the mean while, a great number of diſcontented *Patricians*, who fled from their own city, took refuge at *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, about 100 furlongs from *Rome* in the way to *Praneſte*; and the inhabitants being touched with compaſſion to ſee ſo many conſiderable perſons under perſecution, reſolved to make themſelves parties in the quarrel, and begin a war with the King of *Rome*. *Tarquin* was informed of their preparations to take the field, and, ſuſpecting againſt whom they were deſigned, raiſed a prodigious bulwark (much boaſted of in after-ages) to cover the city on the ſide of *Gabii*. This war between the *Romans* and the *Gabini* laſted ſeven years, with various ſucceſs; and the inroads and devaſtations made on both ſides, being a hindrance to all ſowing and reaping, produced at length a ſcarcity of corn. It was chiefly felt at *Rome*, where complaints were made by the people, that they ſuffered, not by any hatred of their neighbours to them, but to the King; and they demanded either a peace or proviſions; and theſe diſcontents were fomented by emiſſaries from the exiles at *Gabii*. *Tarquin* being much perplexed by the people's clamours, which tended to a general ſedition, his ſon *Sextus Tarquinius* propoſed, and, in concert with him, put in practiſe an expedient equally artful and diſhonourable for reducing *Gabii*. He pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed againſt him as a tyrant, who had no compaſſion even for his own children; upon which the King cauſed him to be beaten publickly in the *Forum* as a rebel. This diſcontent of the ſon, and barbarity of the father, were reported at *Gabii* by truſty perſons ſent thither on purpoſe, who by artful management made the *Gabini* very deſirous to have *Sextus* among them. Accordingly a ſecret negotiation was ſet on foot for that end, and *Sextus* was at length prevailed with to accept the invitation of the *Gabini*, they giving him their ſolemn promiſe never to deliver him up to his father, on any pretence whatſoever.

When he was come to *Gabii*, his whole talk, both in publick and private, turned upon the tyranny of the King of *Rome*; and he ſuited his actions to his diſcourſe. No enemy of *Rome* was more active and enterpriſing. He frequently made inroads on the *Roman* lands, and came back loaded with ſpoil; his father contriving to gain him honour, by always

ſending

Year of ROME. TARQUIN II. Fifth King.

ſending againſt him weak parties which muſt infallibly be worſted. By this means, *Sextus* came at length to ſuch a high degree of credit among the *Gabini*, that he was choſen General of their army, and was as much maſter in *Gabii*, as *Tarquin* was in *Rome*. And now finding his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he diſpatched a ſlave to his father, to enquire what he ſhould do. The King, unwilling to ſend an anſwer, either in writing, or by word of mouth, took the ſlave into a garden, and there (in imitation of *Thraſybulus* the *Mileſian*) ſtruck off the heads of all the talleſt poppies. This done, he ſent back the meſſenger. *Sextus* underſtood the hint, aſſembled the *Gabini*, and pretended to have diſcovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people in a rage preſſed him to declare the conſpirators, and with much difficulty he ſuffered them, as it were, to extort from him the name of *Antiſtius Petro*, a man whoſe merit had made him the moſt conſiderable perſon in his country. *Antiſtius* deſpiſed the accuſation; but *Sextus* had bribed his ſervants (in the ſame manner as *Tarquin* had formerly done thoſe of *Herdonius*) to convey among his papers ſome letters from the King of *Rome*; which being produced and read, the populace, without further examination, immediately ſtoned him; and to *Sextus* was committed the care of diſcovering his accomplices, and appointing their puniſhment. Upon this he ordered the city gates to be ſhut, and ſent officers into every quarter of it, to cut off the heads of all the eminent men, and flower of the Nobility, without mercy. And in the midſt of the deſolation and confuſion, cauſed by this dreadful maſſacre, he opened the gates to his father, to whom he had given timely notice of his deſign; and *Tarquin* entered the city with all the pride of a conqueror.

The *Gabini* no ſooner ſaw themſelves thus totally at the mercy of the Tyrant, but they fell into the loweſt depths of deſpair, and there was no evil which they did not expect to ſuffer. However, their misfortunes were not ſo great as their fears. *Tarquin* upon this occaſion conſulted good policy more than his revenge. Not one of the citizens was put to death by his orders. He granted them life, liberty, and eſtates, and even entered into a treaty with the city; the articles of which, when it was ratified, were written on a ſhield made of the hide of an ox ſacrificed on that occaſion. (This treaty was yet to be ſeen at *Rome* in *Auguſtus*'s time.)

It was one part of *Tarquin*'s refined politicks to keep his ſons at a diſtance from him. He left *Sextus* therefore in *Gabii*, and made him King of the place. His two other ſons, *Titus* and *Aruns*, he ſent away under pretence of making them the founders of two colonies [a]. The firſt was

[a] It is proper to declare, in the beginning of this hiſtory, on what occaſions the *Romans* ſent out colonies, and what privileges thoſe colonies enjoyed. The *Romans* never ſent out their citizens to found colonies, but either to enlarge their limits, or to curb ſome nations who were yet unſubdued, or to eaſe their city of too great a number of inhabitants, or to get rid of a multitude who were inclined to ſedition, or to reward the old ſoldiers of the *Roman* legions. Before theſe colonies ſet out from *Rome*, a certain quantity of land was aſſigned them, in the place where they were to ſettle, which was to be their own pro-

Year of ROME.

TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

was to build a city at *Signia*, and the other at *Circeum*, a promontory on the shore of the *Tyrrhene* sea, and both these to keep the *Volsci* in awe.

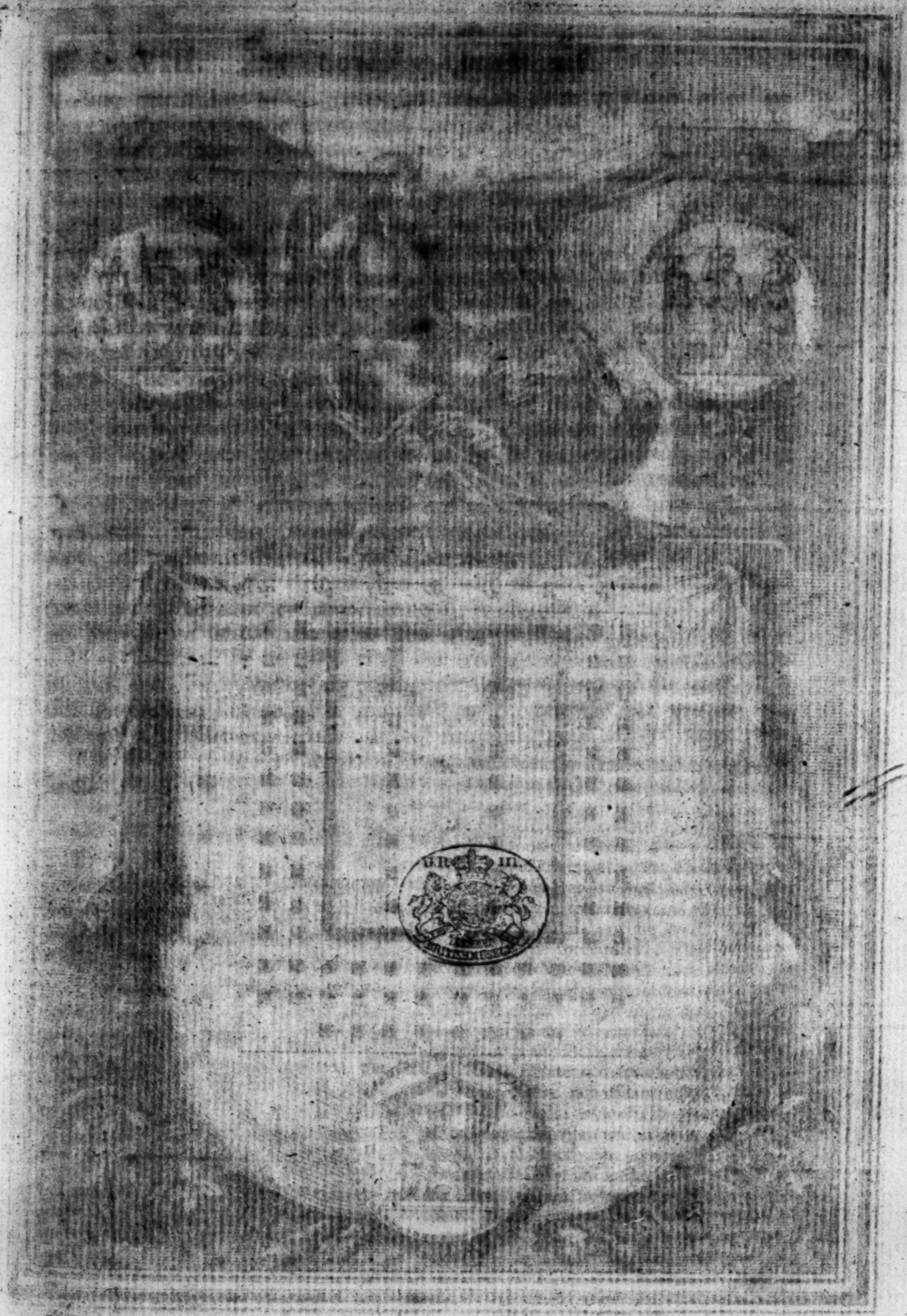
§. IV. *TARQUIN* now enjoyed a profound peace at *Rome*; the *Romans* were become accustomed to the yoke of an imperious master; and the weight of oppression made them silent. It was at this time that an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which she offered to sell, but at a very considerable price. *Tarquin* refusing to give it, she withdrew and burnt three of the nine. Some time after she returned to court, and demanded the same price for the remaining six. This made her look'd upon as a mad woman, and she was driven away with scorn. Nevertheless having burnt the half of what were left, she came a third time, and demanded for the remaining three, the same price which she had asked for the whole nine. The novelty of such a proceeding made *Tarquin* curious to have the books examined. They were put therefore into the hands of the *Augurs*, who finding them to be the oracles of the *Sybil* of *Cumæ*, declared them to be an invaluable treasure. Upon this the woman was paid the sum she demanded, and she soon after disappeared, having first exhorted the *Romans* to preserve her books with care. They soon began to be religiously respected at *Rome*. *Tarquin* appointed two persons of distinction, to be guardians of them. These were styled *Duumviri*. When the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was built, the books were locked up there in a vault, and were afterwards burnt with the temple it self.

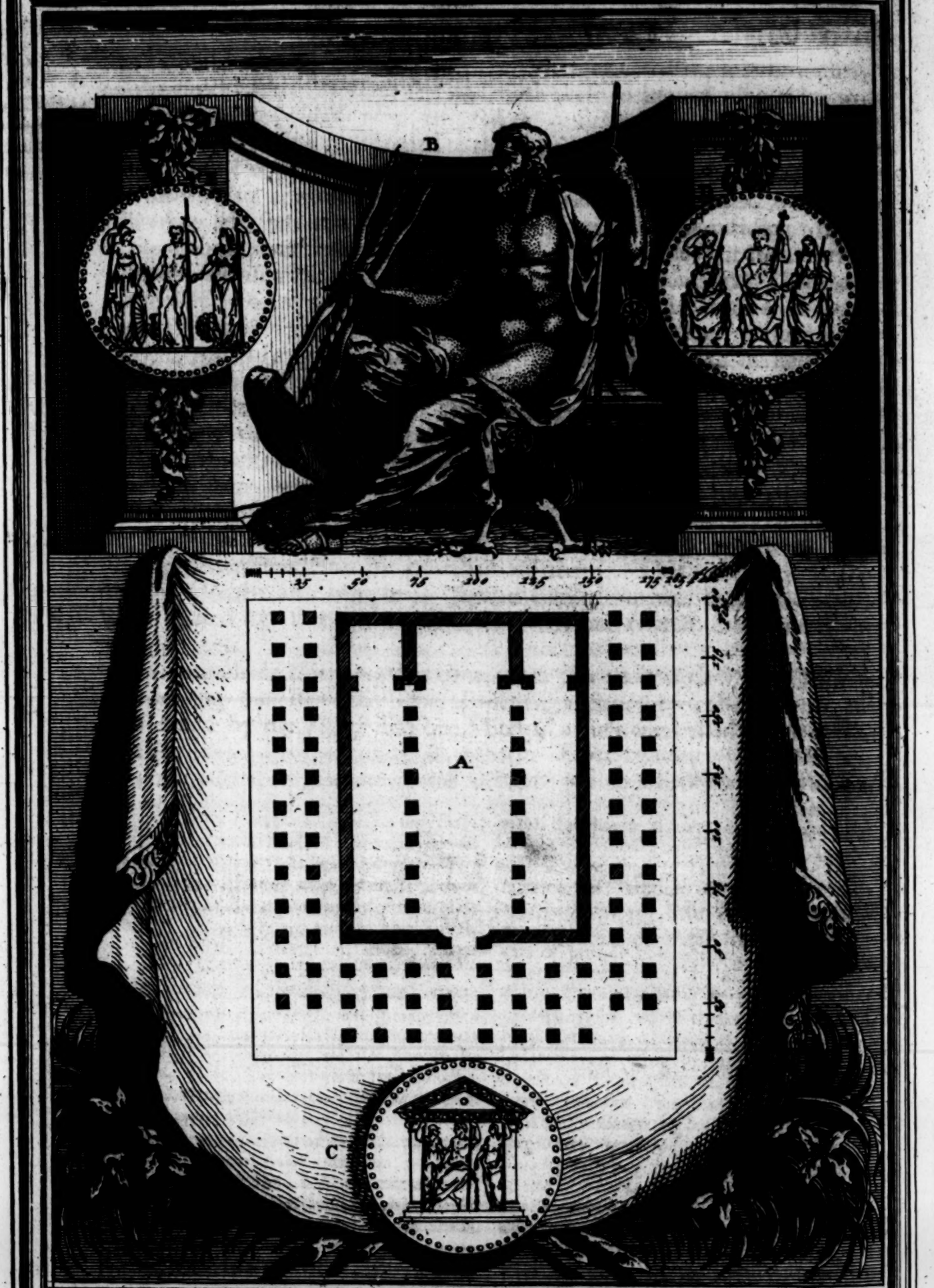
It was also in this *Tarquin*'s time, that the *written* civil law had its rise among the *Romans*. One *Papirius*, a Senator, collected all the laws made by the Kings into one body, which was called the *Papirian* law.

perty. And the number of families sent from *Rome* was proportioned to the quantity of ground which was to be given them. The persons so transplanted were generally such as had neither land nor houses, either in city or country. They marched to the place of their new habitation, in order of battle. There they either built them a city themselves, or took possession of one already built, which was left empty for them. Here they lived agreeably to the *Roman* laws, but immediately lost the right of suffrage they had had in the *Comitia*. Nor could they stand for any office in the Commonwealth, unless they were again made citizens of *Rome*.

These officers were afterwards encreased to 10. (*Decemviri*,) and then to 15. (*Quindecemviri*.) It was their business to consult the *Sybilline* books, whenever the Senate thought it proper. But recourse was had to them, in times only of publick distress; as when a dangerous sedition threatned the state, when the *Roman* armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to *Rome*; as for instance, an eruption of the fire of *Vesuvius* or *Ætna*, or some monstrous birth of man or beast. Then the *Duumviri* had the care of putting in execution, whatever they thought commanded by the books of the *Sybils*. They presided over the sacrifices, and publick sports, which they appointed, to appease the wrath of Heaven. And lastly, they ordered every thing that related to the *Ludi Seculares*. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, as well as from civil and military employments. This sort of magistracy continued at *Rome* till the time of *Theodosius*, when it was abolished with the rest of the *Roman* superstitions.

Some pretend, that *Papirius*'s work did not continue long in use, since the laws of the Kings did not survive *Tarquin the Proud*, but were abolished with the regal power. But this


G.R. III.



A. *The Ichnography of ỳ Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus. B. *The most common Figure of* Jupiter. C. *One of* Trajan's *Medals*. D. *Another of ỳ Same Emperour*. E. *A Medal of* Antoninus.—

Year of *ROME.*

TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

Rome continuing in peace, *Tarquin* laid hold of the opportunity to carry on the magnificent work his grandfather had begun, the temple of the * *Capitol*. The money neceſſary for it had been laid by ever ſince the taking of *Sueſſa Pometia*. He hired architects and ſkilful workmen from *Hetruria*; and as to the laborious part, he made his ſubjects the drudges, as he had often done before; but as this was a religious undertaking, they aſſiſted in carrying it on with more chearfulneſs than uſual.

§. V. WHILE *Tarquin* and the *Romans* were thus employed, a dreadful plague raged in *Rome*; and this with ſome other extraordinary events made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, that he reſolved to ſend his ſons *Titus* and *Aruns* to conſult the oracle of *Delphi* upon the cauſe and cure of the contagion. The Princes prepared magnificent preſents for *Apollo*; and *Junius Brutus* (the counterfeit idiot) being to attend them for their amuſement in the journey, reſolved to carry his offering too. The preſent he choſe for the God was an elder-ſtick, and this was matter of diverſion to the whole court. However, as he knew that the Gods of thoſe times, or their miniſters, were much affected with valuable offerings, he had the precaution to incloſe a rod of gold in his ſtick, without any body's knowledge. And thus it was a true emblem of his own mind and conduct,

this opinion ought to be confined within juſt bounds. It is true, the laws that favoured the monarchic ſtate were aboliſhed after the revolution, which changed the government of *Rome* into a Republick. But the laws which related to good polity in general, ſuch as thoſe of *Servius Tullius*, concerning commerce, contracts, the *Cenſus*, and the *Luſtra*, always continued in force. It may likewiſe be affirmed, that the laws of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and other Kings were ſtill reſpected, and ever continued to be, as it were, the ground-work of the *Roman* law.

* The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was ſituated on the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, which had been long ſince made a part of *Rome*. The original of the new name of *Capitol*, given to this hill, is by hiſtorians ſaid to be this. As the workmen were digging the foundations, or levelling the *Area* of the temple of *Jupiter*, they are ſaid to have found very deep in the earth, the head of a man, whoſe features were preſerved entire, and the blood of it was red as if but newly ſhed. This the *Romans* looked on as a prodigy, and the *Hetrurian* diviners being conſulted upon it, declared it to preſage, that *Rome* would ſome time or other become the miſtreſs and head of *Italy*. The prodigy, and the anſwer of the *Augurs* therefore encouraged *Tarquin* to ſpare neither pains nor coſt, in the raiſing a ſtructure to the honour of thoſe Gods, who were the authors of ſo glorious a deſtiny. Accordingly, the foundations of it were marked out, and the temple was built of almoſt a ſquare form; for it was but fifteen foot longer than it was broad. It is reckoned to have been two hundred foot broad, and about two hundred and fifteen foot long. The front of this great building was to the ſouth, that is, it faced the hill *Palatinus*, and the *Forum Romanum*. An hundred ſteps led up to it from the *Forum*, which were divided at certain diſtances, by large half-pates, or landing-places, to give thoſe who went up time to breathe, before they came to the top of the hill, and the foot of the *Portico*. This front conſiſted of three rows of pillars; and the two ſides of the temple were adorned with a *Periſtyle*, conſiſting of a double row of pillars. It was, in after ages, burnt down more than once; and the *Romans* always rebuilt it, ſtill preſerving the ſame proportions: till at laſt, the embelliſhments that were added to it, made it one of the richeſt ſanctuaries in the world. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt, both within and without. It contained three chapels, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva*, or was rather three temples under the ſame roof.

who

Year of ROME. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

who under a contemptible outside concealed the richeſt gifts of nature. It is probable that the Oracle told them, among other things, that there would quickly be a new reign at *Rome*; becauſe it is ſaid, that when they had performed their father's commiſſion they enquired, which of them ſhould ſucceed *Tarquin*; and that the God declared, that the government of *Rome* was deſtined to HIM *who ſhould firſt give a kiſs to his mother*. Upon this, we are told, that the two brothers either drew lots, which of them at CCXLIII. their return to *Rome* ſhould firſt kiſs his mother *Tullia*, or agreed to do it both together, that they might reign jointly; but that *Brutus*, imagining the Oracle had another meaning, pretended to fall down by chance and kiſſed the earth, the common mother of all living. Whether theſe things be entirely fabulous or not, the revolution, which aboliſhed the Regal Power, happened ſoon after their return to *Rome*. They found the city in a commotion, on account of the war in which the King was engaged with the *Rutuli*. In hopes of recruiting his exhauſted treaſury, he had marched his army to *Ardea*, their capital, about 20 miles from *Rome*, thinking to take it without oppoſition: but he found himſelf obliged to beſiege it in form. This put him under a neceſſity of laying a heavy tax upon the people; and this tax greatly increaſed the number of the malecontents, and diſpoſed them to a revolt.

§. VI. THE ſiege being carried on very ſlowly, the general officers had a good deal of leiſure for diverſions, and they mutually made entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when *Sextus Tarquinius* was etertaining his brothers, their kinſman *Collatinus* being of the company, the converſation happened to turn upon the merit of wives. Every one extoll'd the good qualities of his own; but *Collatinus* affirm'd, that his *Lucretia* excelled all others. It was a kind of quarrel, and in order to end it, they took the method which mirth and wine inſpired; which was to mount their horſes, go and ſurprize their wives: and it was agreed, that ſhe whom they found employed in the manner moſt becoming her ſex, ſhould have the preference. Away therefore they galloped firſt to *Rome*, where they ſurpriſed the King's daughters-in-law all together in the midſt of feaſting and diverſions; and the Ladies ſeemed much diſconcerted by the unexpected return of their huſbands. From *Rome* they haſted away to *Collatia*, the place where *Collatinus* reſided in time of peace. (He was the grandſon of *Egerius*, that nephew* of *Tarquinius Priſcus* beforementioned, to whom that King gave the city and territory of *Collatia* in property.) Though the night was far advanced when the Princes arrived there, they found *Lucretia* up, with her maids about her, ſpinning and working in wool. The company her huſband brought her of a ſudden did not diſcompoſe her; and they were all pleaſed with the reception ſhe gave them. *Sextus* was ſo captivated with her beauty, and ſo inflamed with paſſion, which her inſuperable modeſty made the more violent, that he became exceedingly unwilling to leave the place; but there was an

* See Page 77.

abſolute

absolute neceſſity for his appearing at the camp before *Ardea*. However he found a pretence to return very ſoon to *Collatia*; and went to lodge at his kinſman's houſe. *Lucretia*, in her huſband's abſence, entertained him with great civility and reſpect, and after ſupper he was conducted to his apartment. When all were aſleep he ſtole into *Lucretia*'s chamber, and coming with his drawn ſword to her bed-ſide, laid his left hand upon her breaſt and wakened her; *Lucretia*, ſaid he, I [illegible] Sextus Tarquinius, *if you ſpeak a word you die*. Then he declared his paſſion, and by intreaties, mixed with menaces, endeavoured to make her yield to his deſires. And when he found that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to conſent, he threatned her alſo with infamy. He told her that he would kill one of her ſlaves, lay him naked by her when ſhe was dead, and then declare to all the world that he had only revenged the injured honour of *Collatinus*. The dread of ignominy was too powerful for *Lucretia*'s conſtancy; *Sextus* obtained his wiſhes, and early the next morning appeared again in the camp. *Lucretia*, though ſhe had eſcaped what ſhe dreaded as the greateſt of evils, yet could not endure the thoughts of life after the violence ſhe had ſuffered. She dreſſed herſelf in mourning, took a ponyard under her robe, wrote to her huſband at the camp to meet her at her father *Lucretius*'s houſe, and then mounting her chariot came to *Rome**. People were ſurprized to ſee her wearing all the marks of the deepeſt ſorrow, and often aſked her as ſhe paſſed along what was the cauſe of her grief. She anſwered them only by weeping; and, when the ſame queſtion was put to her at her father's houſe, ſhe ſtill refuſed to diſcover the matter, till there ſhould be a full aſſembly of her friends and relations, whom ſhe deſired might be called together. Upon the firſt ſummons great numbers of the Nobility crowded to the houſe, and among the reſt *P. Valerius* (afterwards *Poplicola*) and *Lucius Junius*, who ſeems to have waited for this moment to throw off that maſk of ſtupidity, which had got him the ſurname of *Brutus*. When the aſſembly was pretty numerous, ſhe addreſſed her ſelf to her huſband *Collatinus*, diſcloſed in few words the whole ſecret, her own ſhame and his diſhonour, and the treacherous author of both: She proteſted the unſpotted innocence of her heart, but at the ſame time declared her firm reſolution not to live, and conjured them not to let the crime of *Sextus Tarquinius* go unpuniſhed: All who were preſent gave her, one by one, their ſolemn promiſe to revenge the inſult ſhe had ſuffered; they alſo endeavoured to comfort her, by telling her, that the body could not ſin, and that there could be no guilt, where the mind was unconſenting; but nothing could divert her from the deſperate reſolution ſhe had taken: *No*, ſaid ſhe, *no woman ſhall hereafter ſurvive her honour, and ſay*, Lucretia *was her example*; and then having embraced her father and her huſband, as one that

Year of ROME CCXLIII. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

D. Hal. B. 4.

Livy.

* According to *Livy*, ſhe ſent to deſire her father and huſband to come to her at her own houſe, and it was at *Collatia* that ſhe killed herſelf.

bids

Year of ROME CCXLIII. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

bids a last farewel, she immediately plunged the concealed dagger into her breast. Her father and husband, starting, cried out as she fell at their feet; a mixture of compassion and fury seized the whole assembly, and the blood, which *Lucretia* shed to attest her innocence, or repair her glory, served likewise to cement the union of those illustrious patriots who gave liberty to *Rome*. For *Brutus* going near to the dying Lady, drew the poniard out of her bosom, and, shewing it all bloody to the assembly, *Yes*, said he, *I swear by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing but* royal *villany could have polluted, that I will pursue* Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, *his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword, nor will ever suffer any of that family or of any other whatsoever to be* King *in* Rome; *Ye Gods, I call you to witness this my oath!* —— This said, he presented the dagger to *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, *Valerius*, and the rest of the company, and engaged them to take the same oath. These noble *Romans*, struck with amazement at the prodigious appearance of wisdom in an idiot, look'd on him as inspired, and submitted entirely to his conduct. He then let them know, that his folly had been only feigned, he exhorted them to defer lamenting the death of *Lucretia* to another time, to behave themselves now like men and *Romans*, and think only of revenging it; and he advised them to begin by shutting the gates of *Rome*, and placing a trusty guard to secure them, that no body might go out of the city to give notice at the camp of what was doing. This counsel was approved, and, as *Lucretius* had been left governor of the city by *Tarquin*, was put in execution without difficulty.

Then *Brutus*, causing the yet bleeding *Lucretia* to be carried to the place where the *Comitia* were usually held, and plating the corps where it might be seen by every body, ordered the people to be called together. By a surprizing instance of good-fortune, he happened to be legally invested with the power of assembling the *Comitia*; this right was annexed to the office of *Tribune*, or chief commander of the King's horse-guards, which *Tarquin* had given him, because he thought him incapable of using it to his disadvantage. When the multitude were assembled, the imagined idiot, to their great surprise, addressing himself to them, began with an apology for his presuming to speak in publick on so important an occasion; he in few words explained to them all the mystery of his past conduct, and the necessity he had been under, for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means to preserve his life after the murder of his father and elder brother. He then proceeded to tell them the resolution the Patricians were come to of deposing the Tyrant, and press'd them in the strongest terms to concur in that design. He enumerated the crimes by which *Tarquin*, in concert with the wicked *Tullia*, had made his way to the throne. He put them in mind of *Aruns Tarquinius* (the Tyrant's brother) and the elder *Tullia*, both persons of amiable dispositions, and both treacherously poisoned, he by his wife the present Queen, she by her husband the present King; the criminal nuptials that followed these secret murders, and the horrid tragedy that followed those

Year of ROME CCXLIII. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

nuptials [illegible], the juſteſt, the braveſt, the moſt beneficent of Kings, openly aſſaſſinated, and the cruel parricide riding in triumph over the body of her unhappy father: O execrable fact! ye Gods, the avengers of injured parents, SEE beheld it. But why [illegible] ſhould we theſe crimes committed by the Tyrant againſt his own family and blood? The wrongs he has done his COUNTRY, his cruelties to [illegible] of you in particular are inſufferable and without end. With what an utter contempt of all our laws did he aſcend the elective Kingdom? And how has he maintained himſelf in his illegal power? By murders, by baniſhments, by the oppreſſion of all his ſubjects. As for the Patricians——you ſee the condition to which we are reduced; —— I ſhall ſay nothing of it——our greateſt enemies could not behold it without compaſſion. And as for you, Plebeians, what is become of your rights and privileges? Are you ever called together to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices? to elect your magiſtrates? or to give your ſuffrages in publick affairs? Have you not been treated as the vileſt of ſlaves? The victorious Romans, victorious over all the nations around them, are condemned at home to undergo the moſt painful drudgeries, to be hewers of ſtone, to ſweat under heavy burthens, to work in mines, and breath the unwholeſome air of ſinks and common ſewers. And are theſe miſeries, theſe indignities never to have an end? Or, if you ever propoſe to aſſert your freedom, how long will you delay it? You wait, perhaps, for Tarquin's death. But what benefit would accrue to you from that? He has three ſons, more wicked, if poſſible, than himſelf. By what the eldeſt of them has juſt now done, you may judge what is to be expected from ſuch a race. There! Romans, turn your eyes to that ſad ſpectacle—the daughter of Lucretius—Collatinus's wife—ſhe died by her own hand. See there a noble Lady, whom the luſt of a Tarquin reduced to the neceſſity of being her own executioner, to atteſt her innocence. Sextus, hoſpitably entertained by her, as a kinſman of her huſband's,—Sextus, perfidious gueſt, became her brutal raviſher. The chaſte, the generous Lucretia could not ſurvive the inſult. Glorious woman! Once only treated as a ſlave, ſhe thought life no longer to be endured. Lucretia, a woman, diſdained a life that depended on a tyrant's will; and ſhall we, ſhall men with ſuch an example before our eyes, and after five and twenty years of ignominious ſervitude, ſhall we, through a fear of dying, defer one ſingle inſtant to aſſert our liberty? No, Romans, now is the time; the favourable moment, we have ſo long waited for, is come. Tarquin is abſent from Rome: The Patricians are at the head of the enterpriſe: The city is abundantly provided with men, arms, and all things neceſſary. There is nothing wanting to ſecure the ſucceſs, if our own courage does not fail us. And ſhall thoſe warriors who have ever been ſo brave when foreign enemies were to be ſubdued, or when conqueſts were to be made to gratify the ambition and avarice of a Tyrant, be then only cowards, when they are to deliver themſelves from SLAVERY? Some of you are perhaps intimidated by the army which Tarquin now commands. The ſoldiers, you imagine, will take the part of their General. Baniſh ſo groundleſs a fear. The love of liberty is natural to all men. Your fellow citizens in the camp feel the weight of oppreſſion with as quick a ſenſe as you that are in Rome, and will as eagerly

Livy and *D. Hal.*

Year of ROME CCXLIII. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

seize the occasion of throwing off the yoke. But should even there be some among them, who through baseness of spirit or a bad education, will be disposed to favour the tyrant, the number of these can be but small, and we have means sufficient in our hands to reduce them to reason. They have left us hostages more dear to them than life. Their wives, their children, their fathers, their mothers, are here in the city. Courage! Romans, the Gods are for us, those Gods whose temples and altars the impious Tarquin has profaned by sacrifices and libations made with polluted hands, polluted with blood, and with numberless unexpiated crimes committed against his subjects. O ye Gods who protected our fore-fathers, and ye Genii who watch for the preservation and glory of Rome, do you inspire us with courage and unanimity in this glorious cause, and we will to our last breath defend your worship from all profanation.

D. Hal. B. 4. p. 264.

Brutus's harangue was often interrupted by the acclamations of the people. Some wept at the remembrance of past sufferings; others out of joy, at the hopes of a more happy government; and every one called out for arms. But *Brutus* did not judge it proper to arm the people, till they had first confirmed, by their suffrages, a decree of the Senate, which was to this effect: It deprived *Tarquin* of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him and all his posterity to perpetual banishment, and devoted to the Gods of hell every *Roman* who should hereafter by word or deed endeavour his restoration. The *Curiæ* being assembled and the matter proposed, they were all unanimous in confirming the Senate's decree.

And now the government being reduced to an *Interregnum*, and the people having declared *Spurius Lucretius* (the Father of *Lucretia*) *Inter-Rex*, the great and important question, the future form of government, was debated by the Leaders in the Revolution. And here again *Brutus* discovered himself to be a consummate politician. *Experience*, said he, *has shewn us in the examples of* Romulus *and* Numa, *and other good Kings, that it is by no means proper that* Rome *should be without supreme Magistrates, to keep an even balance of the powers of the Senate and People; but it is necessary that the sovereign authority should neither center in one man, nor be perpetual; let it be divided between two, who may jointly make the interests of the publick their chief concern: they will be a check upon each other, and have a mutual emulation in the discharge of their duty. However, let us take particular care, not to continue their power too long, lest they abuse it, and become unwilling to part with it. Let us change the very names of* King *and* Kingdom, *and give the two heads that are to govern us, the name of* Consuls[a], *and the* Roman *state that of* Republick. *Lest*

[a] *Pomponius* the *Civilian* contends, that the name of *Consul* was taken from the word *consulere*, as signifying *To watch for the publick good*. *Varro* derives this name from the same word *consulere*, but in a different signification, namely, as importing *to consult*, or *ask counsel*, because the intent of those who first instituted the *Consuls*, was, that they should do nothing, but with the *advice*, or *counsel*, of the people and the Senate. The law which placed

Year of ROME CCXLIII.

TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

Let us abolish the pompous ensigns of regal pride, sceptres, crowns, and royal robes; let our Consuls only sit on six ivory chairs, wear a white robe, and be attended by twelve Lictors[a]. *But what am I saying? I am not for utterly abolishing the venerable name of King, which was consecrated by the most auspicious to Rome herself at her foundation. Let us give it to that magistrate to whom we commit the sacerdotal duty of religion; let his office be for life, and let him be called King of Sacred Things*[b]. The whole council approved of this scheme, and the people, being again assembled by *Curiæ*, established the new form of administration by a law.

But to lose no time, and to put the finishing hand to the revolution, the people were once more called together, not by *Curiæ*, but by *Centuriæ*, and directed to come armed to the *Campus Martius*, in order to the election of the two first *Consuls*. There *Junius Brutus*, the warmest and most active of the patriots, and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the husband of *Lucretia*, being proposed to the people by *Lucretius* the *Præfect*, were unanimously chosen to the new dignity, the *Romans* believing they could no where find more irreconcileable enemies to the *Tarquins*. *Tullia*, now seeing that all was lost, and that she could no longer be safe in *Rome*, left it, to go to her husband. She was hooted at, and carted by the populace as she passed through the city, yet they forbore to offer her any violence.

In the mean time *Tarquin* being informed by some who had got out of *Rome* before the gates were shut, that *Brutus* was raising commotions

placed the *Consuls* at the head of the Republick, calls them also *Prætors* and *Judges*. We have this law yet remaining, as quoted by *Tully* in his *Third Book of Laws*. When it was made in the *Comitia*, which changed the Monarchy into a Republick, it is said to have run thus: *Regio imperio duo sunto, iique prætores, judicanto, & consulunto, Prætores, Judices, Consules, appellantur. Militiæ summum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis salus populi suprema lex esto.*

[a] The *Consuls* were only denied the common use of the sceptre, crown, and an habit of distinction. *Livy*, B. 30. assures us, that the *Consuls*, on the days of their triumphs, in the publick sports, and at solemn sacrifices, wore the crown of gold, the ivory staff or sceptre, and the habit striped with purple, as the Kings did.

[a] We read in the fourth book of *Valerius Maximus*, that the *Consuls* at first retained as many *Lictors* as the Kings, and that they had twenty-four. And he adds, that the *Consul Poplicola* reduced them to twelve. But each *Consul* was not attended with twelve *Lictors*; neither did they divide them so as to have each of them six. They were only guarded by the twelve *Lictors* alternatively, each in his month. This we learn from *Livy*. This ceremonial began with the two first *Consuls*. The *Consul*, who was the elder, or had most children, or most suffrages for the *Consulship*, had the *Lictors* the first month. It appears by a line in *Virgil*'s 6th Book of the *Æneis*, that *Brutus* was first attended with the *Fasces*, before his collegue *Collatinus*.

Consulis imperium hic primus sævasque secures
Accipiet ———

[b] The *Rex Sacrorum*, or *Rex Sacrificulus*, was a considerable dignity among the *Romans*, tho' inferior to that of *Pontifex Maximus*. For fear the name of King should make him too proud, they made him but a subordinate officer, even in the affairs of religion. His wife was called Queen. This office was never conferred on any, but in the *Comitia* of the people, assembled in the *Campus Martius*, by *Centuries*. Nor could any but a *Patrician* be chosen for it. The *King of the Sacrifices* was not suffered to intermeddle with state-affairs. Insomuch, that when, in the *Comitia*, the sacrifice over which he presided, was ended, he withdrew from the assembly.

Year of ROME. CCXLIII.

TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

to his prejudice, came in all haste to the city, attended only by his ſons, and a few friends; but finding the gates ſhut, the people in arms upon the walls, and that *Lucretius* refuſed him entrance, he returned with equal expedition to the camp. There to his extreme ſurprize he found that the conſpirators had, during his ſhort abſence, gained over the army to them. The Conſuls not doubting but *Tarquin* would, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, haſten to the city, had ſent letters to the camp, giving an account of the reſolutions taken at *Rome*, and exhorting the troops to ſhake off the tyrant's yoke. Theſe letters *Titus Herminius* and *Marcus Horatius* had read in a full aſſembly of the ſoldiers convened by *Centuries*, and the matter being put to the vote, it was unanimouſly agreed to adhere to the decree paſſed in the city; ſo that *Tarquin* being both driven from his capital, and rejected by his troops, was forced, at the age of ſeventy-ſix, to fly for refuge, with his wife and three ſons, to *Gabii* [a], that city of *Latium*, of which he had formerly made his ſon *Sextus* governor, inveſting him with a kind of regal power. Here he continued ſome time; but not finding the *Latines* forward enough to eſpouſe his cauſe, he retired into *Hetruria*, the country of his mother's family, where he hoped to find more friends, and a readier aſſiſtance for attempting the recovery of his throne.

[a] *Livy* ſays, that *Brutus* went in perſon to the camp on this affair, but to avoid meeting *Tarquin*, ſhunn'd the high road; and that he arrived before *Ardea* at the ſame time that *Tarquin* appeared at the gates of *Rome*.

[a] *Tarquin's* firſt retreat, according to *Livy*, B. 1. c. 60. was to *Cære* in *Hetruria*, whither he was followed by only two of his ſons. *Sextus* (he adds) retiring to *Gabii*, as his kingdom, was there ſlain by ſome of the inhabitants, in revenge of his former treachery and cruelties. *Livy* alſo makes *Sextus* to be the youngeſt of *Tarquin's* ſons, whereas *Dionyſius* makes him the eldeſt. The laſt-mentioned author brings *Sextus* frequently upon the ſtage after this time; nay he introduces him 14 years after the expulſion of his father, at the battle of *Regillus*, where he is killed. The actions which *Dionyſius* aſcribes to *Sextus* in that battle, the Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* give to a fourth ſon of *Tarquin* named *Lucius*: yet neither *Dionyſius* nor *Livy* mention more than three ſons of that King. *Livy*, B. 1. c. 52. calls *Sextus, minimus ex tribus*. *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 262, makes *Brutus* ſay to the people in his ſpeech on the affair of *Lucretia*, that *Tarquin* had *three* ſons more wicked than himſelf: and B. 5. p. 268, *Tarquin* after his baniſhment wanders from place to place with his *three* ſons. Theſe three ſons were *Sextus*, *Titus* and *Aruns*. If indeed we ſuppoſe with *Livy* that *Sextus* was ſlain by the *Gabini*, and yet ſuppoſe with *Dionyſius*, that *Tarquin* had two ſons living at the battle of *Regillus*, we muſt unavoidably allow him to have had, in all, four ſons; for it is agreed, that *Aruns* was killed in his encounter with *Brutus* in the firſt battle after the regifuge: but it is to be obſerved, that *Dionyſius*, who makes two of *Tarquin's* ſons to be in the battle of *Regillus*, makes *Sextus* to be one of the two; and *Livy*, who ſuppoſes *Sextus* to be ſlain before this time, ſpeaks but of *one* ſon of *Tarquin* in that battle.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

SECOND BOOK.

From the eſtabliſhment of the ROMAN COMMONWEALTH in the year of *Rome* 244, to the re-building of the City in 365, after the burning of it by the *Gauls*.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The ſtate and condition of* Rome *on the abolition of the Regal Power.* §. II. Tarquin *prevails with the Magiſtrates of* Tarquinii *in* Hetruria *to ſend an Embaſſy to* Rome *in his favour, with a letter from him to the* Roman *people.* §. III. *A ſecond Embaſſy from the* Tarquinienſes *to the* Romans. *The Ambaſſadors engage ſome of the young* Patricians *in a plot againſt the new government. It is diſcovered by* Vindicius *a ſlave.* Brutus *condemns his own ſons to death and ſees the execution.* §. IV. Collatinus *is forced to abdicate the Conſulſhip; and* Valerius *is choſen to ſucceed him.* §. V. Tarquin *having ſtirred up the* Tarquinienſes *and* Veientes *to take arms in his cauſe, they come to a battle with the* Romans, *in which* Brutus *is ſlain.* §. VI. *The people entertain a jealouſy of* Valerius's *ambition, but ſoon after give him the name of* Poplicola *or Popular, on account of the laws he makes in their favour, to the diminution of the Conſular Authority.*

§. I. THE baniſhment of the *Tarquins* delivered *Rome* from her domeſtic tyrants, but it raiſed her many enemies abroad, and, by occaſioning the defection of her allies, reduced her *empire* almoſt within the ſame limits where *Romulus* had left it. What might properly be called the *Roman territory*, had always been confined to a very narrow circuit. In the ſpace of 243 years, the *Romans*, though conſtantly victorious in war, had not gained *land* enough to ſupply their city with proviſions. The main ſtrength of the ſtate lay in the *number of the citizens* of *Rome*, which the cuſtom of tranſplanting the

Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. JUNIUS BRUTUS, and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, Conſuls.

inhabitants

A. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. 1st Conſulſhip.

inhabitants of the conquered cities thither had ſo prodigiouſly increaſed, that it put the *Romans* in a condition of uſurping an authority over other nations, the moſt inconſiderable of which had an extent of country far exceeding theirs. By frequent incurſions and depredations they ſo haraſſed the petty ſtates of *Latium* and *Hetruria*, that many of them were conſtrained to enter into treaties with *Rome*, whereby they obliged themſelves to furniſh her with auxiliaries, whenever ſhe ſhould be pleaſed to invade and pillage the lands of her other neighbours. Submiſſions of this kind ſhe called making alliances with her; and theſe uſeful alliances ſupplied the want of a larger territory. But now upon the change of her government, all her allies forſook her at once, and either ſtood neuter, or eſpouſed the cauſe of the baniſh'd King; ſo that ſhe was left entirely to herſelf to maintain the liberty ſhe had aſſumed.

Rome however enjoyed a profound peace in the beginning * of the new adminiſtration. The Army which had been employed in the ſiege of *Ardea* marched home under the conduct of *Horatius* and *Horatius*, who had made a truce with the *Ardeates* for 40 years. Upon this increaſe of ſtrength by the return of the troops which had ſerved under *Tarquin*, the Conſuls thought it expedient to convene the people again by *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*; and when they had in long ſpeeches exhorted them to concord, the decree, paſſed ſome days before againſt the *Tarquins*, was confirmed. Nor was this all. The Conſuls ſtanding before the altars where expiatory ſacrifices had been juſt offered, took an oath in the name of themſelves, their children and poſterity, that they would never recall King *Tarquin*, nor his children, nor their poſterity from baniſhment, nor create any other King of *Rome*, nor ſuffer any to be created; and they made the people take the ſame oath. After this the *Comitia* proceeded to elect a *Rex Sacrorum* to preſide at the ſacrifices; and many of the laws of *Servius Tullius* were revived to the great joy of the people, who were reſtored to their ancient right of deciding by their votes in all important affairs.

Plutarch.

Brutus, being jealous of ſome in the Senate, put all the Senators likewiſe to the teſt of an oath. In this venerable body *Valerius* was the man of the greateſt weight. He had expected to be named Conſul at the firſt election, and being highly diſpleaſed at the preference given to *Collatinus*, had for ſome time withdrawn himſelf from publick affairs, inſomuch that he began to be ſuſpected of favouring the baniſhed King: But he removed theſe apprehenſions, by the remarkable zeal he ſhewed for liberty, when the day came for the Senators to take the ſame oath which the people had taken. He was the firſt man who ſwore never to favour the pretenſions of the *Tarquins*; and his actions ſoon after proved the ſincerity of his oath.

Dion. Hal.

§. II. IN the mean time the *Tarquins* were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to ſtir up the neighbouring ſtates to take arms againſt *Rome*. Having

* *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* agree in fixing this Conſulſhip of *Brutus* and *Collatinus* to the year of *Rome* 245; but the Capitoline Tables, (which the Fathers *Carrea* and *Pouſſin* conſtantly follow), fix it to the year 244.

wandered

wandered from city to city, the old King at length made *Tarquinii* in *Hetruria* his place of residence; and by moving words he so raised the compassion of the *Tarquinienses* as to engage them to send an Embassy to *Rome*, with a modest, submissive letter from himself, directed to the *Roman* people. The Ambassadors represented to the Senate in such strong terms the reasonableness of letting the King be heard, before he was condemned, and the danger which threatned the *Roman* state, from the neighbouring powers, if that common justice were refused, that the Consuls inclined to bring these agents before the people, and leave the decision of the affair to the *Curiæ*: But *Valerius* strenuously opposed so hazardous a proceeding, and, by his influence in the Senate, defeated this first attempt of the artful *Tarquin*. Indeed the Senate was most especially concerned for ever to exclude Kings, who had often oppressed it; and the Consuls therefore thought it proper to restore that venerable body to all its rights and prerogatives, and to gain it the respect of the people, not only by the dignity but by the number of its members, which *Tarquin*'s murders and proscriptions had greatly diminished. And to this end, wise men, and men of interest, were sought out, amongst the *Roman* Knights, to fill up the vacant places; so that the ancient number of 300 was once more compleated. The old Senators had been styled *Patres*, or *Fathers*; and because these new ones were put upon the same list with them, they were called *Conscripti* [b], *i. e.* Persons *written* or *enrolled together with* them.

A. of R. 244. Bef. J. C. 508. 1st Consulship.

§. III. BUT notwithstanding all these prudent measures the rising Republick was upon the brink of being destroyed in its very beginning. Many of the young *Patricians* having been accustomed to licentiousness and pleasure, the austere form of a republican government, in which the laws alone, always deaf and inexorable, were to reign, gave them greater apprehensions than tyranny itself. They were fond of the flattering distinctions of a court, and could not bear the mortification of seeing themselves almost upon a level with the multitude. The sons of *Tarquin* building their hopes on these young debauchees, who regretted the loss of their former companions in pleasure, prevailed with the *Tarquinienses* to send a second embassy to *Rome*, under pretence of demanding the estates of the exiles;

Livy, B. 2.

Plut. Vit. Popl.

[a] We have this account from *Plutarch*. *D. Hal.* affirms, that *Brutus* had no regard to the remonstrances of the Ambassadors.

[b] These *Conscript Fathers* were called the *New Senate*, *Novus Senatus*. And it appears by *Livy*'s words, rightly understood, that the old Senators only were called *Patres*; and that the new ones were distinguished from them by the name of *Conscripti*. It is true, *Dion. Hal.* gives the same name of *Patres Conscripti* to the first Senators, created by *Romulus*: but this forms, *Qui Patres, quique Conscripti essent*, which was used when the Senate was called together, sufficiently shews the mistake of the *Greek* historian: So that when we find in *Latin* authors, *Patres Conscripti*, used to express the Senate in general, the words must be understood, as if they were joined by a conjunction, *Patres, & Conscripti*, i. e. *The Fathers*, and *those who have been added to them*. *Festus* favours this opinion, when he says, that those were called *Conscripti* who had passed from the order of *Roman* Knights into that of Senators. Thus far Father *Rouillé*.

Plutarch in his life of *Romulus* says, that the Senators were at first called simply *Patres*, and when more were added to them, *Patres Conscripti*: But this does not determine whether the latter appellation was given them upon the addition made by *Tatius* the *Sabine* King, by *Tarquinius Priscus*, or by *Brutus*.

V. of R. 244. Bef. J. C. 508. 1st Conſulſhip.

exiles; but with private inſtructions to ſpirit up a faction, if poſſible, to attempt the lives of the Conſuls. The Ambaſſadors were admitted, and nothing could be more modeſt than the demands of the baniſhed King. He aſked only his paternal eſtate; and on that condition promiſed never to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by force of arms. The Conſul *Collatinus* was for complying with the requeſt; but *Brutus* oppoſed it. The affair, having been long conſidered by the Senate, was at laſt referred to the people. *Brutus* endeavoured to bring his Collegue, who was a relation of the *Tarquins*, under a ſuſpicion of treachery. However, the opinion of *Collatinus* prevailed in the *Comitia*, and it was carried by * one vote, that the *Tarquins* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the eſtates of their family.

D. Hal. B. 5. *Plut. vit. Poſl.*

Whilſt the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and in ſelling what could not be carried off, the Ambaſſadors found means to draw ſome of the neareſt relations of the Conſuls into a plot againſt them. Theſe were three young Noblemen of the *Aquilian* family (the ſons of *Collatinus*'s ſiſter) and two of the *Vitellii* (whoſe ſiſter *Brutus* had married) and theſe latter engaged *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the two ſons of *Brutus*, in the ſame conſpiracy. They all bound themſelves by ſolemn oaths, with the dreadful ceremony of drinking the blood of a murthered man, and touching his entrails. The houſe of the *Aquilii* was their place of meeting, and there they all wrote letters to the baniſhed King, which they put into the hands of the Ambaſſadors. But notwithſtanding a great deal of precaution uſed by the conſpirators, to keep the ſecret from their ſervants, *Vindicius* a ſlave, and then butler to the *Aquilii*, ſuſpecting his maſter's deſigns, ſtaid at the door of the apartment, and through a crevice ſaw and heard all that paſſed. He durſt not diſcloſe the ſecret to either of the Conſuls, on account of their near relation to the conſpirators: he went ſtrait to *Valerius*, and unburdened his mind to him. *Valerius* took the ſlave under his protection; and then, by the help of his brother *M. Valerius*, and of his own friends, clients and domeſticks, not only ſeized the letters of the conſpirators, but took all the heads of the conſpiracy priſoners.

Early the next morning the people being ſummoned to the *Comitium*, where *Brutus* and his Collegue ſat on the tribunal of juſtice, the priſoners were brought forth to trial. *Brutus* began it with the examination of his two ſons. *Vindicius* appeared againſt them, and the letters they had written to the *Tarquins* were read. The proof being clear, the priſoners ſtood quite ſilent, and pleaded only by their tears. *Titus* and *Tiberius*, ſaid the ſtern *Brutus*. *What have you to offer in your defence?* They were thrice called upon to plead, but tears were ſtill their only anſwer. The major part of the Senators being touched with compaſſion, a low murmur was heard among them, *baniſh them, baniſh them*. *Collatinus* wept, and even *Valerius* ſeemed to relent, becauſe he ſaid nothing. All the people ſtood trembling in expectation of the ſentence. *Brutus* at length roſe up, and

* *Dionyſius* muſt here mean, that there were 16 *Curiæ* againſt 14, becauſe he tells us, that the affair was decided by the 30 *Curiæ*.

with

with a ſteady voice, not interrupted by a ſigh, ſaid, *Lictors, I deliver them over to you, the reſt is your part.* At theſe words the whole aſſembly ſhrieked; the univerſal conſternation was inexpreſſible; diſtreſs ſhewed itſelf in every face, and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity: but neither theſe intereeſſions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father by the moſt endearing names, could ſoften the inflexible judge. The *Lictors* ſeized upon the criminals, beat them with rods, and then ſtruck off their heads; *Brutus* all the time gazing on the cruel ſpectacle with a ſteady look, and a compoſed countenance. This execution over, he immediately [a] quitted the tribunal, and left his collegue to do the reſt. *Collatinus*, being inclined to ſpare his nephews the *Aquilii*, allowed the priſoners a day to clear themſelves; and ordered their ſlave *Vindicius* (the only evidence againſt them) to be delivered up to his maſters. But this rouzed the indignation of the people, as well as the zeal of *Valerius*, who had promiſed with an oath to protect the witneſs. In vain did the *Lictors* attempt to force *Vindicius* from him; and the multitude called out for *Brutus* to return to the *Comitia*. When *Brutus* came, he told the people that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children: but that for the reſt of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate. Accordingly, by a decree of the *Curiæ*, the conſpirators all ſuffered as rebels, except the Ambaſſadors, who were ſpared out of reſpect to the law of nations. As for *Vindicius*, the people judged him worthy of that liberty [b] he had ſecured to the *Romans*; and beſide

V. of R. 244. Bef. J.C. 508. 1st Conſulſhip.

Plutarch.

[a] *Dion Hal.*'s account of this matter differs from that of *Plutarch*. The former pretends, that *Brutus*, immediately after the execution of his children, had the *Aquilii* brought before him; that after their letters were read aloud, he gave 'em leave to make their defence; and that they, having nothing to ſay for themſelves, had recourſe to tears and entreaties; but to no purpoſe. For *Brutus*, ſtill inflexible, ordered the *Lictors* to ſeize them, and carry them to execution. *Collatinus* ſuſpended it, and made the warmeſt remonſtrances to his collegue, in favour of the conſpirators: but being piqued when he found he could make no impreſſion upon him, he had recourſe to his authority, and pardoned the criminals. This ſo exaſperated *Brutus*, that he committed the *Aquilii* to priſon, in ſpight of the oppoſition of his collegue, and accuſed him before the people, of treaſon and perfidiouſneſs. *Collatinus* ſeeing with grief, that the people were unanimouſly againſt him, and againſt thoſe whoſe defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exerciſe the office of a Conſul with dignity; and therefore choſe to abdicate the magiſtracy, at the perſuaſion of *Spurius Lucretius*, his father-in-law. *Collatinus* was ſucceeded by *Publius Valerius*. *Brutus* immediately, with the concurrence of his new collegue, put all thoſe to death, who had been concerned in the conſpiracy.

[b] It is commonly thought, and is probable enough, this *Latin* phraſe, *Vindicare in libertatem*, had its riſe from the name of *Vindicius*, who was made free by the *Conſul*: But there are others, who will have it to be derived from the word *Vindicta*, which ſignifies a *Wand*, with which the *Prætor*, whoſe office it was afterwards to grant freedoms, ſtruck the ſlave, whoſe maſter had a mind to ſet him at liberty. In order to reconcile theſe opinions, it may be ſaid, that the *Wand* it ſelf took its name from *Vindicius*. In the ceremony of granting freedoms publickly, (for there were private ones, which were granted either by will, or in the preſence of witneſſes) the maſter preſented his ſlave to the *Prætor*, firſt holding him by the hand, and afterwards quitting his hold; whence came the *Latin* word *Manumiſſio*. Then, after he had given him a little blow on the cheek, he preſented him to the Conſul or to the Prætor; who ſtriking him gently with

V. of R. 244. Bef. J.C. 508. 1st Conſulſhip.

beſide the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, gave him * 25000 *As's* of braſs, (about 80 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.*)

Livy, B. 2. *Plutarch*. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

And now, tho' the people had formerly decreed that the eſtates of the *Tarquins* ſhould be reſtored to them, the Senate made no ſcruple to deſtroy their palace, and diſtribute their lands among indigent citizens; the publick only retaining a piece of ground (near the *Campus Martius*) which the King had uſurped, and added to his demeſnes. This piece of ground they conſecrated to *Mars*, and it became afterwards a common field, where the *Roman* youth exerciſed themſelves in running and wreſtling. But after this conſecration, the *Romans* ſcrupled to houſe the corn which they found there ready reaped to their hands; ſo that, with ſome trees, it was thrown into the *Tyber*, and the water being low, it ſtopped in the middle of the river, and began to form that fine iſland which was called *Inſula ſacra*, after many temples had been built on it.

§. IV. THE ſeverity with which *Brutus* had treated his two ſons, greatly increaſed his authority, inſomuch, that there was not a ſingle *Roman* who durſt for the future entertain a thought of bringing back *Tarquin*. *Collatinus* on the contrary, by his weak conduct with regard to the conſpirators, had exaſperated the *Romans* againſt him; his very name of *Tarquinius* became an offence to them. *Brutus* obſerving this, and having his collegue, either on account of his relation to the *Tarquins*, or becauſe there was ſome reaſon to believe he ſecretly favoured them, or perhaps only becauſe he was of a character and temper different from his own, took advantage of the diſpoſition the people were in to get him depoſed. In a numerous aſſembly, he made a ſpeech to them to this effect: *If*, Romans, *when you choſe two Conſuls, you could at the ſame time have united their ſentiments and inclinations, there would have been no defect in the new government, and I ſhould have had nothing more to wiſh. But it unfortunately happens, that there is as great a difference betwixt* Collatinus *and me, as between a hatred of tyranny, and a love of tyrants. His affection for his deteſtable family, makes him run all hazards to reſtore our oppreſſors; whilſt I am profuſe of my own blood to preſerve the liberty of my country. Have not all* Collatinus's *thoughts, and the whole ſtrength of his intereſt, been levelled at the deſtruction of that liberty, which his honour obliged him to defend? And you had hopes, he would defend it: but his ſoliciting you to*

with his wand, pronounced theſe words: *Aio te liberum eſſe more Quiritium.* This ceremony being ended, the ſlave was regiſtered upon the roll of Freed-men. Then he was ſhaved, and put on the cap called *Pileus*, which was worn by the *Romans* upon certain days. In order to make the taking poſſeſſion of this kind of cap more ſolemn, it was performed in the temple of *Feronia*, the Goddeſs of the *Freed-men*. In one of theſe temples there was a ſtone ſeat, with this inſcription on it: *Benemeriti Servi ſedeant, ſurgant liberi:* and it is well known, that the *Pileus* was among the antient *Romans*, the ſign and ſymbol of liberty. At the death of *Nero*, the people appeared in the ſtreets with this cap on their heads.

* *Livy* ſays only, that a ſum of money was given to *Vindicius*. It is here fixed at five and twenty thouſand *As's* of braſs; becauſe *Livy* himſelf, in B. 9. of his firſt *Decad*, has obſerved, that the reward appointed by law, for the ſlaves who ſhould diſcover conſpiracies, amounted to that ſum; as that for free-men did to a hundred thouſand.

reſtore the Tyrants their eſtates, and the impunity with which he was going A. of R. 244.
to diſmiſs the conſpirators, have diſcovered his ſecret inclinations and deſigns. Bef. J.C. 508.
What! Collatinus, have I refuſed to ſpare my own children, and ſhall I 1 Conſulſhip.
ſpare you? A man, whoſe body only is with us, and whoſe ſoul and affections are with our enemies? A perfidious man, who would preſerve the betrayers of his country, and would deſtroy me for being its zealous defender? No, far from ſhewing you any indulgence, I declare you from this moment depoſed from the magiſtracy, and I command you to retire to ſome other city. As for you, Romans, I ſhall without delay aſſemble you by Centuries, *that you may confirm, if you think good, the ſentence I have pronounced. You are free to chuſe whether to have* Collatinus *or* Brutus *for your Conſul; but be aſſured of this, you cannot have both.*

Theſe words raiſed ſo great a commotion among the People, that they would ſcarce hear *Collatinus*'s defence: In vain did he reproach *Brutus* with betraying his friend, and defaming his Collegue; no attention was given to his invectives. At length, by virtue of his authority as Conſul, he forbad the holding that aſſembly of which *Brutus* had ſpoken. But this prohibition incenſed the People yet more, and they cried out to have their votes inſtantly taken. *Collatinus* was juſt going to be depoſed with ignominy, and baniſhed by a publick decree, when his father-in-law, *Sp. Lucretius*, deſired permiſſion of the Conſuls to ſpeak to the Aſſembly, and obtained it. He is ſaid to have been the firſt private man that ever made a ſpeech in the *Comitia*. His age, and the remembrance of *Lucretia* his daughter, gained him attention; and he addreſſed himſelf firſt to his ſon-in-law. *'Tis in vain, Collatinus, to pretend, againſt the will of the People, to continue in the Conſulſhip. You received it at firſt from them; and to them you ought now to reſign it. As to the crimes, of which you are accuſed, you will more eaſily clear yourſelf by your future conduct, than by all your proteſtations, or by any thing you can ſay. If the People judge it neceſſary for their tranquillity that you ſhould retire, do you ſhew your regard and deference for the publick by acquieſcing in the publick ſentiment. You ſhould conſider that though with reſpect to all other crimes, it is only the actual commiſſion of them that is cognizable by the juſtice of a nation; yet when treaſon againſt the State is but apprehended, and this upon never ſo ill grounds, it is held more prudent to guard againſt it, as an evil really impending, than to run the leaſt hazard of deſtruction by too much ſecurity.*

Then turning to *Brutus*, he preſſed him not to inſiſt on the diſgraceful baniſhment of a Collegue, who had ſo happily joined with him in meaſures which had procured the common liberty; and he added, that if *Collatinus* would of his own accord diveſt himſelf of the Conſulſhip, and retire from *Rome*, not only time ought to be allowed him to remove his effects, but a preſent made him out of the publick treaſury, a mark of the People's good will, which might be a conſolation to him under his misfortune.

This advice of *Lucretius* being received by the Aſſembly with applauſe, *Collatinus* became ſenſible that he had no way left but to conform himſelf to it; therefore when he had invoked the Gods to be witneſſes of his in-

V. of R. 244. Bef. J.C. 508. 1st Conſulſhip.

nocence, and of the ingratitude of his relations and friends, he reſigned the *Conſulſhip*. *Brutus* highly commended his wiſdom, and to remove all ſuſpicion of his having any perſonal enmity to him, procured him a preſent of twenty talents out of the publick treaſury, to which he added five talents of his own. The place to which *Collatinus* choſe to retire was *Lavinium*, where he lived in peace, and at laſt died of old age.

Brutus, that he might not give the *Romans* any cauſe to ſuſpect that he intended to govern ſingly, and, under the name of Conſul, aimed at the authority of a King, immediately aſſembled the Centuries in the *Campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the election of a new Conſul, to fill the place of *Collatinus*. The Suffrages of the People were in favour of *Publius Valerius*, a deſcendant of that noble *Sabine* named *Valerius Voleſus*, to whom *Plutarch* (as was before * obſerved) gives the honour of negotiating the Peace between the *Sabines* and *Romans*, in *Romulus*'s time. *Publius* had got himſelf a great name by the means of his wealth and his eloquence; which latter he had, during *Tarquin*'s reign, generouſly employ'd in the defence of juſtice, as he had done his riches in the relief of the poor, to whom he was ever eaſy of acceſs. He was alſo remarkable for his frugality and temperance; and in all the parts of his conduct from his early years he diſcovered ſuch a ſurprizing wiſdom, that he ſeemed to have been born a Philoſopher. The two Conſuls, equally eminent for their love of the publick good, began their joint adminiſtration, by paſſing a law which granted a general Amneſty to all thoſe who had followed the fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they returned to the city within twenty days; and this brought back a great number of excellent ſubjects to *Rome*.

Plutarch. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

* p. 39.

Livy, B. 2.

§. V. HOWEVER, nothing could ſo far diſcourage the dethroned King, as to make him quit the Hope of recovering the Kingdom by force. He went about, ſoliciting the neighbouring Nations, and engaged the *Veientes* and *Tarquinienſes* to unite their forces in the ſupport of his cauſe. The firſt were moved to it by the hopes of regaining what they had loſt in their former wars with *Rome*, having now at their head a *Roman* General of known courage and ability: And as for the *Tarquinienſes*, the conſiderations of name and blood, and the glory of having a man of their own Nation King of *Rome* were to them ſufficient inducements. Theſe allies took the field and entered the *Roman* territory. The Conſuls without delay marched out their troops to meet them; *Brutus* commanded the horſe, and *Valerius* the foot drawn up in a ſquare battalion. The two armies being in ſight of each other, *Brutus* advanced with his cavalry at the ſame time that *Aruns*, one of *Tarquin*'s ſons, was coming forward at the head of the enemy's horſe, the King himſelf following with the legions. *Aruns* no ſooner diſcovered *Brutus* attended by the *Lictors*, but all inflamed with rage, he cried out, *There he is, that enemy who has baniſhed*

D. Hal. Liv. Val. Max. Plut.

* According to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, who reckons but 60 *Minæ* to a *Talent*, the 20 *Talents* amount to 3875 l. Sterling.

us from our native country! See how gallantly he rides adorned with all the ensigns of my father's dignity! Now aid me, ye Gods, the avengers of injured Kings! This said, he instantly set spurs to his horse, making directly at the Consul, who perceiving his design made no less speed to meet him. Blindly following the dictates of hatred and passion, and regardless of self-preservation, they rushed on to the encounter, and with their lances ran each other through the body. They both fell dead from their horses; and the death of these Generals was the prelude to the battle. Never was the success of an engagement more dubious; for when the night had put an end to it, it was not known in either camp which side had gained the victory, or which had lost the greater number of men. A report was spread, that a voice had been heard out of the wood *Arsia*, declaring the *Romans* conquerors; a stratagem probably of *Valerius*. Be that as it will, it is certain that their enemies, very soon after the action, left their camp in confusion, disbanded, and returned into their own country. And it is said, that *Valerius*, remaining master of the field of battle, caused the slain to be numbered, and then found, that the *Hetrurians* had lost 11300 men, and the *Romans* only 11299.

A. Y. of R. 244. Bef. J.C. 508. 1st Consulship.

Rome was inconsolable for the loss of *Brutus*; a hero who had restored liberty to his country, cemented it with the blood of his children, and died in defending it against the tyrant. The first funeral honours were pay'd him in the camp; but, the next day after *Valerius*'s triumph, the corpse was brought into the *Forum* in a magnificent litter, and then *Valerius* gave *Rome* the first example of those funeral orations, which were ever after made in praise of great men. The Ladies distinguished themselves on this occasion. To shew their respect for the avenger of the sex's honour, they mourned for him a whole year, as if they had lost a common father.

Livy B. 2.

§. VI. AS *Valerius*, for some reasons, deferr'd convening the Centuries for the election of a new Consul, this delay began to raise a distrust, as if it were owing to ambitious designs, a jealousy which seemed to be in some measure authorised by his then building a fine house on a steep part of the hill *Palatinus*, which overlook'd the *Forum*. The people considered it as a citadel, whence the new Monarch might command the city. But when *Valerius* was informed of their uneasiness, he ordered some workmen to go the very next night and pull down the fabrick to the ground; and calling the people together as soon as it was day, he expostulated with them about their unjust suspicions, and bid them go see the ruins of his house: He then told them he would fix his habitation in the valley, that from the top of the hill, where he had intended to dwell, they might crush him with stones, if he continued to be the object of their jealousy. This said, he ordered the *Comitia* to assemble for the election of a new Consul, in which he left them entirely free; and they chose *Lucretius*, the father of the unfortunate *Lucretia*. The people, as they came out of the *Comitia*, being ashamed of having suspected *Valerius*, complimented

Livy, B. 2. *Plut.* *D. Hal.* B. 5.

V. of R. 244. Ref. J.C. 508. 1st Conſulſhip.

mented him with a large ground-plot, in an agreeable place, and there they built him a houſe.

The new Conſul died in a few days after his promotion, ſo that *Valerius* was once more ſole Governor. And now the ſenſible proofs which, in the interval between the death of *Lucretius* and the election of another Colleague, he gave the People of his zeal for their intereſt, gained him the ſurname of *Poplicola*, or Popular; they called him by no other ever after. He ordered the Axes, which were ſo apt to ſtrike terror, to be taken out of the Faſces; and commanded the Lictors to lower theſe in the aſſemblies of the People, by way of homage to their ſovereignty. And this was a kind of introduction to a law, enacted while he was ſole Conſul, whereby an accuſed perſon was allowed to appeal to the People from the judgment of the magiſtrates. Another law was made, exempting artificers, widows, and old men (who had no children to relieve them) from paying tribute. A third law, tho' it preſcribed an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Conſuls, yet limited the penalty for diſobedience to the value of five oxen and two rams (probably pieces of money with thoſe figures ſtampt upon them). And, to remove all manner of ſuſpicion of his having the leaſt thoughts of tyranny, *Poplicola* publiſhed a fourth decree, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any perſon who ſhould aim at being maſter of the liberty of his fellow-citizens, and ſo likewiſe in the caſe of uſurping a publick office without the People's conſent: The aſſaſſin was to be declared innocent, provided he brought proof of the ill deſigns of him he had ſlain.

Poplicola would not take upon him the keeping of the publick money, raiſed to defray the expences of war; but cauſed it to be depoſited in the temple of *Saturn* *; and by his advice, the people appointed two perſons, elected out of the ſenate, to take the charge of it. Theſe officers

* The publick treaſury was called *Ærarium*; becauſe at firſt nothing was lodged in it but *unſtamp'd braſs*, which went by weight, and which was called *Æs nudum*. Afterwards ſtamped pieces of braſs were lodged there, which were called *Æs grave*, or *Æs leve*, according to the different weight of the ſeveral coins. This treaſure had been kept at the houſes of the Kings and Conſuls, till the time of *Poplicola*, who removed it to the temple of *Saturn*, which was ſituated at the foot of the hill *Saturnius*, or the *Capitol*. In after-times, the publick treaſury was divided into two branches; the one was called, *The Common Treaſury*, or *Ærarium vulgare*: the other was called *The Sacred Treaſury*, or *Ærarium Sanctius*; in which the *Aurum viceſimarium* was reſerved, for the extraordinary occaſions of the commonwealth. Part of this in a proper place.

According to *Plutarch*, there were no Quæſtors in *Rome*, till *Poplicola*'s time; and this office was originally a branch of that of the Conſuls. But *Ulpian* pretends, on the contrary, and quotes ſeveral authors for it, that there were Quæſtors even in *Tullius Hoſtilius*'s time. It is therefore to be obſerved, that the name of Quæſtors, among the *Romans*, had two different ſignifications. Sometimes it ſignified Commiſſioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable, and ſometimes Magiſtrates who were put in commiſſion for getting in the publick money. *Ulpian* might ſpeak of the former ſort of Quæſtors, as being in the time of the Kings, and *Plutarch* of the other ſort, which was introduced by *Poplicola* in the time of the commonwealth. Theſe latter Quæſtors were choſen by the People aſſembled in *Comitia*.

they

they afterwards called *Quæstors*. The first persons chosen to this office were *P. Veturius* and *M. Minucius*. Y. of R. 244. Bef. J.C. 508. 1st Consulship.

When *Poplicola* had by these regulations done all he desired towards diminishing the Consular authority, he assembled the People in the *Campus Martius*, for the election of a new Consul, to be his Collegue; and the choice fell upon *Horatius Pulvillus*.

CHAP. II.

§. I. Poplicola *is chosen Consul a second time, and* T. Lucretius *appointed to be his Collegue.* Porsena, *King of* Clusium *in* Hetruria, *sends a threatning embassy to* Rome. *The* Romans *chuse* Poplicola *Consul a third time, and give him* Horatius Pulvillus *for a Collegue.* §. II. Porsena *in conjunction with some of the* Latine *states, marches an army into the neighbourhood of* Rome. *The remarkable bravery of* Horatius Coeles. §. III. *The desperate undertaking, and wonderful resolution of* Mucius Scævola. Porsena *intimidated by the courage of the* Romans, *desists from his demand of having the banished King restored. He makes a truce with the* Romans, *who refer it to his judgment, whether they shall restore to* Tarquin *his paternal estate or not. The adventure of* Cloelia *during the pleadings.* Porsena *renounces the cause of* Tarquin *entirely, and makes a peace with the* Romans. §. IV. *The temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus *is consecrated.* Sp. Lartius *and* T. Herminius *chosen Consuls. The* Romans *shew their gratitude to* Porsena.

IN a few months after the promotion of *Horatius*, the first year of the Consular power expired, and then the *Romans* thought fit, because of the present critical situation of their affairs, to chuse *Poplicola* again; and with him they joined *T. Lucretius*, the brother of the famous *Lucretia*. These began their administration by reviving the old institutions of King *Servius Tullius*, the *Census*[a] and the *Lustrum*, and they Y. of R. 245. Bef. J.C. 507. 2d Consulship. D. Hal. B. 5.

[a] The learned differ about the persons whose names were given in upon each *Roman* Census. Some will have it, that in this multitude, all the *Roman* citizens were comprehended, without excepting their wives, children, widows, orphans, or pupils. But is it credible, that the commonwealth, when *Rome* was become the capital of the world, should reckon but three hundred, four hundred, and never so much as five hundred thousand citizens, in all the *Roman* territory, and in the whole extent of its municipal towns? For we don't find that the most numerous Census ever exceeded five hundred thousand, for above seven hundred years together. Others think that the number mentioned by the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, comprehended only the heads of families. But this opinion can't be supported. For, not to say that it cannot be reconciled with the account the historians give us, we shall never be persuaded, that under the Consulship of *Valerius*, for instance, the *Roman* state, which was confined within narrow limits, and extended little farther than the walls of *Rome*, should be able to reckon up a hundred and thirty thousand heads of families; and consequently, several millions of souls, including children, slaves, widows, orphans, pupils, strangers, &c. whose names were not taken down in the Census. It is therefore

Y. of *R.* 245. Bef. *J.C.* 507. 2d Conſulſhip.

they found the number of *Roman* citizens, at or paſt the age of puberty, to be 130000. As a war from the *Latine* quarter was what the *Romans*, at this time, chiefly apprehended, the Conſuls at a great expence fortify'd *Sinquirinum*, or *Vigiuria*, an important poſt on that ſide. However the firſt of the neighbouring powers that appeared, after the death of *Brutus*, in favour of the *Tarquins*, was *Porſena*, a potent Prince, King of *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*. He ſent a haughty and threatening embaſſy to the *Romans*, requiring them either to recall the *Tarquins*, or to give them back their eſtates. The firſt they abſolutely refuſed, and as to the ſecond, they anſwered, that it was impracticable; a part of thoſe eſtates having been conſecrated to *Mars*, and the reſt divided among indigent people, from whom they could not be recovered.

Livy, B. 2. *Plut. D. Hal.*

While the *Romans* were employ'd in preparations for a brave defence, the time came for electing new Conſuls, and then *Poplicola* was choſen a third time, and, with him, *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been a few months in that office.

Y. of *R.* 246. Bef. *J.C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip.

§. II. *PORSENA*, attended by his ſon *Aruns* and the exiles, marched towards *Rome* with a formidable army, and was joined by a conſiderable body of *Latines*, under the command of *Mamilius*, *Tarquin the Proud*'s ſon-in-law. The Conſuls upon their approach made the peaſants carry their effects into ſtrong holds, and they endeavoured to ſecure the hill *Janiculum*, which overlooked *Rome*, and was its only fortification on that ſide the *Tyber*. And, to keep the populace in temper and ſpirit, the Senate made ſeveral agreeable regulations with reſpect to taxes and proviſions, and took great care to provide for their ſubſiſtence during the war; they ſent to ſeveral parts of *Campania*, and even to *Cumæ*, to fetch corn, which was afterwards ſold to the common People at low rates, leſt the want of bread ſhould tempt them to purchaſe it with the common liberty, and open the gates of *Rome* to *Tarquin*. Nay the Senators, at the ſame time that they taxed themſelves higher than any others, would lay no impoſt on the common people during the war; following this generous and equitable maxim, "That the lower ſort paid tribute enough to the "Commonwealth by bringing up children who would in time be able to "defend it." In a word, the *Romans* were all ſenſible of the difference of

therefore more reaſonable to conclude, with *Fabius Pictor*, as quoted by *Livy*, that none but thoſe who were able to bear arms, were included in this reckoning; *i. e.* thoſe only who were above ſeventeen years of age, and under forty-ſix. Thus we are to underſtand *Dion. Hal.* when, ſpeaking of this fifth *Roman* Cenſus, he ſays, that the number of thoſe who were arrived to the age of puberty, ἐν ἥβῃ, amounted to an hundred and thirty thouſand men. He ſpeaks in much the ſame manner, whenever he mentions the Cenſus, always excepting the women, children, orphans, handycraftſmen, ſlaves, and people of mean trades, and low condition of life, who in earlier times of the Republick were excluded from the *Roman* militia; as we are informed by credible authors. And in ſhort, if we do but conſider, that at the end of *Romulus*'s reign the *Roman* army conſiſted of forty-ſix thouſand foot, and very near a thouſand horſe, it will not appear at all ſurprizing, that *Rome*, which was now become more powerful, and better peopled, ſhould be able to raiſe an hundred and thirty thouſand men; eſpecially ſince the inhabitants of *Alba* and the other conquered cities had removed thither,

the preſent government from the former, and all equally ſollicitous to avoid ſervitude; ſo that concord reigned in *Rome* even in the time of a famine with which it was grievouſly afflicted before the end of this war. Y. of *R.* 246. Bef. *J. C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip.

Porſena ſoon diſplay'd his banners along the *Tyber*. His firſt attack was upon the fort of the *Janiculum*, and he drove the *Romans* out of it. Upon this, the Conſuls made all their troops paſs the river, and drew them up in order of battle to defend the bridge: and *Porſena* advanced to engage them. The victory was for a long time doubtful; but *M. Valerius* (*Poplicola*'s brother) and *T. Lucretius* who were at the head of the left wing, being both unfortunately wounded, and carried out of the field, a general terror ſeized the *Roman* army. The bridge *Sublicius* was in a moment covered with runaways, who ſtrove to gain the city. *Horatius Cocles* (nephew of *Horatius* the Conſul) being joined by *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, (who had commanded the right wing) theſe three gallant men, to hinder the enemy from purſuing the *Romans*, poſted themſelves at the entrance of the bridge, and for a long time bravely defended it. The defenſive arms of *Lartius* and *Herminius* being at length broken, they retired; *Horatius* deſiring them to adviſe the Conſuls, from him, to cut the bridge at the other end. Then for a while he ſuſtained alone the attack of the enemy. The heaps of dead bodies which had fallen by the hands of the three heroes formed a kind of rampart for him againſt cloſe aſſaults, and with his buckler he covered himſelf from the miſſive weapons thrown at him. At length being wounded in the thigh, and the ſignal being given that the bridge was almoſt broken down, he leapt into the river, and ſwam acroſs it through a ſhower of darts. Thus *Cocles* ſaved the Republick from ruin; and the *Romans* being ſenſible of it, erected a ſtatue of braſs to him in the temple of *Vulcan*. They gave him likewiſe as much land as he himſelf, with one yoke of oxen, could plough in one day. And each of the inhabitants of *Rome*, to the number of 300000, gave him the value of as much food as each conſumed in a day. But notwithſtanding all this, becauſe he had loſt one eye, and from his wounds continued lame the remaining part of his life, theſe defects prevented his ever being elected to the Conſulſhip, or to any military command.

Though the city was not intirely inveſted, but had ſeveral avenues open, it was very difficult to find proviſions for ſo great a number of inhabitants, as could hardly ſubſiſt there in time of peace; and a famine began to be ſeverely felt. *Porſena*, having notice of it, ſent the *Romans* word, that, if they would receive their old maſters, he would furniſh them with proviſions; to which they returned this anſwer, *that hunger was a leſs evil than ſlavery and oppreſſion.*

§. III. NEVERTHELESS *Rome* was almoſt wearied out with this long ſiege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman* of noble birth, deſired permiſſion of the Conſuls and Senate to croſs the *Tyber* and go into the enemy's camp, there to attempt ſomething for the ſervice of his *Livy*, B. 2. *Plutarch.* *D. Hal.* B. 5.

Y. of *R.* 246. Bef. *J. C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip.

country; and he begged, as his only recompence, that, in caſe he fell in the dangerous enterpriſe, his zeal might not be buried in oblivion, but proclaimed after his death. The Conſuls and Senate having encouraged him to undertake any thing in the preſent exigence, he dreſſed himſelf in an *Hetrurian* habit, and, with a ponyard hid under his cloaths, left the city. As he ſpoke the language of the *Hetrurians* perfectly well, he eaſily got into their camp, and made his way quite to the King's tent. It happened to be the day on which the troops were reviewed and paid. *Porſena*'s ſecretary, magnificently dreſſed, was ſitting on the ſame tribunal with the King, giving audience, and receiving petitions. *Mucius* miſtook him for the King himſelf, leaped upon the tribunal, and with one ſtroke of his ponyard laid him dead at the King's feet. He then attempted to eſcape, but was ſeized, and brought back to the preſence of *Porſena*. *Thou execrable villain*, ſaid the King, *who art thou, whence comeſt thou? Who are thy accomplices?* *Mucius*, with a haughty look that ſtruck more terror than it expreſſed fear, anſwered, *that his name was* Caius Mucius; *that he was a* Roman; *and that* Roman *bravery made him capable of attempting whatever man could do, and of ſuffering whatever man could endure.* *Porſena* filled with amazement at his anſwer, was yet more aſtoniſhed when he ſaw him with a ſteady countenance, and a look which teſtified his inward rage for having miſſed his aim, thruſt his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there let it broil, without ſhewing any ſigns of pain. The King's reſentment changed wholly into admiration; he granted him life and liberty, and even reſtored him the dagger with which he had deſigned to ſtab him; and becauſe *Mucius*, having now loſt the uſe of his right hand, took it with his left, he had thence the ſurname of *Scævola*, i. e. left-handed.

The *Roman* was no leſs ſurprized at the King's generoſity than the King had been at his intrepid boldneſs: However, he had the preſence of mind to invent a ſtory for the ſervice of his country. He pretended to be moved by the King's goodneſs to diſcover to him a ſecret, which, he ſaid, no torments could have extorted from him: *That three hundred young* Romans, *all as reſolute as himſelf, and who were diſperſed in the* Hetrurian *camp, had bound themſelves by the moſt ſacred oaths, to attempt his life one after another, at the like hazard as he had done.* This diſcourſe ſtruck *Porſena* once more with terror, and having ordered *Mucius* to withdraw, he called a council to deliberate upon the beſt means to preſerve himſelf from the dangers with which he was threatened. His ſon *Aruns*, a great admirer of the *Roman* virtue, adviſed him to render all precautions needleſs, by concluding a peace with the *Romans*. The King readily liſtened to this propoſal, and accordingly ſent deputies to *Rome*, who had orders not to mention the recalling of the *Tarquins*, but only to inſiſt on a reſtitution of their eſtates, or an equivalent; and as to what concerned the *Hetrurian* nation, to require the *Romans* to reinſtate the *Veientes* in the poſſeſſion of ſeven villages taken from them in former wars. *Poplicola*,

D. Hal. B. 5.

zealous

zealous to have the people relieved in their misery, prevailed with the Senate to comply with these conditions: but the people themselves refused to consent to the first article, till *Porsena* had heard their cause pleaded against the *Tarquins*; and to his arbitration they left it. As to the second, they readily agreed to it, and offered hostages to secure its performance. *A. of R.* 246. *Bef. J. C.* 506. 3d Consulship.

A truce being made, the *Romans* deputed some of the Senators to plead their cause before the *Hetrurian* King, and, at the same time, sent ten young virgins, and as many boys, of the best families in *Rome*, for hostages: But then the *Tarquins* refused to admit *Porsena* for a judge between them and the *Romans*. The King however resolved to inform himself in the affair, and made his son *Aruns* his associate for the hearing and deciding it. The *Roman* deputies had scarce begun to open the cause, when the proceeding was interrupted by news brought, that the young women, given as hostages, had ventured to swim cross the *Tyber*, and were returned to *Rome*. They had been permitted to bathe in the river; where the famous *Clelia*, (one of the number) happening to turn her eyes towards her native city, took a longing to go back to it. Away she swims, the rest follow her, and they all get safe to the opposite shore[a]. When the truth of the matter was known, it served only to increase the esteem which *Porsena* and *Aruns* had for the *Roman* bravery. But in the mean time *Poplicola* was very uneasy at the return of the young women, among whom was his own daughter *Valeria*. He dispatched a deputation to the *Hetrurian* camp, to excuse the folly of the girls, and with a promise to send them back. *Mamilius* and the *Tarquins* having notice of this, prepared an ambush to surprize them on the road; and when the *Roman* maids, under the guard of a few horsemen, were almost at the gates of *Porsena*'s camp, they appeared on a sudden with a considerable body of horse and fell with fury upon the weak convoy. *Poplicola* had by good fortune put himself at the head of the *Roman* troop; he sustained the attack of the enemy with incredible valour, while his daughter *Valeria*, exceedingly terrified, rode full speed to the *Hetrurian* camp, and gave notice of the danger her father was in; and then *Aruns*, with a great body of cavalry, flying to his relief, the assailants were soon routed. *D. Hal.* B. 5. *Plut. Vit. Popl.* *Plutarch.*

This attempt of the *Tarquins* greatly displeased *Porsena*, and gave him a strong suspicion of the badness of their cause. He summoned the chief officers of his army, and, in their presence, heard the complaints of the *Romans*; who enlarged on all the crimes committed by the tyrants, from the assassination of King *Servius*, to the violence committed on the chaste *Lucretia*. The *Hetrurians* were filled with horror; and *Porsena*, renouncing all alliance with the *Tarquins* and *Mamilius*, ordered them to leave his camp. He then commanded the ten young virgins to be brought before him, and enquired who was the first author of their enterprize. *Clælia*, with a fearless air, confessed, that she alone was guilty, and that she had emboldened the rest by her advice. The King, as much surprized with her steadiness, as with her courage, addressed himself to her in a gracious

[a] *Livy* adds, that they passed the River through a shower of *Hetrurian* darts.

Y. of R. 246. Bef. J. C. 506. 3d Conſulſhip.

manner, extolled her adventure above the bravery of *Horatius*, and the intrepidity of *Mucius*, and made her a preſent of a fine horſe with ſumptuous furniture. After this he concluded a peace with the *Romans*, reſtored them all their hoſtages, and told the Conſul, that he looked upon the *Roman* probity as the beſt guarantee of the treaty.

Dion. Hal. Livy. Plut.

And now *Porſena* being to return to *Cluſium*, ſignalized his departure from the neighbourhood of *Rome* by an act of liberality, which the noble manner of it made the more agreeable to the *Romans*. He ordered his *Hetrurians* to leave behind them their tents furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions, and other valuable effects, and to carry nothing away with them but their arms. *Rome* was hereby much relieved in her wants; and the *Romans*, on this occaſion, took up a cuſtom, whenever any effects belonging to the publick were to be ſold, of proclaiming them by a herald, in the following words, *Theſe are* Porſena's *goods*; the intention of which was, to preſerve the memory of that Prince's kindneſs; and it alſo ſignify'd, that the effects expos'd to ſale would be ſold cheap. More than this, the Senate ſet up a ſtatue of the King near the *Comitium*, and ſent an embaſſy to him with a preſent of a throne, a ſcepter, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe [a].

§. IV. WHEN, after the departure of *Porſena*, the *Romans* had rewarded thoſe who had behaved themſelves well in the ſiege, and particularly *Mucius Scævola*, to whom they gave a large piece of ground, and erected a ſtatue, their next care was to ſhew their gratitude to the Gods, by ſome publick act of religion. The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, tho' finiſhed, had not yet been conſecrated. It naturally belonged to one of the Conſuls to perform the ceremony; and it muſt prove an immortal honour to whoever ſhould do it. Had the election of the conſecrator been in the people, *Poplicola* would undoubtedly have carried it: but it was the Senate's right to nominate the man; and they being grown envious, and jealous of *Poplicola*, ſent him upon a ſlight expedition, and, in his abſence, commiſſioned his Collegue to dedicate [b] the temple. We are told,

[a] Theſe preſents being of the ſame kind with thoſe which the *Hetrurians* are repreſented to have ſent * to *Tarquin the Elder* by way of *recogniſing his Sovereignty over them*, as a people ſubdued, give good ground to believe, that *Porſena* took *Rome*, and totally ſubjugated the *Romans*. *Tacitus* ſpeaks of it as a thing well known, that *the city ſurrendered to* Porſena: *Sedem Jovis Optimi Maximi* [the capitol] *auſpicato a Majoribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non* Porſena DEDITA URBE, *neque Galli capta temerare potuiſſent, &c.* L. 3. c. 72. Hiſt. And *Pliny* ſays, that in the *treaty* which *Porſena* granted the *Romans*, an expreſs ſtipulation is found, that they ſhould make no uſe of iron but for the buſineſs of agriculture. *In fœdere quod expulſis Regibus, populo Romano dedit Porſena, nominatim comprehenſum invenimus, ne ferro niſi in agricultura uterentur.* L. 34. c. 14.

* *See* p. 79.

[b] The honour of dedicating a temple was a mark of diſtinction, which the great men of *Rome* earneſtly ſollicited. This office, in the earlieſt times of the Commonwealth, belonged to him of the two Conſuls, whom the Senate ſhould appoint. Afterwards the People aſſembled by Tribes named the Conſecrator. At length the right of nomination was again in the Senate, and this even in the time of the *Roman* Emperors. The dedication of a temple was a ſolemn feſtival, accompanied with extraordinary rejoicings. The altars were then

told, that juſt as *Horatius* was beginning, at the door of it, to pronounce the form of conſecration, *Poplicola*'s brother *Marcus*, who had watched his opportunity, cried out, *Thy ſon, O Conſul, lies dead in the camp*: The thing was falſe, but he hoped by theſe words to avert him from his purpoſe. *Horatius*, without ſhewing the leaſt emotion, only anſwered, *Then caſt the body where you pleaſe, I admit not of mourning*, and finiſhed the conſecration. Thus *Poplicola*, in the cloſe of his third Conſulſhip, received a ſenſible mortification: And no neceſſities of ſtate obliging the people

A. of *R.* 246. Bef. *J. C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip.

then adorned with flowers and garlands; ſacrifices were offered up, and hymns ſung to inſtruments. The Magiſtrate who was to preſide at the ceremony, gave the college of the *Pontifices* notice of the day of the dedication. He ſummoned the *Pontifex Maximus* to appear at the temple, and pronounce the words of conſecration: after whom, this magiſtrate repeated them, word for word, with his hand upon the ſide-poſt of the door of the temple. He was obliged to be extremely exact in doing it. A ſyllable forgotten, or ill-pronounced, gave the people an alarm, and they thought it an inauſpicious omen to the conſecrator. Therefore *Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, who had an impediment in his ſpeech, was ſeveral months learning to articulate the word *Opifera*. It was not lawful to appear at this ſolemnity in mourning, but only in white clothes.

The name of the magiſtrate who performed the ceremony of the conſecration, was uſually inſcribed on the frontiſpiece of the Temple. Thus far *F. Cat.* and *Rouillé*.

It may be proper here to take notice once for all of the general names by which the places ſet apart for divine worſhip are called in ancient authors.

Templum was a place which had not been only dedicated to ſome Deity, but withal formally conſecrated by the *Augurs*.

Ædes Sacræ, were ſuch as wanted that conſecration; which if they afterwards received, they changed their names to temples. Vid. *A. Gell.* L. 14. c. 7.

Delubrum, according to *Servius*, was a place that under one roof comprehended ſeveral Deities.

Ædicula is only a diminutive, and ſignifies no more than a little *Ædes*.

Sacellum may be derived the ſame way from *Ædes Sacra*. *Feſtus* tells us, 'tis a place ſacred to the Gods, without a roof. *Ken. Antiq.* Part 2. B. 1. Ch. 3.

'Twere endleſs (adds Mr. *Kennet*) to reckon up but the bare names of all the temples we meet with in authors. The moſt celebrated on all accounts were, the *Capitol* and the *Pantheon*.

The *Capitol*, or temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, was the effect of a vow made by *Tarquinius Priſcus* in the *Sabine* war (*a*). But he had ſcarce laid the foundations before his death. His nephew, *Tarquin the Proud*, finiſhed it with the ſpoils taken from the neighbouring nations (*b*). But upon the expulſion of the Kings, the conſecration was performed by *Horatius* the Conſul (*c*). The ſtructure ſtood on a high ridge, taking in four acres of ground. The front was adorned with three rows of pillars, the other ſides with two (*d*). The aſcent from the ground was by an hundred ſteps (*e*). The prodigious gifts and ornaments, with which it was at ſeveral times endowed, almoſt exceed belief. *Suetonius* (*f*) tells us, that *Auguſtus* gave at one time two thouſand pound weight of gold: and in jewels and precious ſtones, to the value of five hundred ſeſterces. *Livy* and *Pliny* (*g*) ſurprize us with accounts of the brazen threſholds, the noble pillars that *Sylla* removed hither from *Athens* out of the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*; the gilded roof, the gilded ſhields, and thoſe of ſolid ſilver; the huge veſſels of ſilver, holding three meaſures; the golden chariot, *&c.* This temple was firſt conſumed by fire in the *Marian* war, and then rebuilt by *Sylla*; who dying before the dedication, left that honour to *Quintus Catulus*. This too was demoliſhed in the *Vitellian* ſedition. *Veſpaſian* undertook a third, which was burnt down about the time of his death. *Domitian* raiſed the laſt and moſt glorious of all; in which the very gilding

(*a*) *Liv.* lib. 1. (*b*) Ibid. (*c*) *Plutarch in Poplicol.* (*d*) *Dionyſ. Halicar.* (*e*) *Tacitus.* (*f*) In *Auguſt.* cap. 30. (*g*) *Liv.* lib. 10, 35, 38. *Pliny*, lib. 33, *&c.*

amounted

A. of *R.* 247. Bef. *J. C.* 505. 4th Conſulſhip.

people to continue him longer in office. *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, (who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war with *Porſena*) were choſen Conſuls for the next year.

The new Conſulſhip proved a year of peace; the only remarkable thing the *Romans* did was ſhewing that they were a grateful people. *Ariuns*, the ſon

amounted to twelve thouſand talents (*b*). On which account *Plutarch* (*i*) hath obſerved of that Emperor, that he was like *Midas*, deſirous of turning every thing into gold. There are very little remains of it at preſent; yet enough to make a *Chriſtian* church (*k*).

The *Pantheon* was built by *Marcus Agrippa*, ſon-in-law to *Auguſtus Cæſar*; and dedicated either to *Jupiter Ultor*, or to *Mars* and *Venus*, or more probably, to all the Gods in general, as the very name (*quaſi* Τῶν πάντων Θεῶν) implies. The ſtructure, according to *Fabricius* (*l*) is an hundred and forty foot high, and about the ſame breadth. But a later Author hath encreaſed the number of feet to an hundred fifty eight. The roof is curiouſly vaulted, void places being left here and there for the greater ſtrength. The rafters were pieces of braſs of forty foot in length. There are no windows in the whole edifice, only a round hole at the top of the roof, which ſerves very well for the admiſſion of the light. Diametrically under is cut a curious gutter to receive the rain. The walls on the inſide are either ſolid marble, or incruſted (*m*). The front on the outſide was covered with brazen plates gilt, the top with ſilver plates, which are now changed to lead (*n*). The gates were braſs, of extraordinary work and bigneſs (*o*).

The temple is ſtill ſtanding with little alteration, beſides the loſs of the old ornaments, being converted into a Chriſtian Church by Pope *Boniface* III. (or, as *Polydore Virgil* (*p*) hath it, by *Boniface* IV.) Dedicated to St. *Mary*, and all Saints, tho' the general name be St. *Mary de Rotonda* (*q*). The moſt remarkable difference is, that whereas heretofore they aſcended by twelve ſteps, they now go down as many to the entrance (*r*).

The ceremony of the conſecration of temples (a piece of ſuperſtition very well worth our notice) we can't better apprehend, than by the following account which *Tacitus* gives us of that ſolemnity, in reference to the *Capitol*, when repaired by *Veſpaſian*: Tho' perhaps the chief rites were celebrated upon the entire raiſing of the ſtructure, this being probably intended only for the hallowing the floor. *Undecimo Kalendas Julias* (*s*), &c.

'Upon the 21ſt. of *June*, being a very 'clear day, the whole plot of ground deſign-'ed for the temple, was bound about with 'fillets and garlands. Such of the ſoldiers 'as had lucky names, entered firſt with 'boughs in their hands, taken from thoſe 'trees which the Gods more eſpecially de-'lighted in. Next came the *Veſtal* Virgins, 'with boys and girls whoſe fathers and mo-'thers were living, and ſprinkled the place 'with brook-water, river-water, and ſpring-'water. Then *Helvidius Priſcus* the Pre-'tor, (*Plautus Elianus*, one of the chief Prieſts, 'going before him) after he had performed 'the ſolemn ſacrifice of a ſwine, a ſheep, 'and a bullock, for the purgation of the 'floor, and laid the entrails upon a green 'turf, humbly beſought *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Mi-'nerva*, and the other Deities, Protectors of 'the empire, that they would be pleaſed to 'proſper their preſent undertaking, and ac-'compliſh, by their divine aſſiſtance, what 'human piety had thus begun. Having 'concluded his prayer, he put his hand to 'the fillets, to which the ropes, with a great 'ſtone faſtened in them, had been tied for 'this occaſion; when immediately the whole 'company of Prieſts, Senators, Knights, 'with the greateſt part of the common peo-'ple, laying hold together on the rope, with 'all expreſſions of joy, drew the ſtone into 'the trench deſigned for the foundation, 'throwing in wedges of gold, ſilver, and 'other metals, which had never endured the 'fire.

Some curious perſons have obſerved this ſimilitude between the ſhape of theſe old temples, and our modern churches: That they had one apartment more holy than the reſt, which they termed *Cella*, anſwering to our

(*b*) *Plutarch* in *Poplicolâ*. (*i*) Ibid. (*k*) *Fabric. Roma*, cap. 9. (*l*) Ibid. (*m*) *Marlian.* Topog. Rom. Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 6. (*n*) Ibid. & *Fabric. Rom.* cap. 9. (*o*) *Marlian.* ibid. (*p*) Lib. 6. cap. 8. (*q*) *Fabric.* cap. 9. (*r*) Ibid. (*s*) Hiſt. lib. 4.

chancel

ſon of *Porſena*, being an amiable youth, his father was deſirous to have him gain ſome glory before he diſbanded his troops, and therefore gave him the command of them, while he himſelf returned to *Cluſium*. The young Prince, eager to obtain a firſt victory, fell furiouſly upon the *Aricians* *, and routed them; but he was afterwards defeated by a ſtrata-

Y. of R. 247. Bef. J. C. 505. 4th Conſulſhip.

* In *Latium*.

chancel or choir: That the porticos in the ſides were in all reſpects like to our iſles; and that our *Navis*, or body of the church, is an imitation of their *Baſilica* (*t*).

There are two other temples particularly worth our notice; not ſo much for the magnificence of the ſtructure, as for the cuſtoms that depend upon them, and the remarkable uſe to which they were put. Theſe are the temples of *Saturn* and *Janus*.

The firſt was famous upon account of ſerving for the publick treaſury: The reaſon of which ſome fancy to have been, becauſe *Saturn* firſt taught the *Italians* to coin money; or, as *Plutarch* conjectures, becauſe in the golden age under *Saturn*, all perſons were honeſt and ſincere, and the names of *Fraud* and *Covetouſneſs* unknown in the world (*u*). But perhaps there might be no more in it, than that this temple was one of the ſtrongeſt places in the city, and ſo the fitteſt for that uſe. Here were preſerved all the publick regiſters and records, among which were the *Libri Elephantini*, or great ivory tables, containing a liſt of all the *Tribes*, and the ſchemes of the publick accounts.

The other was a ſquare piece of building (ſome ſay of entire braſs) ſo large as to contain a ſtatue of *Janus* five foot high; with brazen gates of each ſide, which uſed always to be kept open in war, and ſhut in time of peace (*w*).

But the *Romans* were ſo continually engaged in quarrels, that we find the laſt cuſtom but ſeldom put in practice.

Firſt, all the long reign of *Numa*. Secondly, *A. U. C.* 519. upon the concluſion of the firſt *Punic* war. Thirdly, by *Auguſtus*, *A. U. C.* 725. and twice more by the ſame Emperor, *A. U. C.* 729. And again about the time of our Saviour's birth. Then by *Nero*, *A. U. C.* 811. Afterwards by *Veſpaſian*, *A. U. C.* 824. And laſtly, by *Conſtantius*, when, upon *Magnentius*'s death, he was left ſole poſſeſſor of the Empire, *A. U. C.* 1105 (*x*).

Of this cuſtom *Virgil* gives us a noble deſcription.

Sunt geminæ belli portæ, ſic nomine dicunt,
Religioni ſacræ, & ſævi formidine Martis:
Centum ærei claudunt vectis, æternaque ferri
Robora; nec cuſtos abſiſtit limine Janus.
Has ubi certa ſedet patrius ſententia pugnæ;
Ipſe, Quirinali trabeâ cinctuque Gabino
Inſignis, reſerat ſtridentia limina Conſul.
Ipſe vocat pugnas (y).

Sacred to *Mars* two ſtately gates appear,
Made awful by the dread of arms and war:
An hundred brazen bolts from impious pow'r,
And everlaſting bars the dome ſecure,
And watchful *Janus* guards his temple door.
Here, when the fathers have ordain'd to try
The chance of battle by their fix'd decree,
The Conſul, rich in his *Gabinian* gown,
And regal pall, leads the proceſſion on;
The ſounding hinges gravely turn about,
Rouſe the impriſon'd God, and let the furies out.

The ſuperſtition of conſecrating groves and woods to the honour of the Deities, was a practice very uſual with the ancients: For, not to ſpeak of thoſe mentioned in the Holy Scripture, *Pliny* aſſures us, That *trees in old time ſerved for the temples of the Gods*. *Tacitus* reports this cuſtom of the old *Germans*; *Q. Curtius* of the *Indians*, and almoſt all writers of the old *Druids*. The *Romans* too were great admirers of this way of worſhip, and therefore had their *Luci* in moſt parts of the city, generally dedicated to ſome particular Deity.

The moſt probable reaſon that can be given for this practice, is taken from the common opinion, That fear was the main principle of devotion among the ignorant Heathens. And therefore ſuch darkſome and lonely ſeats, putting them into a ſudden horror and dread, made them fancy that there muſt neceſſarily ſomething of divinity inhabit there, which could produce in them ſuch an awe and reverence at their entrance.

(*t*) *Pullus* Hiſt. Rom. *Flori.* lib. 1, cap. 3. (*u*) *Plutarch.* in Problem. (*w*) Vid. *Marlian.* Topog. Rom. Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 8. (*x*) Vid. *Caſaubon.* Not. ad *Sueton. Auguſt.* cap. 22. (*y*) *Virg. Æn.* 7.

gem-

V. of R. 248. Bef. J. C. 505. 4th Conſulſhip.

gem of the *Cumans* *, their allies, commanded by more experienced officers. He loſt his life; and his ſcattered troops took refuge in the villages about *Rome*. The Conſuls invited them to the city, ſent carriages for the wounded, made proviſion for their cure at the publick expence, and allotted a quarter in the city for thoſe of them who were willing to ſettle in it. It was afterwards called the *Tuſcan* or *Hetrurian Street*.

* From *Campania*.

CHAP. III.

§ I. *The* Romans, *in the Conſulſhip of* M. Valerius, (*brother of* Poplicola,) *and* P. Poſthumius, *make war againſt the* Sabines, *and twice defeat them.* §. II. *The* Sabines *unite in a national body againſt* Rome, *where* Poplicola *is choſen Conſul a fourth time.* Appius Claudius *leaves the* Sabines *and comes over to the* Romans, *with all his followers and dependants. The* Sabines *are again defeated.* §. III. Poplicola *dies. The* Sabines *upon his death take courage, and renew the war, in the Conſulſhip of* P. Poſthumius *and* Menenius Agrippa, *who obtain a ſignal victory over them.* §. IV. *An* OVATION *only is decreed* Poſthumius, *but a* Triumph *to* Menenius. §. V. *The* Sabines *are* ſubdued *in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip of* Sp. Caſſius *and* Opiter Virginius.

V. of R. 248. Bef. J. C. 504. 5th Conſulſhip.

§. I. ROME, ſince the new modelling of her government, being, as we have already ſeen, utterly deſtitute of allies, and always apprehenſive leſt the ill-extinguiſhed fire of the royaliſt party ſhould break out into a new flame, the *Sabines*, who knew her weak condition, thought this a very favourable opportunity to put it out of the power of that imperious city to give law any more to her neighbours. They began the war by incurſions and depredations on the *Roman* lands. *M. Valerius* (brother of *Poplicola*) and *P. Poſthumius* were now Conſuls; and before they would have recourſe to arms, they ſent envoys in an amicable way to demand ſatisfaction of the *Sabines* for the injuries the Republick had ſuffered; but receiving only a contemptuous anſwer, they both took the field. The *Roman* forces were divided into two bodies. *Poſthumius* with one of them encamped near *Rome*, to prevent a ſurprize from the *Tarquins*, who had many friends in the city. *Valerius*, with the other, poſted himſelf at *Tibur* upon the *Anio*, the enemy being encamped on the oppoſite ſhore. That part of the river, near which they lay, being by an accident found fordable, *Valerius* made all his troops paſs, and drew them up in battalia on the ſame ſide with the enemy. A general engagement quickly enſued. *Valerius*, aſſiſted by the counſels of his brother, gained ſome advantage with his right wing, but his left loſt ground; it was almoſt puſhed into the river, when *Poſthumius* having notice of the action, came ſeaſonably to the relief of the *Romans*, charged the enemy in flank, and recovered the day. The *Sabine* troops would have been entirely cut off, or made priſoners,

Dion. Hal.

ſoberly, if the night coming on had not given them an opportunity to eſcape. They left their camp to be plundered, and in ſeparate parties returned home. This was the firſt conſiderable advantage *Rome* gained over her enemies after ſhe became a Republick, and it revived the old *Roman* confidence. The two Generals were decreed a triumph; but they both entered *Rome* in the ſame chariot. As a further reward for *Valerius*, (who is ſaid by *Plutarch* to have gained in this ſame year a ſecond victory over the *Sabines*, in which he ſlew 13000 of them without the loſs of one *Roman*) the Republick built him a houſe, the door opening outwards to the ſtreet; whereas the doors of all other houſes opened inwards. The deſign of this diſtinction was not only to do him honour, but to put him in mind, as often as he went in or out, that he was indebted to the publick for his houſe. As for *Poſtumius*, he was honoured with a privilege, never before granted to any, which was, to have a burial place for himſelf and his family, within the walls of *Rome*. Thus did the firſt *Romans* keep up an emulation among their Generals, rather by diſtinguiſhing marks of honour, than ſubſtantial rewards. They did not heap wealth upon them, but taught them to prefer the glory, which attends great actions, to exorbitant riches, which often give umbrage, and are always odious in a Republick.

Y. of *R.* 248. Bef. *J. C.* 504. 5th Conſulſhip. *Plutarch.* *Plin.* B. 36. c. 1.

§. II. THE *Sabines* the next year, having formed the deſign of uniting in a national body againſt *Rome*, and of engaging the *Latines* to aſſiſt them, the *Romans* thought it adviſeable to chuſe *Poplicola* Conſul a fourth time, and they once more joined *T. Lucretius* with him. But it happening at this time, that ſome women were delivered of monſtrous or imperfect births, the people gave way to ſuperſtition, and were unwilling to enter upon action, imagining by theſe preſages, that it muſt prove a fatal year. Upon this, *Poplicola* cauſed the *Sybil*'s books to be conſulted, and he interpreted the anſwers in the ſenſe that beſt ſuited his purpoſe; he likewiſe ordered ſacrifices to be offered to *Pluto*, the feſtivals and ſports to be revived, and, in a word, by artful management removed the publick fears.

Y. of *R.* 249. Bef. *J. C.* 503. 6th Conſulſhip. *Plut. Vit. Popl.*

In the mean while, the ſtorm continued to gather on the ſide of the *Sabines*. One of the *Tarquins* had, by his intrigues, put in motion the turbulent and factious members in their aſſemblies. *Poplicola* endeavoured therefore to bear down the intereſt of the baniſhed King, by negotiation; and he ſo far ſucceeded as to gain over Actius Clausus, (the moſt conſiderable man in *Sabinia*, and of the greateſt talents and merit) to oppoſe the deſign of renewing the war. He ſpoke in all the *Sabine* diets againſt it; and his oppoſition had its due weight. But thoſe who envied him for his wealth and power, took occaſion from this proceeding to put a bad conſtruction on the good underſtanding he had with the *Romans*; and they ſpread by degrees ſuch a jealouſy and diſtruſt of him through the nation, that at length nothing leſs was talked of than citing him as a traitor to appear before their great Council. *Clauſus* provoked by this unjuſt treatment, his firſt thought was to arm his friends and clients, and begin a civil war. No meaſure could have been more advantageous to *Rome*: But *Poplicola* diſſuaded him

D. Hal. B. 5. *Livy*, B. 2. *Plut. Vit. Pop.*

A. of R. 249. Bef. J. C. 503. 6th Conſulſhip.

from polluting his hands with the blood of his countrymen; He repreſented to him, that the moſt honourable and moſt effectual way to be revenged upon them, would be to leave them; that a man of his conſequence, abilities, and virtues, would ſoon be miſſed; and that *Rome* offered him a retreat and protection both for himſelf and followers. *Clauſus* remained a while in ſuſpence; but at length choſe rather to act a proud, than an angry part, and removed to *Rome*. There he changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, was immediately declared a Patrician, and took his place in the Senate. Twenty five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city aſſigned for his friends and followers, amounting to five thouſand families; to each of which were granted two acres of ground, with the rights of Citizenſhip. And theſe donations were made irrevocable by a decree of the Senate, confirm'd by the ſuffrages of the people.

D. Hal. B. 5.

The *Sabines*, enraged at the retreat of *Clauſus* to *Rome*, deferred no longer to take the field. Their army they divided into two bodies, one of which encamped near *Fidenæ*, the other ſhut itſelf up in that town, which was but five miles from *Rome*. *Poplicola* and *Lucretius* made a like diviſion of the *Roman* troops, and encamped advantageouſly near each other. The *Romans* having no opportunity for ſtratagems, were eager to engage: But the *Sabines* durſt not come to a battle by day-light. Their General (who is ſaid to have been one of *Tarquin*'s ſons) formed a deſign to attack *Poplicola*'s camp in the dead of the night, while the troops of *Fidenæ*, light armed, were to march out, and fetching a large compaſs, come behind, and ſurprize *Lucretius*'s camp, as ſoon as he ſhould leave it to go to the ſuccour of his collegue; and then thoſe ſame troops were to charge *Lucretius* in the rear, or at leaſt terrify him by their ſhouts. *Poplicola* had timely intelligence of theſe deſigns, and took proper meaſures to make them fatal to the enemy. He gave *Lucretius* notice of the intended night-expedition; and it was agreed between them, to ſhew no marks of ſuſpecting the enemy's intention; in the beginning of the night all fires were put out in both the *Roman* camps. The *Sabines* before midnight marched ſilently towards *Poplicola*'s entrenchments, filled up the ditch with faſcines, and paſſed over to ſcale the rampart; but as faſt as they drew near to it, they were ſtabbed by the *Roman* troops, who, unſeen, were poſted on the outſide of it, in the ſpace between it and the ditch. They ſuffered a great ſlaughter, before the moon riſing diſcovered their error. Then a fright ſeized them, they all fled, and the *Romans* purſued them with loud ſhouts, which were heard in *Lucretius*'s camp; who immediately detached his horſe againſt thoſe of the enemy, who lay in ambuſh behind him, while he with his infantry haſtened to compleat the deſtruction of thoſe whom *Poplicola* had routed. In this bloody action 13000 *Sabines* were killed upon the ſpot, and 4200 made priſoners.

What now remained, was to reduce *Fidenæ*, which had been often ſubdued, and had as often rebelled. *Poplicola* undertook to ſcale the walls in perſon, on that ſide where the city was thought moſt impregnable. Having carried the place by aſſault, he put to death the heads of the revolt, but

ſpared

ſpared the reſt of the inhabitants, obliging them only to ſurrender to the garriſon, which he placed with them, a part of their lands for its ſupport. He then returned to *Rome*, and was honoured with a triumph. Y. of R. 250. Bef. J. C. 502. 7th Conſulſhip.

§. III. *POPLICOLA* had ſcarce reſigned the Faſces into the hands of *P. Poſthumius*, (now choſen to the Conſulate a ſecond time) and *Menenius Agrippa*, when he was ſeized with a diſtemper, and died, as deſtitute of the goods of fortune, as full of glory. His chief care had been to tranſmit his virtues to his children, not to enrich them. Though he had been four times Conſul, and had enjoyed two triumphs, he left little more to his poſterity than a noble model for their imitation: So that he was buried at the publick expence, not ſo much by way of diſtinction, as on account of his poverty. The *Romans* erected a tomb for him near the *Forum*, and gave his family a right of interment in the ſame place: But as the *Valerii* always affected popularity, they never made uſe of this privilege. The bodies of thoſe who died in *Rome* were firſt carried to that ſepulchre, but afterwards conveyed without the walls and there burnt; and the bones were depoſited in a tomb without the city. As *Poplicola* had been one of thoſe who ſtood up in defence of the chaſtity of the *Roman* Ladies, they went into a year's mourning for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*. *Dion. Hal.* *Livy.* *Plutarch.* *Plut Popl.*

The death of *Poplicola* revived the courage of the *Sabines*; they took the field again that ſame year, and made ſo ſudden an incurſion upon the *Roman Territory*, (which they pillaged and laid waſte) that one part of their army was advanced to the very gates of *Rome*, before the *Romans* had any notice of their approach. *Poſthumius* the Conſul ſallying out with a good number of men haſtily aſſembled, and chaſing thoſe advanced Troops of the enemy to a foreſt, where the reſt of the *Sabine* forces lay in ambuſh, was there ſurprized and defeated, loſing many of his *Romans*, and narrowly eſcaping himſelf. He took refuge with the remains of the rout on the top of a ſteep hill, where he paſſed the night, inveſted by the enemy. But the next day his collegue *Menenius* coming to his relief with the beſt part of the *Roman* youth, the *Sabines* retired. Nevertheleſs the advantage they had gained raiſed their confidence to ſuch a height, that they ſent a ſummons, requiring the *Romans* to receive the *Tarquins*, and ſubmit to be governed by their conquerors. They were anſwered, that *Rome* commanded the *Sabines* to lay down their arms and return to their duty; and that when they had made their ſubmiſſion, they ſhould come and aſk pardon for their irruptions into her territory, if they expected any indulgence, or had no mind to ſee the war ſpeedily carried into the heart of their country. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

Theſe mutual bravadoes were followed by a ſerious war, in which both nations brought all their ſtrength into the field, and encamped near *Eretum*, a *Sabine* city about ten miles from *Rome*. In the battle which enſued *Menenius* commanded the right wing, and *Poſthumius* the left. The latter, to repair his honour, threw himſelf, like a man in deſpair, among the thickeſt of the enemy, and did prodigious acts of valour; and, as

Y. of *R.* 250. Bef. *J.C.* 502. 7th Conſulſhip. *Menenius* likewiſe, urged by his example, exerted himſelf in an extraordinary manner, the *Romans*, animated by two ſuch Leaders, obtained a complete victory.

§. IV. BUT notwithſtanding the equal bravery of the Conſuls on this occaſion, the Senate, having deliberated on the reception to be given them at their return, thought it neceſſary to make a diſtinction in their rewards. *Poſthumius*'s gallant behaviour in the late action had not ſufficiently atoned for his miſcarriage, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſurpriſed in the former. They invented therefore a new kind of triumph, leſs honourable than that in uſe: The perſon rewarded with it was to enter *Rome* on foot, or at beſt on horſeback, attended only by the Senate; his crown was to be of myrtle, and his robe the *Prætexta*, or common habit of magiſtrates: and this imperfect triumph, called OVATIO [a], they decreed to *Poſthumius*. The modeſt Conſul accepted of it, and entered *Rome* two days before his Collegue, who was honoured with a compleat triumph in all its magnificence and pomp.

Licinius apud *D. Hal. Plin.* B. 15. c. 29.

Y. of K. 251. Bef. *J.C.* 501. 8th Conſulſhip. §. V. *SPURIUS CASSIUS* and *Opiter Virginius*, the ſucceeding Conſuls, divided the *Roman* forces between them; and *Caſſius* had commiſſion to give the *Sabines* the finiſhing blow. He defeated them in a pitched battle in the heart of their country, ſlew 10300, and took 4000 priſoners; after which they humbly ſued for peace, and were forced to purchaſe it with corn, money, and a part of their lands.

In the mean time *Virginius* marched with his army and ſurprized *Camerium*, a town of *Latium* which had revolted from the *Romans*. Having beat down the wall with his battering [b] rams, he took the place by aſſault, beheaded

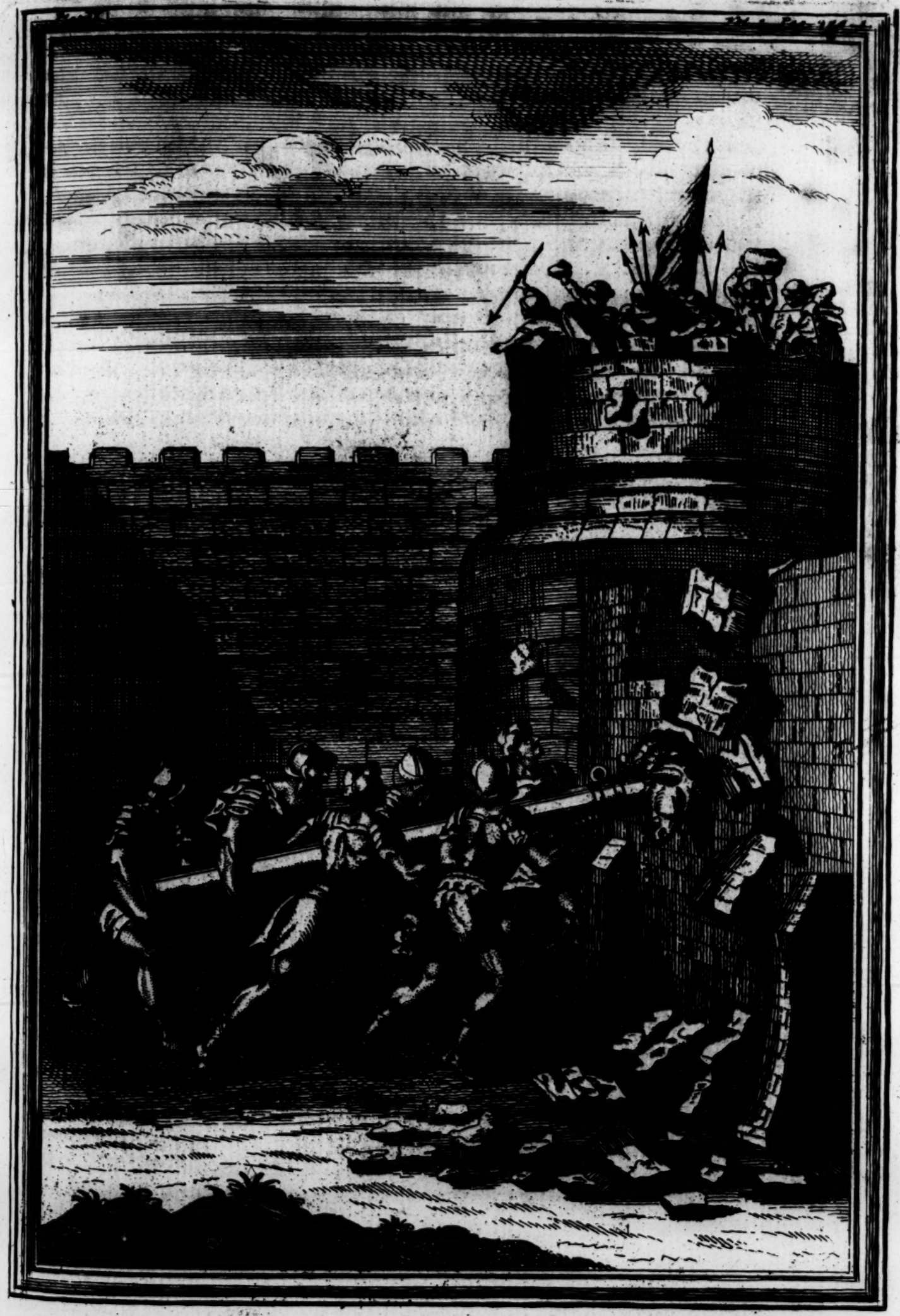
[a] The Ovation ſome fancy to have derived its name from ſhouting *Evan!* or *Evoe!* to *Bacchus*; but the true original is *Ovis*, the ſheep, which was uſually offered in this proceſſion, as an *ox* in the triumph. The ſhow generally began at the *Albanian* mountain, whence the General, with his retinue, made his entry into the city: he went on foot, with many flutes, or pipes, ſounding in concert as he paſſed along, wearing a garland of myrtle as a token of peace, with an aſpect rather raiſing love and reſpect, than fear. *A. Gellius* informs us, that this honour was then conferr'd on the victor, when either the war had not been proclaimed in due method, or not undertaken againſt a lawful enemy, and on a juſt account; or when the enemy was but mean and inconſiderable *. But *Plutarch* has delivered his judgment in a different manner: he believes that heretofore the difference betwixt the *Ovation* and the *Triumph* was not taken from the greatneſs of the atchievments, but from the manner of performing them; for they who having fought a ſet battle, and ſlain a great number of the enemy, returned victors, led that martial and (as it were) cruel proceſſion of the triumph. But thoſe who without force, by benevolence and civil behaviour, had done the buſineſs, and prevented the ſhedding of human blood, to theſe commanders cuſtom gave the honour of this peaceable *Ovation*. For a pipe is the enſign or badge of peace, and myrtle the tree of *Venus*, who beyond any of the other Deities, has an extream averſion to violence and war †. *Kin. Antiq.* Part II. B. 4. c. 16.

[b] The *Battering Ram* was a great wooden beam, bound about with iron at the end, or armed with a head of iron, repreſenting that of a *Ram*. The ancients uſed it, to beat down the walls of a city. *Vitruvius* aſcribes the invention of the *Battering Ram* to the *Carthaginians*. They made uſe, ſays he, of this ſort of battery at the ſiege of *Cadiz*. At

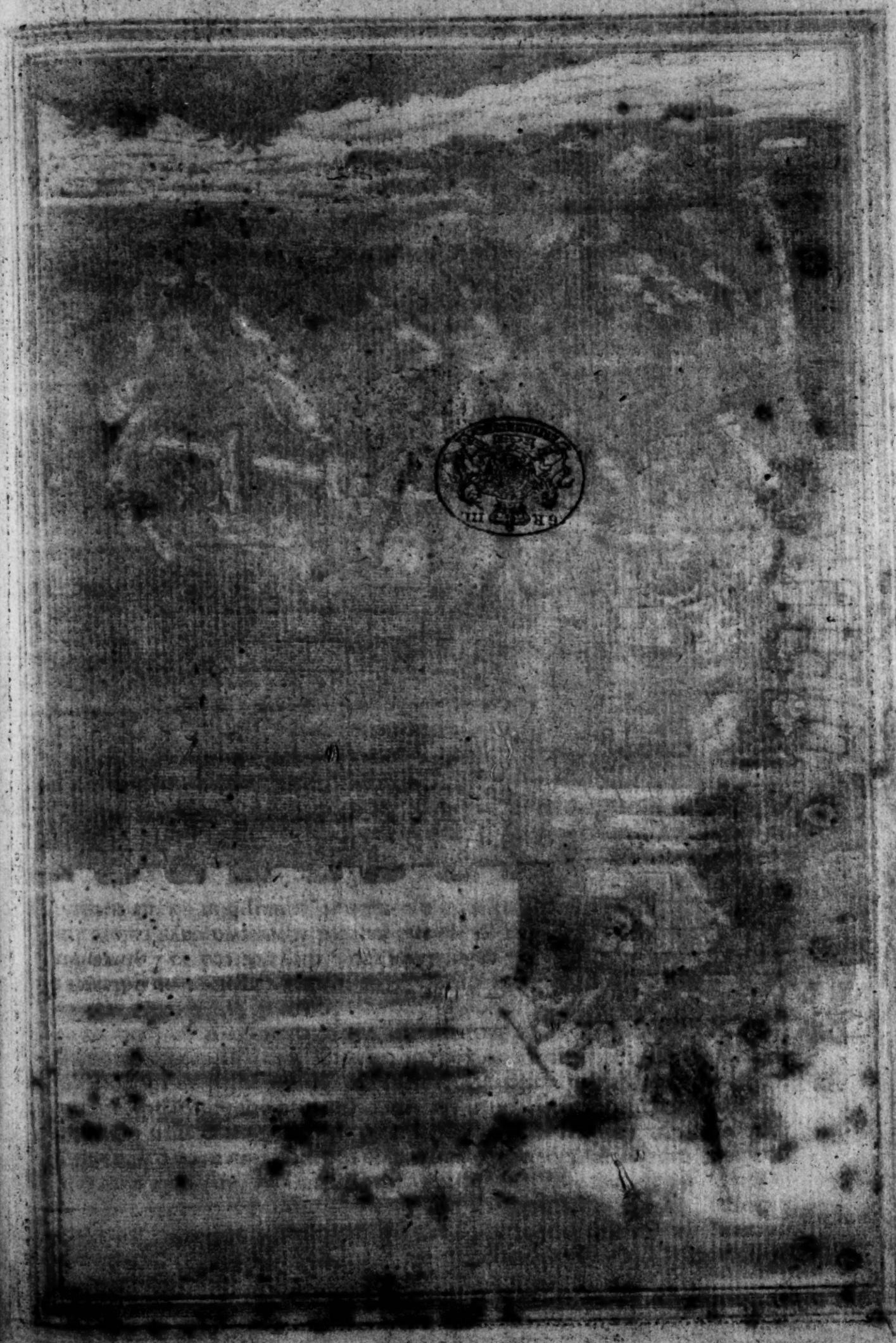
* *Noct. Att.* lib. 5. cap. 6.

† *Plut.* in *Marcell.*

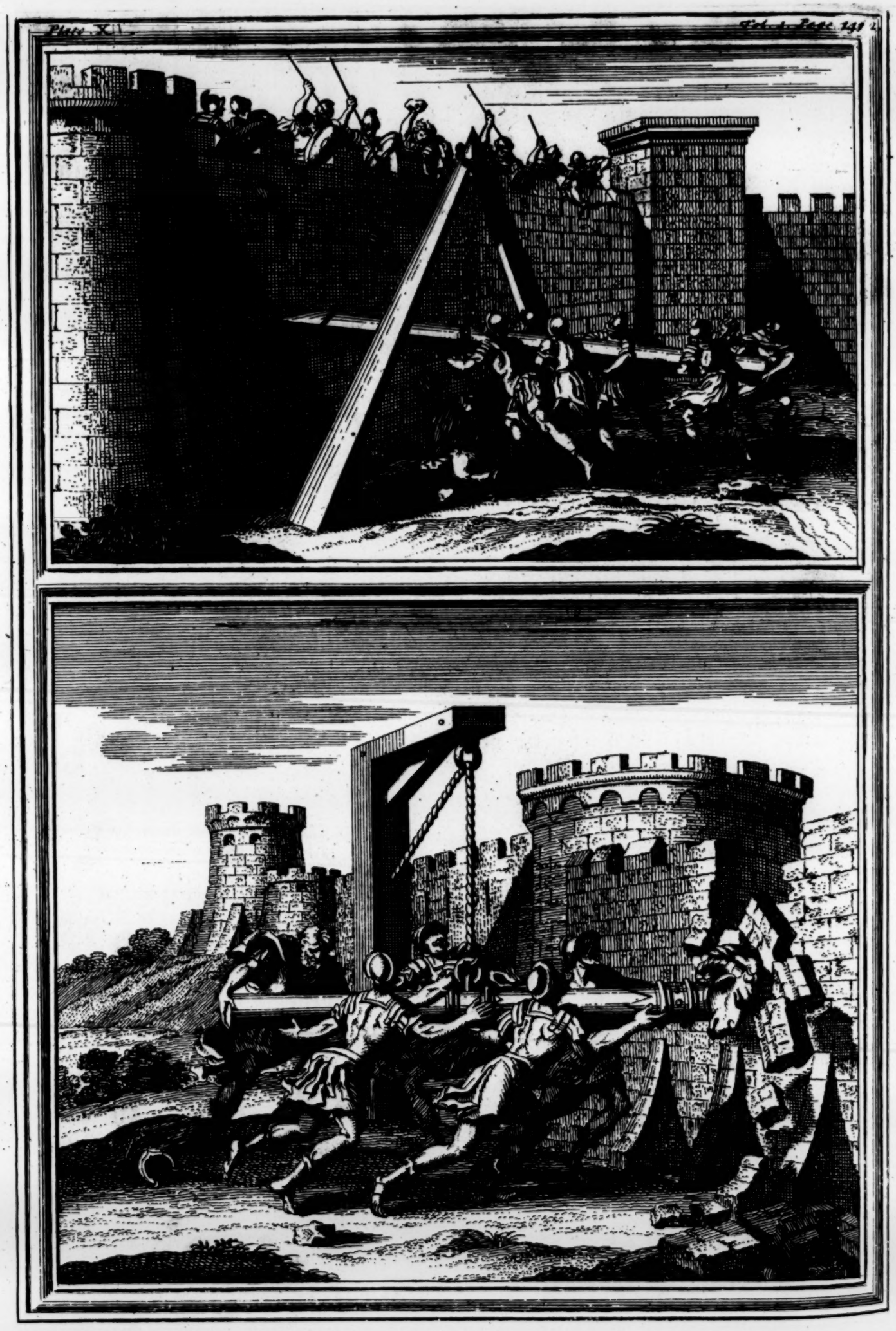
firſt,



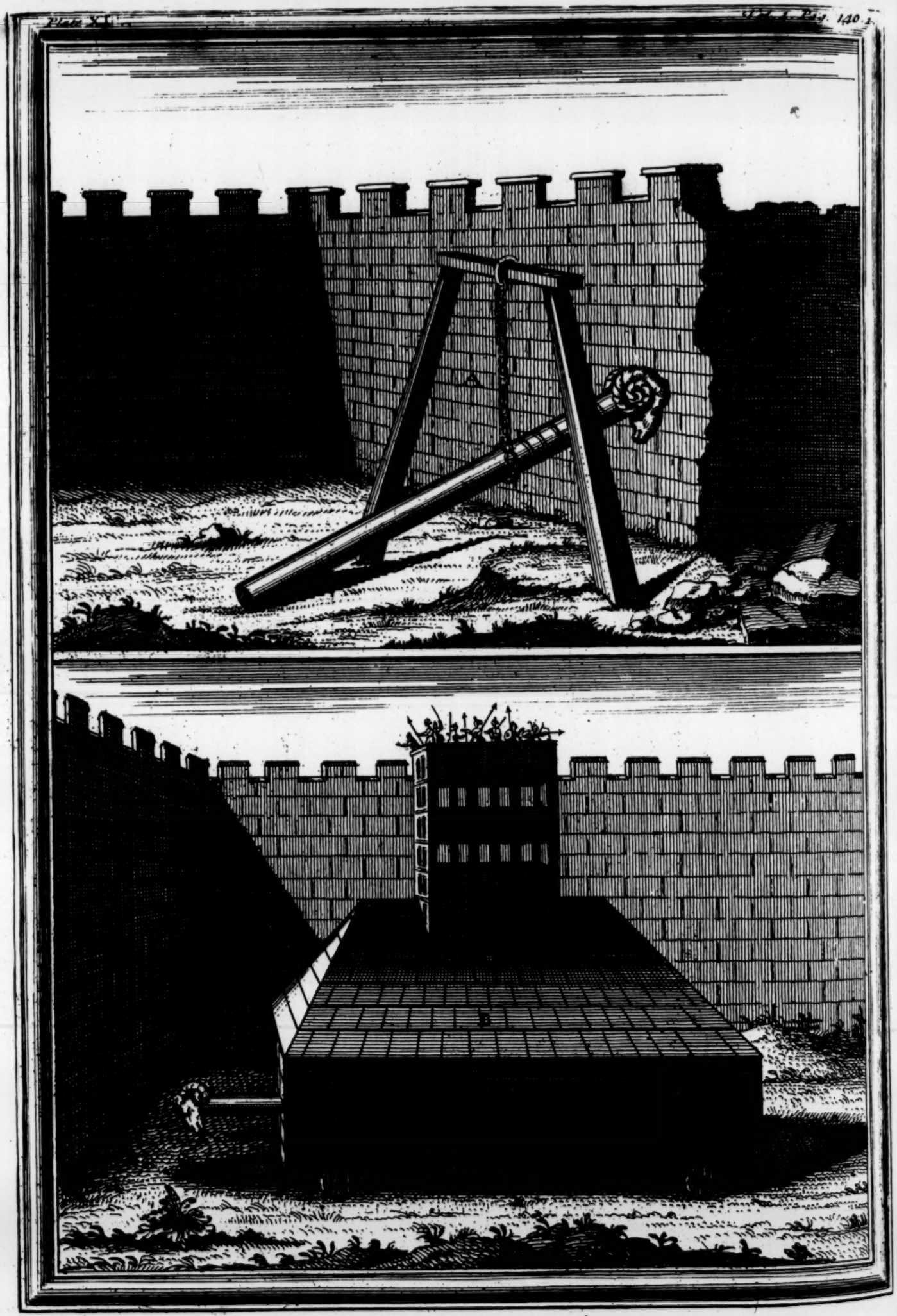
A Ram *worked by the Soldiers by mere Strength of arm.*



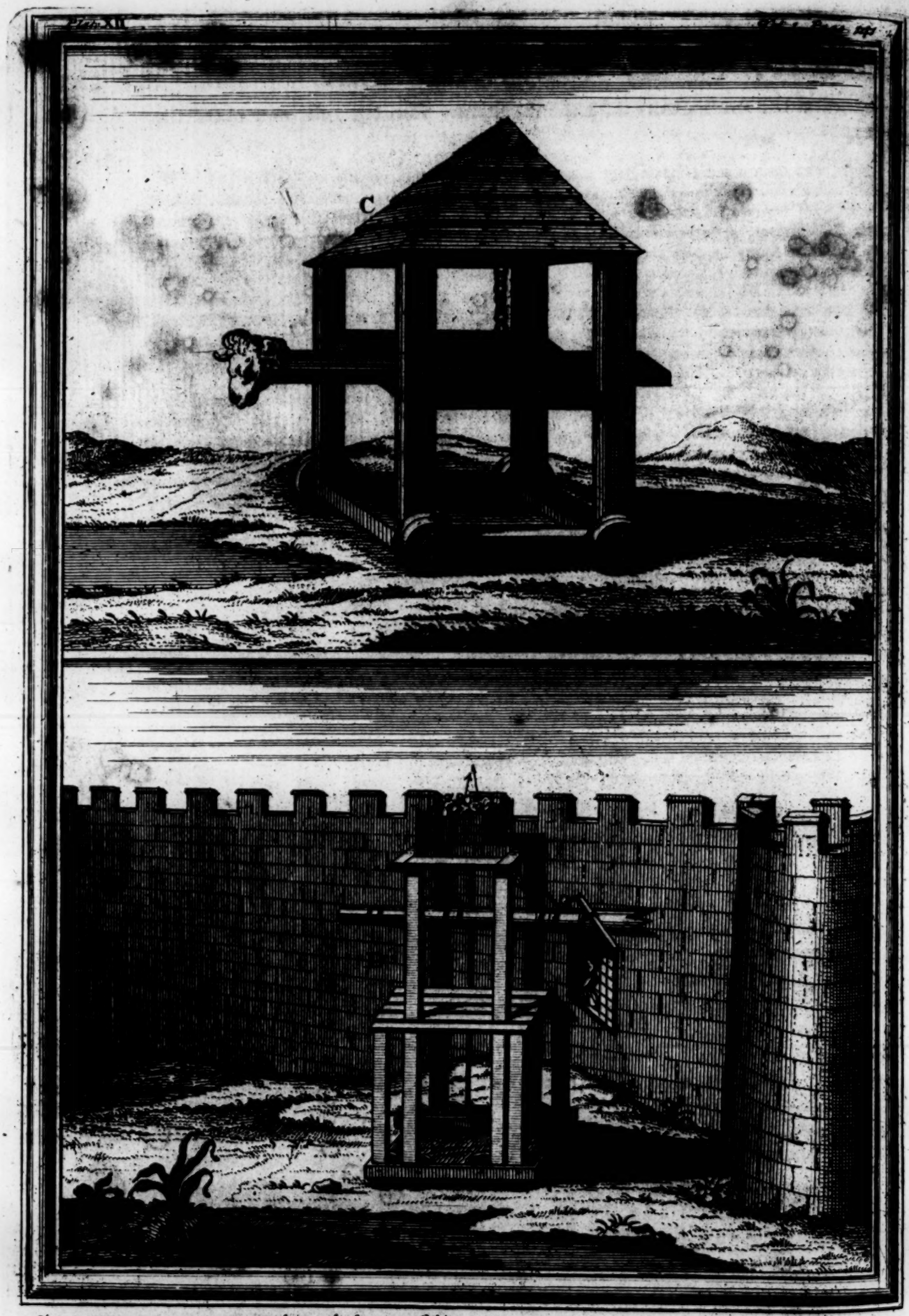




Two different sorts of **Rams** *hung different ways.*



A. *Another way of hanging the* Ram.
B. *The* Ram-Tortoise *invented by* Polidus *of* Theſſaly



C. A Ram *covered with a Shed, and running upon Wheels.*
D. A Ram *which might be raised or sunk, as there was Occasion, either by Springs, or ropes, and pullies, according to* Hero's *description of it.*

beheaded the moſt guilty of the inhabitants, ſold the reſt, and razed the city. Y. of *R.* 251. Bef. *J.C.* 501. 8th Conſulſhip.

firſt, it was only a mere beam, or kind of lever, which the beſiegers drove againſt the walls, with repeated blows, by ſtrength of arm. *Pephaſmenos*, a carpenter of *Tyre*, taking the hint from the firſt trial which was made of this machine, fixed up a maſt of a ſhip, to which he hung croſs-ways by cables and iron chains, a huge piece of timber. This heavy, unwieldy maſs, poiſed and puſhed with violence, threw down the walls of the city beſieged. After this manner, as *Joſephus* tells us, *B.* 3. the *Romans* ſet their Ram againſt *Jeruſalem*. To guard the machine, and thoſe who worked it, from the attacks of the enemy, *Cetras* of *Chalcedon* was the firſt who made a ſort of penthouſe, or gallery, covered over with ſkins ſoaked in water, to preſerve it from fire. It went upon wheels, that the *Ram*, which was hung up within, upon one or two rafters, might be brought forward with greater eaſe. This was afterwards called the *Ram-Tortoiſe*, either becauſe its motion was ſlow, according to *Vitruvius*; or, as *Vegetius* has obſerved, becauſe the machine reſembled the figure of a *Tortoiſe*, who puts his head out of his ſhell, and draws it in again, in like manner as the head of the *Ram* moved out and in, as there was occaſion. Above the *Tortoiſe*, there was ſometimes raiſed a century-box, in the form of a turret, where two ſoldiers were poſted, to obſerve the motions of the beſieged. *Vitruvius* aſſures us, that *Polydus* of *Theſſaly* perfected the *Tortoiſe* at the ſiege, which *Philip* of *Macedon*, ſon of *Amyntas*, laid to *Byzantium*. The make and diſpoſition of the machine was in this manner. He made a covered gallery, thirty cubits wide, and fifteen high, without reckoning the roof, which it ſelf was ſeven from the platform to the ridge. Over the roof he raiſed a little tower, at leaſt twelve cubits wide. It contained four ſtories, in the uppermoſt of which were put the *Scorpions*, and the *Catapults*. In the lower ſtories was placed a great quantity of water, to extinguiſh the fire which might be thrown from the top of the ramparts. *Vitruvius* makes the length of the *Ram* a hundred and ſix feet; *Plutarch*, eighty only. The *Ram-Tortoiſe* is deſcribed in theſe verſes of *Propertius*:

Dumque Aries cornu murum pulſabat aheno
Vineaque inductum longa tegebat opus. l. 4.

Vitruvius, *Vegetius*, and *Juſtus Lipſius* have expatiated upon the different forms of this antient engine of war; but they all amount to the ſame thing. Thoſe which are here repreſented, will enable the reader to form a judgment of the reſt.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. *The* Latines *declare for King* Tarquin *againſt the new Republick; but, before they take the field, ſend an Embaſſy to* Rome *with propoſals for an accommodation.* §. II. *A conſpiracy is there formed by ſome of* Tarquin's *Emiſſaries, who accompany the* Latine *Ambaſſadors. The plot is diſcover'd and prevented, and the Ambaſſadors diſmiſs'd with a refuſal of their demands.* §. III. *The* Latines *diſpatch a ſecond Embaſſy to* Rome *with offers of peace, upon new conditions; theſe are alſo rejected by the Senate. The* Romans *prepare for war: but when the Conſuls would make the neceſſary levies, the poorer citizens refuſe to ſerve.* §. IV. *The cruelty of their creditors is the cauſe of this mutiny. The debtors demand an abſolute remiſſion of their debts. Great diſputes ariſe in the Senate on this occaſion. In ſo dangerous a ſituation of affairs they judge it neceſſary to create a* DICTATOR, *(a ſovereign uncontroulable Magiſtrate) and to this they get the People's conſent.* §. V. Titus Lartius *is appointed to that ſupreme*

ſupreme dignity. The levies for the war are now carried on without difficulty. After very little action in the field, a truce is made with the Latines *for a year; during which the* Roman *women married into* Latium, *and the* Latine *women married at* Rome, *have leave to return to their reſpective countries.* §. VI. *The truce being expired,* Poſthumius *one of the Conſuls is named Dictator, and has the ſole conduct of the war. He gives the* Latines *an entire overthrow in the battle of* Regillus; *after which the whole Nation ſubmits.* Tarquin *being obliged to quit* Latium, *retires to* Cumæ *in* Campania, *and there, in a few months after, dies.*

Y. of *R.* 252. Bef. *J.C.* 500. 9th Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

THE next year, when *Poſthumius Cominus* and *T. Lartius* were Conſuls, a very important event gave a new alarm to the riſing Republick. The *Latine* Nation, which had hitherto ſtood neuter in the quarrel between *Rome* and her baniſhed King, came at length to a reſolution openly to eſpouſe the King's cauſe. It was *Mamilius, Tarquin*'s ſon-in-law, who by his preſſing inſtances had brought his countrymen to this determination. *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Poplicola*, had juſt been deputed by the *Romans* to thoſe of the *Latine* cities that were neareſt *Rome*, to complain of ſome of their people, who (by ſecret direction of the chief men among them) had made inroads and depredations in the territory of the Republick. Hearing that the *Latines* were aſſembled in a national council at *Ferentinum* to deliberate on a war with the *Romans*, *Valerius* haſted thither, tho' not invited, and there demanded, as Deputy from *Rome*, the chief ſeat in the Council; a right due to him by the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Nations. To this it was anſwered, That thoſe treaties had been ſhamefully violated by the *Romans*, at whoſe inſtigation, as the Deputies from *Aricia* alledged, *Porſena*'s troops had made that attack upon the *Aricians*, in which his ſon *Aruns* was ſlain. Some exiles alſo from *Fidenæ* and *Camerium* complained loudly of the cruelty of the *Romans*. And it was farther added by the Partiſans of *Tarquin*, That the *Latine* confederacy having been concluded with the King, and not with the Republick of *Rome*, the latter could claim no benefit from that tranſaction. The Deputies, however, came to no determination that day; it was wholly ſpent in accuſations and replies: but the very day following, when they met again, they refuſed to admit *Valerius* into their Aſſembly; and it was ſignified to him, that the *Latines*, thinking themſelves, in many inſtances, greatly injured by the *Romans*, had reſolved to conſider at leiſure of proper revenge.

It was at this time, and upon the news of the danger that threatened *Rome* from the *Latines*, that (according to *Livy*) the Senate firſt thought of creating a Dictator; tho' they did not put that project in execution till a more difficult conjuncture. During the preſent alarm from abroad, they happily diſcovered a conſpiracy formed at home by a number of ſlaves, who had combined together to ſeize the capitol, and ſet fire to the city in ſeveral quarters at the ſame time. The offenders were all crucified.

In the following Conſulſhip of *Serv. Sulpitius* and *Manius Tullius*, the *Tarquins*, in concert with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fidenæ*, found means to poſſeſs themſelves of that City by ſurprize. Tho' the *Roman* Senate had good reaſon to ſuſpect that many of the chiefs of *Latium* were concerned in this affair, yet were they in no haſte to declare war againſt the *Latine* people, being well aſſured that the lower order of men among them were not in the ſame diſpoſitions with the Nobles, but rather averſe from any rupture with *Rome*. But as to the *Fidenates*, the Conſul *Manius* marching with a numerous army, cloſely inveſted their City, and reduced them to great extremities. The beſieged in their diſtreſs implored the aſſiſtance of the *Latines*; and this occaſioned a new meeting of the Deputies from the ſeveral Cities of *Latium*. Y. of R. 253. Bef. J.C. 499. 10 Conſulſhip.

Here the queſtion was debated, whether a war ſhould be abſolutely declared againſt *Rome* in favour of *Fidenæ* and the *Tarquins*, or whether the *Latines* ſhould adhere to the ancient treaties between the two States. Thoſe of the Council who hoped for great employments in caſe of a rupture were very warm for this ſide of the queſtion, but the richeſt and the moderate men of the Aſſembly were of the contrary ſentiment, and this was alſo the moſt agreeable to the Nation in general. The firſt however ſo far prevailed, as to obtain a decree, that an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the *Romans* to exhort them to raiſe the ſiege of *Fidenæ*, and recall their baniſhed King, who on that condition was to engage by oath to grant a general amneſty; the Ambaſſadors were to allow the *Romans* a year to conſider of theſe overtures, and to threaten them with a war in caſe of non-compliance.

The party who carried this point in the Aſſembly very well knew that the Republick would never liſten to ſuch propoſals; but they were willing to have ſome plauſible pretext for a breach, as alſo time to make due preparations for war; and they likewiſe hoped, that before the year was expired they ſhould find means to gain over to them thoſe of their Countrymen, who now oppoſed their meaſures.

§. II. IN the mean time, *Tarquin* and his ſons ſeeing how averſe the people of *Latium* were from a war with the *Romans*, and having little hopes of any advantage from the Embaſſy propoſed, turned their thoughts to a more promiſing ſcheme. In the train of the *Latine* Ambaſſadors they ſent to *Rome* ſome Emiſſaries of their own, who by the help of large ſums of money were to kindle an inteſtine war in the City. It was believed, and with good reaſon, that two ſorts of men would be there found very ready to enter into this deſign; the ſlaves and the meaner citizens overwhelmed with debt. The firſt knew themſelves miſtruſted by their maſters, and wanted only an opportunity to revenge the ſevere treatment which their fellows had lately ſuffered; and as for the poor debtors, the cruel uſage they daily received from their creditors made them eaſily believe there could be no change in the government but to their advantage. *Tarquin*'s agents having ſecretly engaged a multitude of theſe unhappy men of both ſorts to attempt a revolution, the parts they gave them to act were

V. of R. 253. Bef. J.C. 499. to Conſulſhip.

were theſe: The poor Citizens were at an appointed hour to poſſeſs themſelves of the ramparts and gates of the City, and then to raiſe a great ſhout, which was to be the ſignal for the ſlaves who lay round their maſters to riſe and maſſacre them: The gates of the City were then to be opened, and the exiles were to enter *Rome* while it was yet ſtreaming with the blood of the Senators.

It is almoſt incredible that of ſo great a number of vile and mercenary wretches, not one ſhould be tempted by the proſpect of rich rewards to betray the ſecret. *Dionyſius* aſcribes the preſervation of *Rome* to a particular providence of God, who had taken this City under his protection. He tells us, that *Tarquin*'s two principal agents, *Publius* and *Marcus*, (both of his own name and family) were ſo terrified with nightly viſions and frightful dreams, that they durſt not proceed in their deſign, till they had conſulted a Diviner; that having aſked him in general terms whether it was a proper time to execute a project they had formed, he adviſed them, *By all means to lay aſide their project, whatever it was, for that otherwiſe it would aſſuredly prove fatal to them*; and that upon this, they fearing to be prevented by ſome of the other Conſpirators, went ſtrait to *Sulpitius*, the only Conſul then at *Rome*, and diſcovered the whole matter to him. *Sulpitius* commended them highly, promiſed them ample recompence, and detained them in his own houſe, without imparting the ſecret to any body. Inſtantly he aſſembled the Senate, where the firſt thing done was to call in the *Latine* Ambaſſadors, and give them their audience of leave, with an anſwer to their propoſals. The anſwer was very ſhort. The Conſul addreſſing them by the appellations of *Friends* and *Kinſmen*, told them, *The ſurpriſe the Senate were under, that the* Latines, *who had been witneſſes of the conſtancy of the* Roman *People when attacked by all the forces of* Porſena, *ſhould threaten them with a war, unleſs they would ſubmit to Tyrants, and raiſe the ſiege of* Fidenæ: And he concluded with a ſort of defiance. The Ambaſſadors being thus diſmiſſed, were conducted out of the City.

Then *Sulpitius* laid open to *the Fathers* the horrible conſpiracy of which he had juſt got information. The truth of the fact ſeemed not to admit of a diſpute; the only queſtion was in what manner to apprehend and puniſh the guilty; and this was a nice point. To take the conſpirators by force from their families and carry them to execution might raiſe a flame in every quarter of the City, and be attended with fatal conſequences: Nor was it by any means expedient to cite them in legal form before the Judges; becauſe ſhould the accuſed be obſtinate in denying the fact, the evidence of the two informers, who were the only witneſs, might be thought inſufficient for a capital conviction of *Roman* citizens. *Sulpitius* therefore, to whom the Senate left the whole conduct of this critical affair, took a method which he thought would equally ſerve to prove the guilt, and ſecure the puniſhment. He directed the Senators to get together their friends and clients, and upon a ſignal to be given, to ſeize all the ſtrong places of the City, each Senator in that quarter where he lived. The

Roman Knights alſo were commanded to hold themſelves ready in the houſes adjoining to the Forum, to execute the orders they ſhould receive. And laſt, upon the apprehending of the criminals, their relations or friends ſhould raiſe a ſedition, and occaſion a bloody conflict between fellow-citizens, he ſent to his Collegue, who was beſieging *Fidenæ*, to come away as ſoon as it was dark, with a choſen body of his troops, and poſt them near the ramparts of *Rome*. Theſe precautions taken, the two informers, by the Conſul's direction, gave notice to the moſt active and leading men of the conſpiracy to meet them exactly at midnight in the *Forum*, under pretence of ſettling the laſt meaſures for the execution of their enterprize. Every thing ſucceeded according to the Conſul's ſcheme. The Conſpirators met at the time and place appointed; the Senators, upon receiving the ſignal, poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſtrongeſt poſts in all parts of the City; the Knights inveſted the *Forum*, ſo cloſely blocking up all the avenues of it, that no body could poſſibly eſcape from thence; and at the ſame time the Conſul *Manius* being arrived from before *Fidenæ*, drew up his troops in the *Campus Martius*. The next morning, as ſoon as it was light, both the Conſuls, ſtrongly guarded, appeared upon their tribunal, and, having convened the People, diſcovered to them the conſpiracy which had been formed againſt the common liberty, and produced the witneſſes. Leave was given to the accuſed to make their defence, if they had any thing to ſay againſt the evidence; but not one of them had the boldneſs to deny the fact. Hereupon the Conſuls inſtantly repair'd to the Senate, whence they ſoon after returned, bringing with them a decree of the *Fathers*, whereby the right of Citizenſhip was granted to the two Informers, together with a large pecuniary reward; and the Conſpirators were condemn'd to death, in caſe the People approved it. This decree being confirmed by the Aſſembly, the multitude were then ordered to retire, and the criminals were deliver'd up to the ſoldiers, and put to the ſword. And now, as the peace of *Rome* was thought ſufficiently ſecured by this ſtroke of ſeverity, the Conſuls would receive no accuſation againſt any other accomplices of the treaſon, but publiſhed an Amneſty for all thoſe who had eſcaped puniſhment. They alſo ordered that the *Romans* ſhould purify themſelves by expiations, becauſe they had been conſtrained to dip their hands in the blood of their Countrymen; after which they appointed ſacrifices in thankſgiving to the Gods, and three feſtival days for the celebration of public games. A melancholy accident diſturbed the general joy on this occaſion; the Conſul *Manius* fell from his chariot in the middle of the *Circus*, and was ſo grievouſly hurt that he died a few days after. As the year was near expiring, *Sulpitius* remained ſole Conſul to the end of it, the *Romans* not thinking it worth while to chuſe him a new Collegue.

Y. of *R.* 253. Bef. *J.C.* 499. Conſuls, *Manius Sulpitius*.

§. III. *FIDENÆ* continued to be inveſted, but was not taken during the following Conſulſhip of *T. Æbutius* and *P. Veturius*. But the next year, when *T. Lartius* and *Q. Cælius* were raiſed to that dignity, the former having the conduct of the ſiege, carried on the attacks with

Y. of *R.* 254.

Y. of *R.* 255.

V. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J. C.* 497. 12 Conſulſhip.

ſo much ſkill and vigour, that he at length forced the *Fidenates* to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The reduction of *Fidenæ* ſtruck a terror into the *Latines*, who had neglected to ſuccour it as they might, and now repented of that neglect. *Tarquin*, *Mamilius*, and the *Aricians* ſeized the opportunity furniſh'd by their preſent fears, to unite them againſt the *Roman* Republic. The Deputies from the *Latine* Cities * being aſſembled at *Ferentinum*, entered into a confederacy, and bound themſelves by oaths never to violate their engagements. However, before they began hoſtilities, they judged it proper to ſend to *Rome* a ſecond Embaſſy, conſiſting of ſome of the principal men of each City in the alliance. Theſe being admitted to an audience of the Senate, complained of the *injuſtice of the* Romans, *who*, they ſaid, *had formerly put the* Hetrurians *upon attacking* Aricia; and they added, *that the only way for the* Republic *to avoid the war which threatened her from the* Latines, *was to ſubmit her quarrel with the* Aricians *to the deciſion of the* Latine *Council*. Tho' the *Fathers* had never been in greater perplexity than at this time, becauſe of the vaſtly ſuperior ſtrength of the *Latine* nation, yet they haughtily rejected the propoſal; and the war being now looked upon as unavoidable, they turned their thoughts wholly to fortify themſelves by alliances, and get aſſiſtance from their neighbours. To this end they ſent about to the ſeveral States with which they were ſurrounded; but their negotiations proved every where unſucceſsful: The *Hernici* required time to examine the rights of the two parties; the *Rutuli* declared for the *Latines*; the *Volſci* inſulted the *Roman* Ambaſſadors; and as for the *Hetrurians*, they reſolved to ſtand neuter for a while, and then chuſe their ſide, as the events of the war ſhould guide them. Theſe diſappointments, how great ſoever, did not diſcourage the Senate; but what was worſe than all theſe, the Republic had in her own boſom rebellious children, who refuſed to lend their aid for the defence of their country.

D. Hal. B. 5.

§. IV. IN order to a right underſtanding of the true ſource of this inteſtine evil, it will be neceſſary to call to mind ſome particulars in the manners, cuſtoms, and policy of the *Romans*, during theſe early ages of their State.

Abbé *Vertot.*

* Of all the means which the neceſſities of nature have put men upon inventing for ſubſiſtence, the *Romans* practiſed only tillage and war. They

* *Livy* only ſays, that 30 Cities of *Latium* were in the Confederacy againſt *Rome*. But *D. Hal.* gives us a liſt of them, by which it appears, that they were not all Cities of the *Latines*: *Ardea*, *Aricia*, *Bovilla*, *Bubentum*, *Cora*, *Corventum*, *Circæum*, *Corioli*, *Corbintum*, *Cabanum*, *Fortinæum*, *Gabii*, *Laurentium*, *Lanuvium*, *Lavinium*, *Lavicum*, *Nomentum*, *Norba*, *Præneste*, *Pedum*, *Corcotulum* or *Querquetulum*, *Satricum*, *Scapeia*, *Setia*, *Tellenium*, *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, *Tuſculum*, *Teleria*, *Tricrinum* and *Velitræ*.

* *N. B.* What follows in the text to the year of *Rome* 371, is taken chiefly from Monſieur *Vertot*'s *Hiſtory of the Revolutions which happened in the Government of the* Roman *Commonwealth*. Care, however, has been had to avoid many things, in that work, which were found to be the pure product of his imagination, as alſo many errors or miſrepreſentations; and to make ſuch Additions to his Accounts as were neceſſary to the nature of this more general Hiſtory of *Rome*.

lived

lived upon their own harveſts, or upon thoſe which they reaped ſword in hand in the territories of their enemies. All the mechanic arts, not ſubſervient to theſe two profeſſions, were unknown at *Rome*, or left to ſlaves and ſtrangers. The *Romans*, generally ſpeaking, from the Senator to the meaneſt Plebeian, were all huſbandmen, and the huſbandmen all ſoldiers: And we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that ſome of their moſt renowned Captains were called from the plough to command their armies. The very greateſt men in the Republick inured their children to a hard and laborious way of life, to make them the more robuſt, and the more capable of ſuſtaining the fatigues of war. Y. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J.C.* 497. 12 Conſulſhip.

This domeſtic diſcipline had its riſe from the poverty of the firſt *Romans*: They afterwards made a virtue of what was the mere effect of neceſſity; and men of noble minds conſidered this equal poverty of all the citizens, as the means to preſerve their liberty from uſurpation. Each citizen had at firſt, for his ſubſiſtence, but two acres of land. *Rome* afterwards extended her territory by acquiſitions from her neighbours. The *Romans* uſually ſold one moiety of the lands they conquered, to reimburſe the State for the charges of the war, and added to the publick domain the other moiety, which was afterwards either given or let at a ſmall rent to the poorer ſort: Such was the ancient cuſtom of *Rome*, under her Kings. But, after the extinction of the regal power, the Nobles and *Patricians*, who looked upon themſelves to be the only Sovereigns of the Republic, did, under various pretences, appropriate to themſelves the beſt part of thoſe conquered lands, if they lay near their own eſtates, or were any other ways convenient for them; thus inſenſibly enlarging their own revenues to the diminution of thoſe of the Republic: Or elſe, under borrowed names, they cauſed thoſe portions which were allotted for the ſubſiſtence of the poor citizens, to be adjudged to themſelves at inconſiderable rates. They afterwards laid them to their other lands, without diſtinction; and a few years poſſeſſion, and their own great power covered theſe uſurpations. The State loſt its revenue; and the ſoldier, who had ſpent his blood to enlarge the bounds of the Republic, ſaw himſelf deprived of the ſmall portion of land that ought to have been at once his pay and his reward. *D. Hal.* & *Varr. de Re Ruſt.* L. 1.

The covetouſneſs of ſome *Patricians* was not confined to theſe uſurpations only; but when the harveſt fell ſhort by the badneſs of the year, or by the irruptions of enemies, they knew how, by an ill-meant relief, to make themſelves a title to their neighbour's field. The ſoldier, being then entirely deſtitute, for he had no pay, was forced, for his ſubſiſtence, to have recourſe to the rich. They lent him no money but at *uſury*; which, in thoſe days, if we may believe *Tacitus*, was arbitrary. The debtor muſt engage his ſmall eſtate; and the cruel aſſiſtance he received often coſt him his liberty: For the laws allowed the creditor, upon default of payment, to ſeize his debtor, carry him to his own houſe, and there treat him like a ſlave. Both principal and intereſt were often exacted with ſtripes and torments; his land was taken from him by ac- *Tac. Ann.* l. 6. *ad Ann.* 786.

Y. of R. 255. Bef. J.C. 497. 12 Conſulſhip.

cumulated uſury; and, under pretence of the obſervation of the laws and ſtrict juſtice, the people daily ſuffered the utmoſt wrong.

A Government ſo ſevere, in a new Republic, quickly raiſed a general diſcontent. Thoſe of the *Plebeians* who were oppreſſed with debts, and afraid of being arreſted by their creditors, applying themſelves to their Patrons and the moſt diſintereſted among the Senators, repreſented to them their extream want, the difficulty they had to bring up their children, and how hard a caſe it was, that after fighting ſucceſsfully againſt the *Tarquins* in defence of the public liberty, they ſhould be expoſed to become the ſlaves of their fellow-citizens.

Theſe complaints were followed by ſecret menaces; and the *Plebeians*, finding no redreſs of their grievances, at length broke out into open ſedition, under the Conſulate of *T. Lartius* and *Q. Clelius*, on occaſion of the powerful confederacy formed againſt the Commonwealth, by the *Latines* and their allies. As *Rome* had no ſoldiers but her own citizens, it was neceſſary to make the people take arms; but the poorer ſort, and eſpecially ſuch as were plunged in debt, declared, that it was the buſineſs of thoſe who enjoy'd the dignities and riches of the Republic, to defend it; that, for their own parts, they were weary of expoſing their lives every day for Maſters ſo cruel and inſatiable. Accordingly, they refuſed to give their names * in, to be liſted for the ſervice. The hotteſt of them ſaid boldly, that they were no more tied to their native country, where

* It was the province of the Conſuls to direct the levying of men for the war. The two Conſular armies, generally ſpeaking, conſiſted at this time of four legions, each containing at leaſt four thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. The manner of making the levies was as follows.

After the Conſuls had choſen twenty-four Tribunes, (or Colonels) fourteen from among the *Roman* Knights, and ten from among the *Plebeian* families, ſix of theſe Tribunes were appointed to every legion, to command and lead it: And it was the buſineſs of all the Tribunes to chuſe their ſoldiers in the following manner. Every tribe of the *Roman* people was brought into the area before the capitol, one tribe after another, according to the order in which it was their lot to be ſummoned. The firſt tribe call'd was divided according to the order of the claſſes, regard being had to their ſuperiority, *i. e.* their riches. After this, four perſons, who were of age to ſerve, were called out of theſe claſſes; and the Tribunes of each legion choſe one of the four into their legion. The Tribunes of the firſt legion choſe the firſt man, the Tribunes of the ſecond legion the ſecond man, and ſo on. When theſe four were thus diſtributed, four others were called; and then the Tribunes of the ſecond legion had their turn of chuſing the firſt man: So that the Tribunes of each legion had the firſt choice, one after another, according to the order of their legion; and every legion was very near equally furniſhed with good men. After a certain number of ſoldiers were choſen out of one tribe, another was called in; and the ſame number was choſen out of that, in the ſame manner, till the legions were ſufficiently full.

Here we muſt obſerve, that the *Roman* Knights, as being higher in rank, came ſooner to the Tribuneſhip than the *Plebeians*. But neither of them could be choſen Legionary Tribunes, till they had ſerved half of the time the laws preſcribed them. Thus the Knights who were obliged to ten years ſervice, might be promoted to the Tribuneſhip after five campaigns; whereas, the *Plebeians* could not come to it till after ten years ſervice in the Army, becauſe they were obliged to ſerve twenty complete. The latter were called *Seniores Tribuni*; and the former, *Juniores Tribuni*.

not

not an inch of land was left them in property, than to any other Country tho' never so remote; that at least there they should have no debts to pay; that the only way to free themselves from the tyranny of their creditors was to leave *Rome*: and they loudly threatned to abandon the City, unless all debts were abolished by a *Senatus-consultum*. Y. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J.C.* 497. 12 Consulship.

The Senators, much disturbed at a disobedience so little different from a barefaced rebellion, immediately assembled: Various opinions were given. *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, and who after his example affected popularity, represented to *the Fathers*, That most of the poor *Plebeians* had been forced to contract debts only by the misfortunes of war; that if in such a conjuncture as this, when a great part of *Italy* had espoused the Cause of *Tarquin*, they did not redress the grievances of the people, it was to be feared, despair might drive them into the Tyrant's party; and the Senate, by stretching their authority too far, might lose it all in the re-establishment of the Royalty. Several of the Senators, and especially those who had no debtors, declared themselves of the same opinion; but it was rejected with indignation by the rich usurers. *Appius Claudius* also opposed it, but from different motives. Austere in his manners, and a severe observer of the laws, he maintained, that no alteration could be made in these, without endangering the Republic. Tho' he commiserated the condition of the poor, (many of whom were daily relieved by his bounty) he nevertheless declared in full Senate, that they could not with justice refuse the authority of the laws to such creditors as would prosecute their debtors with rigour; that justice was the surest support of a State; that there was no abolishing the debts of particular persons without ruining the public faith, the only bond of society; that the people themselves, in whose favour this unjust decree was proposed, would be the first sufferers by it; that in any new necessity they would get no Succour from the rich; that the discontent of the great was no less to be feared than that of the people, and that perhaps the former would not easily bear to be stript of that wealth, which had been left them by their ancestors, or was the fruit of their own temperance and œconomy. He added, that *Rome*, at the beginning, assigned no greater portions of land to the *Patricians* than to the *Plebeians*; that these latter had but lately shared the estate of the *Tarquins*; that they had often got considerable booty in war, and that if they had squandered it all away in extravagant living, there was no reason why they should be reimburst at the expence of those who had lived with more prudence and good management: That it should be further considered, that those of the mutineers who made the most noise, were *Plebeians* of the very lowest classes, and who in battle were usually placed only in the wings or in the rear of the legions; that most of them were armed with nothing but slings; that there was neither great service to be expected, nor great danger to be feared from such soldiers; that the Republic in losing them, would suffer but a very inconsiderable loss; and that to despise the sedition was sufficient to quell it, and make the authors of it submit themselves to the clemency of the Senate. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

Y. of R. 255. Bef. J.C. 497. 12 Conſulſhip.

Some of *the Fathers* who were for finding a medium between two opinions ſo extremely oppoſite, propoſed, that, without cancelling the debts, they ſhould take away the creditors power over the perſons of their debtors. Others were for remitting the debts of thoſe only who were notoriouſly unable to pay. Some again, to ſave the public faith, and at the ſame time ſatisfy the creditors, propoſed to pay them out of the public treaſury. And laſtly, it was the judgment of others, that ſuch of the citizens as had been [b] ſold, or were in danger of being ſold, to ſatisfy their debts, ſhould be redeemed from ſlavery, by giving the creditors other ſlaves in their room.

The Senate adopted none of theſe ſchemes; but, in order to pacify the people, and engage them to take arms in defence of the ſtate, they decreed a ſuſpenſion of all proſecutions for debt 'till the end of the war.

This condeſcenſion of the *Fathers* was owing to their fear of the foreign enemy. But a great many of the *Plebeians*, grown bolder for the ſame reaſon, declared, that they would either have an abſolute remiſſion of all debts, or leave it to the rich and great to take care of the war, and defend a City, in whoſe ſafety they thought themſelves no longer concerned, and which indeed they were ready to leave. The number of the mal-contents increaſed daily; for, among the people, many who had no debts of their own, could not help complaining of the ſeverity of the Senate, either thro' compaſſion for the debtors of their own order, or out of that ſecret averſion which every man naturally has to behold, in others, a ſpirit of domination.

Tho' the richeſt of the *Plebeians*, and eſpecially the clients of the Nobles, had no part in the ſedition; yet the ſeparation which the mal-con-

[b] When the debtor was inſolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to ſell him as a ſlave. Sometimes he was cruel enough to whip him unmercifully. After a certain number of ſummons's, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace, to give him time to raiſe the ſum for which he was accountable. Theſe are the words of the law: *Æris confeſſi, rebuſque jure judicatis triginta dies juſti ſunto. Poſt dein manum endo jacito —— Vincito aut nervo aut compedibus* ——— After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not diſcharged the debt, he was led to the *Prætor*, who delivered him up to the mercy of his creditors. Theſe bound him and kept him in chains, for the ſpace of ſixty days. Afterwards, for three market days ſucceſſively, this debtor was brought to the tribunal of the *Prætor*. Then a public Crier proclaimed in the *Forum*, the debt for which the priſoner was detained. Oftentimes there were found rich perſons who redeemed the priſoners, by paying their debts. But if no-body appeared in behalf of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to ſell him, or to impriſon and make him a ſlave in his own houſe; which was called *Coercition*. Such impriſoned ſlaves were ſtiled *Nexi* and not *Servi*, becauſe their ſlavery laſted no longer than till their debts were paid. This *Coercition* was afterwards changed into publick impriſonments, which was a leſs rigorous puniſhment than the ſlavery the debtors underwent in their creditors houſes. *Cat. & Rouil.*

It has been thought, that, by one of the *Decemviral* laws, expreſſed in theſe terms, *Si plures ſint, quibus reus ſit addictus, tertiis nundinis partes ſecanto; ſi plus minusve ſecuerint, ſine fraude eſto*, if an inſolvent debtor had ſeveral creditors, they could cut his body into as many parts, and ſo ſhare him among them. But it is not probable that the law had any ſuch meaning. Doubtleſs by *cutting* or *dividing the debtor*, we ought to underſtand *dividing the price of his body ſold*. Bynkerſhoek. L. 1. C. 1.

tents threatned, and their obſtinate refuſal of taking arms, were of dangerous example, eſpecially at a time when the Republic was going to be attacked by the greater part of the *Latine* forces, commanded by the ſons and ſon-in-law of *Tarquin*. The Senate might indeed have proſecuted the moſt active in the mutiny; but then the *Lex Valeria*, which allowed appeals to the aſſembly of the people, was a ſhelter for the guilty, who were ſure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their ſedition. To elude the effect of a privilege that put ſuch a reſtraint upon their power, the *Fathers* reſolved to create one ſupreme Magiſtrate, who, with the title of DICTATOR [c], ſhould be equally above the Senate and aſſembly of the People, and be inveſted with abſolute authority. And in order to obtain the people's conſent, it was repreſented to them in a public aſſembly, that in ſo difficult a conjuncture, when they had their domeſtic quarrels to decide, and the enemy to repulſe at the ſame time, it would be expedient to put the Commonwealth under a ſingle Governor, who, ſuperior to the Conſuls themſelves, ſhould be arbiter of the laws, and as it were the father of his country: That, nevertheleſs, leſt he ſhould abuſe his uncontroulable authority, by making himſelf a Tyrant, they ought not to truſt him with it above ſix months. V. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J. C.* 467. 12 Conſulſhip.

§. V. THE people [d] not foreſeeing the conſequences of this change, agreed to it; and then the only thing that remained, was to pitch upon a man duly qualified for ſo great and important a truſt. *Titus Lartius*, one of the preſent Conſuls, appeared to the Senate to be of all men the moſt unexceptionable; yet they were unwilling to offend his Collegue by an invidious preference. The expedient they fell upon was to give the two Conſuls the power of naming the new Magiſtrate, but with this limitation, that he ſhould be one of the two, not doubting but *Clælius* would readily yield to the ſuperior talents of *Lartius*. Nor were they diſappointed in this expectation. But then *Lartius*, no way behind his Collegue in modeſty or generoſity, with the ſame readineſs remitted the high honour in queſtion to him; and a conteſt aroſe between them, which of the two ſhould advance the other to ſovereign authority. The diſpute did not end the firſt day; but the day following, when the Senate met again upon this weighty affair, *Clælius* finding that he could no otherways prevail, ſtarted up on a ſudden, and after the manner of an INTERREX proclaimed [e] *Titus Lartius* DICTATOR, inſtantly abdicated the Conſulſhip, and deſcended from the tribunal. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

This

[c] This Magiſtrate was alſo called, *Magiſter Populi* and *Prætor Maximus*.

[d] It ſeems not improbable, that the people were induced to conſent to this change, partly from the flattering hopes which perſons in diſtreſs uſually conceive from all unexperienced changes in the Government; and partly from the knowledge their leaders had of the temper and character of the perſon deſtin'd to the High Office in queſtion: For we ſhall find that *Lartius* was a friend to the poor *Plebeians*.

[e] It became the cuſtom for this Magiſtrate to be choſen only in the night *viva voce*, by one of the Conſuls; and this choice was to be confirmed by the divination from birds.

His

V. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J. C.* 497. 12 Conſulſhip. 1ſt Dictatorſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 5. *Liv.* B. 1.

This new kind of Government erected at *Rome*, might be called an abſolute Monarchy in a Republic, tho' not durable. The moment the DICTATOR was named, he had power of life and death over all the Citizens of every degree, and without any appeal[a]. The authority and the functions of all other Magiſtrates ceaſed, or were ſubordinate to his. He had the naming of the *General of the Horſe*, who ſerved as his Lieutenant-General, and was wholly at his command. Twenty-four lictors, armed with axes, (as thoſe of the Kings had uſed to be) attended him. He might raiſe troops or diſband them at his pleaſure. Whenever war was declared, he commanded the armies, without being obliged to conſult either the People or the Senate concerning his Enterpriſes; nor, when his authority expired, was he obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his adminiſtration.

T. Lartius being inveſted with this great dignity, named, without the participation either of Senate or People, *Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus* for *General of the Horſe*; and in all his proceedings, tho' he was indeed one of the moſt moderate of the whole Senate, he outwardly affected a ſtately reſerve, and a peremptory manner, to awe the People into their duty. They found that under ſo reſolute a maſter, who would not fail to make an example of the firſt that ſhould rebel, ſubmiſſion was the only courſe they had to take.

All mutiny and murmurings being thus ſilenced, the Dictator commanded a *Cenſus* to be taken of the people, according to the inſtitution of King *Servius Tullius*; and there appeared to be in *Rome* 150700 men who were paſt the age of puberty. Out of theſe he formed four armies. The firſt he allotted to himſelf, the ſecond to *Glœlius* his late Collegue, the third to *Caſſius*, his General of the Horſe; and theſe three were to take the field againſt the *Latines*; the fourth, under the command of the Dictator's brother, *Spurius Lartius*, was to ſtay in *Rome* and guard the City.

The *Latines* were not ſo forward in their preparations for the war as their menaces had given cauſe to fear they would be; ſo that there was little action this campaign. The Dictator having intercepted a detachment which they had ſent to ravage the *Roman* territory, treated the priſoners more like allies than enemies. He cauſed particular care to be had of the wounded, and ſet all at liberty ranſom free. By this humane and ſkillful conduct, he diſpoſed the *Latines* to liſten the more readily to the overtures which he at the ſame time made them for a ſuſpenſion of arms. Notwithſtanding all that *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* could do to hinder it, a truce was ſoon after agreed to for a year. And then *Lartius* ſeeing

His power was confined in two other reſpects beſides that of time. He was not allowed to march out of *Italy*, leſt he ſhould take advantage of the diſtance of the place to attempt ſomething againſt the common liberty; and he was always to march on foot, except in caſe of a tedious or ſudden expedition, and then he formally aſked leave of the people to ride.

[a] This was doubtleſs the intention of the Senate at the time when a Dictator was firſt created: But we ſhall hereafter find an appeal from the ſentence of a Dictator to the aſſembly of the people.

the

the Republic in tranquillity, reſigned the Dictatorſhip, tho' the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired; and, what is remarkable, no citizen had been puniſhed with death or baniſhment, or in any manner ſeverely treated during the whole continuance of his uncontroulable power.

The following Conſulſhip of *Sempronius Atratinus* and *Minutius Augurinus*, produced nothing memorable relating to war or conqueſt. The Senate ſeem to have been chiefly taken up with a compaſſionate concern for the *Roman* women married to *Latine* huſbands. It was feared they might ſuffer by the rupture between the two nations. A decree therefore was paſſed by *the Fathers*, and confirmed by the People, (in conſequence doubtleſs of an agreement made with the *Latines*) that the *Latine* women who were willing to leave *Rome* and return to *Latium*, and the *Roman* women who were willing to come back from *Latium* to *Rome*, ſhould have liberty to quit their huſbands and return to the reſpective countries of their nativity; and it was ordered, with regard to their children, that the boys ſhould remain with their fathers, and the girls follow their mothers. How agreeable a place *Rome* was to wives moſt remarkably appeared on this occaſion. For out of the great number of *Latine* women who had married *Roman* huſbands, onely two went back to *Latium*; but almoſt all the *Roman* women, married to *Latines*, left their huſbands and returned to their native City.

Y. of *R.* 256. Bef. *J.C.* 496. 13 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

§. VI. THE year of truce with the *Latines* was expired, when *Aulus Poſthumius* and *T. Virginius* took poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip. The Nobles of *Latium*, who were in the intereſt of *Tarquin*, carried all before them in the Aſſemblies of the States, contrary to the inclination of the people, many of whom came with their families to *Rome*, where they were well received. It was neceſſary therefore to prepare for war; and tho' there were no diſſentions at this time between the Senate and People, it was judged proper to put the conduct of it into the hands of a Dictator: The Conſuls had the power given them, as before, to name one of themſelves to that dignity; whereupon *Virginius*, tho' the elder of the two, readily yielded it to his Collegue as the more able Commander.

Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J.C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

Poſthumius having named *Ælius Elva* to be his *General of the Horſe*, divided the *Roman* forces, as the former Dictator had done, into four bodies; one he commanded himſelf, put another under the conduct of his late Collegue *Virginius*, the third under *Ælius*, and committed the fourth to *Sempronius*, with the Government of the City. News was preſently brought, that the *Latines* had forced the caſtle of *Corbio*, a ſtrong hold belonging to the Republic, and put the garriſon to the ſword; and that this ſmall advantage gained by the enemy had determined the *Volſci* of *Antium* to join them. *Poſthumius* immediately marched from *Rome* with 8000 men, and encamped in the night near the lake *Regillus* *, upon a ſteep hill which was inacceſſible on every ſide. *Virginius* following ſoon after with his troops, poſted them on another hill over againſt the Dictator; the *Latine* army, which conſiſted of 40000 foot and 3000 horſe, under the command of *Sextus Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, lying

* In *Latium*.

Y. of K. 257. Bef. J.C. 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

lying between them. As *Poſthumius* had no intention to fight, but only to obſerve and tire out the enemy, he ſent word to *Æbutius* to march ſecretly in the night with the cavalry and light armed infantry, and take poſſeſſion of a third hill, upon the only road by which proviſions could come to the *Latines*. The *General of the Horſe* obey'd his order; but before he could fortify his camp, he was briſkly attack'd by a body of the enemy under *Sextus Tarquinius*, who endeavoured to diſlodge him: However, the Dictator ſending him a timely reinforcement, the *Latines* were repulſed with loſs, and retired. After this *Æbutius* intercepted two couriers who were carrying letters from the *Volſci* to the *Latine* Generals, importing that a conſiderable body of that people would join the *Latine* forces in three days. *Poſthumius* hereupon drew his three bodies of *Romans* together; for tho' they amounted to no more than 23700 foot and 1000 horſe, neceſſity conſtrained him now to hazard an engagement without delay.

D. Hal. B. 6.

It was the cuſtom for Generals to harangue their troops, before they led them to battle; and the Dictator may be ſaid to have had at this time the better part of the *Roman* Nation for his auditors. The Senate almoſt to a man were come to ſerve as volunteers. Indeed there was no way of riſing to offices of dignity and power but by long and painful ſervice in the troops; but now even the oldeſt Senators had taken arms in defence of their country. *Poſthumius* in his ſpeech to the ſoldiers, (after he had put them in mind of the miſeries they muſt expect from the return of the *Tarquins*, and had encouraged them not to fear the ſuperior numbers of a faithleſs enemy whom their fathers had ſo often vanquiſhed) took particular notice of this, that in the preſent exigence, *the moſt ancient and venerable had covered their grey hairs with the helmet.* He added: *And ſhall the young, the healthy and ſtrong be unactive and fearful? Shall they be ſo ſhameleſs to turn their backs upon the enemy, when the old and the infirm are reſolved either to conquer or die? I declare, that whoever ſhall this day be guilty of ſo baſe a cowardice, ſhall be put to death by my order, and his dead carcaſe deprived of the rites of burial: But he that ſhall bring me witneſſes of his having ſignalized his courage in the battle, ſhall, beſide the uſual honours decreed to men of diſtinguiſhed bravery, receive from the public an eſtate in land, as an additional recompence of his merit.*

Having thus ſpoken, the Dictator drew up his army in order of battle; and the *Latines*, depending on their numbers, and beginning to want proviſions, did not decline the fight. *Titus Tarquinius* was in the center of their army at the head of the exiles and deſerters from *Rome*; *Mamilius* [a] commanded the right wing, and *Sextus Tarquinius* the left. In the *Roman* army the Dictator led the main body, *Æbutius* the left wing, and *Virginius* the right.

D. Hal. B. 6. and *Livy* B. 2.

In this battle of *Regillus* the ancient manner of fighting, as it was in the heroic times, and as *Homer* has deſcribed it, ſeems to have been re-

[a] *Dionyſius* leaves it uncertain, whether this *Mamilius* was the ſon-in-law of *Tarquin the Proud*, or the ſon of that ſon-in-law.

vived, the general action being ſometimes interrupted by ſingle combats between the Commanders. As *Poſthumius* was encouraging and marſhalling his men in the vanguard, *Titus*[f] *Tarquinius*, coming out from the center of the *Latines*, ran full ſpeed at him to encounter him ſingly. The Dictator accepted the challenge, met his adverſary, and with a javelin pierced his right ſide. The firſt line of the *Latines* immediately advancing covered their General, and preſerved him from falling into the hands of the enemy; nevertheleſs, the battalions of the main body having now loſt their Leader, who was mortally wounded, and carried out of the field, made but a faint reſiſtance, when preſſed by the troops of the Dictator. They were already loſing ground and beginning to break, when *Sextus Tarquinius* coming up with the choice of the *Latine* cavalry, and ſupported by the exiles, took the place of his brother. Encouraged by the preſence and valour of this new Commander, the diſheartened *Latines* recovered their ranks, renewed the fight, and made the ſucceſs of the day in the center doubtful. Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J. C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

In the wings where *Mamilius* and *Æbutius* commanded, the fury of the battle was equal. After a long and bloody conflict, the two Commanders defy'd each other to ſingle combat; *Æbutius* with his lance wounded *Mamilius* in the breaſt through his cuiraſs; and *Mamilius* ran his ſword through *Æbutius*'s right arm. Neither of the wounds was mortal, but both Generals fell from their horſes and were carried out of the throng. *Æbutius*'s place was then ſupply'd by his Lieutenant *Marcus Valerius*, (the brother of *Poplicola*.) He put himſelf at the head of the *Roman* horſe, and with them endeavoured to break the enemy's battalions; but the cavalry of the *Roman* Royaliſts, advancing to their ſuccour, quickly repulſed the cavalry of the Republic; and *Mamilius*, not diſabled by the hurt he had received, appeared again in the van with a conſiderable body of horſe and light armed infantry. In this action *Valerius* receiving a wound in his ſide, fell dead from his horſe; which occaſioned the battle to be renewed with more fierceneſs than ever. The two nephews of the deceaſed, (the ſons of *Poplicola*) fought with inexpreſſible courage to hinder the dead body from being ſtript; and having recovered it from the enemy, they delivered it to *Valerius*'s ſervants, to be conveyed to the *Roman* camp: But throwing themſelves afterwards into the midſt of the enemy, they were both killed upon the ſpot.

The loſs of *Valerius* and his two nephews, and eſpecially the abſence of *Æbutius*, greatly diſheartened the left wing of the *Romans*. *Poſthumius* perceiving that the ſoldiers began to give ground, haſtened to their aſſiſtance with a body of *Roman* Knights who attended him as his guard. He gave orders at the ſame time to *Titus Herminius*, one of his Lieutenants, to repair to the rear of the army, command thoſe who fled to ſtop, and put all to the ſword who would not obey. And now the Dictator himſelf with his Knights, giving the reins to their horſes, drove with

[f] *Livy* makes King *Tarquin* himſelf to be the perſon who attacked *Poſthumius*; which is very ſtrange, conſidering, that he ſuppoſes him to be the *Son* of *Tarquinius Priſcus*.

Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J.C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

the utmoſt fury upon the Royaliſts, broke them, ſlew many of them, and put the reſt to flight. *Herminius* in the mean while rallied the run-aways, and returning preſently to the charge, fell upon ſome cloſe battalions of the enemy's right wing which ſtill kept their ground. His chief aim was at the perſon of *Mamilius* who commanded them, and who was eaſily known by his tall ſtature, and the richneſs of his habit and armour. The *Roman*, to come at him, beat down all that ſtood in his way; he then attacked him, and with his firſt blow laid him dead upon the ground: Nevertheleſs he loſt his own life by a wound from an unknown hand, while he was buſy in ſtripping the Body of his enemy.

During all this time *Sextus Tarquinius*, who had returned from the center of the *Latines*, and put himſelf again at the head of the left wing, maintained the fight with great bravery againſt the Conſul *Virginius*. He had even broke the right wing of the *Roman* Army, when *Poſthumius* appeared on a ſudden with his victorious ſquadrons, to ſupport it. This unexpected turn of affairs made *Sextus* loſe at once all hopes of victory. Ruſhing therefore among the thickeſt ranks of the *Roman* Knights, he there ſunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had ſold his life dear.

The death of *Sextus Tarquinius* was followed by the entire rout of the *Latines*, who had before loſt their two other Generals. Their camp was taken the ſame day, and the plunder abandoned to the *Roman* Soldiers. No victory, hitherto gained by the *Romans*, had been either more neceſſary or more compleat. Scarce 10000 of the 43000 *Latines*, who had come into the field, returned home. The whole Nation, for a long time after, felt this ſevere ſtroke; nay, it may be truly ſaid, they never recovered of the blow which they received in the battle of *Regillus*.

Poſthumius, the next morning, diſtributed the uſual rewards to thoſe who had behaved themſelves well in the action, and returned thanks to the Gods by ſacrifices. Scarce were theſe ceremonies ended, when the ſcouts brought intelligence, that a great body of troops covered the plain, and was marching in order of battle. It was the *Volſci* come to the aſſiſtance of the *Latines*. Finding at their arrival how matters had gone, ſome of them were for falling upon the *Romans* before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but another party, willing rather to ingratiate themſelves with the Conquerors, prevailed to ſend meſſengers to the Dictator, to tell him, they came to his aſſiſtance. *Poſthumius* convicted them of falſhood by their letters which he had intercepted; and giving leave to the meſſengers to return, whom the multitude would have torn to pieces, he reſolved to attack the *Volſcian* army the next day: but in the night they broke up their camp and fled.

The Dictator at his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph: and to his other names was added that of *Regillenſis*, from the place of the late action. He allotted a tenth part of the ſpoils to defray the expences of the publick Games, and to build ſome Temples in honour of the Gods; parti-

particularly one to *Caſtor*[a] and *Pollux*, who were ſaid to have appeared during the battle of *Regillus* upon white Horſes, and to have fought for the *Romans*. Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J. C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

The *Latines* having now no remedy, but in an abſolute ſubmiſſion, choſe deputies out of thoſe cities which had oppoſed the war, to be mediators at *Rome*, in favour of the whole Nation. Theſe appeared in the Senate, bearing in their hands olive branches bound round with wooll, the uſual marks of ſuppliants. They laid the blame of the rupture wholly upon the Nobility of the country under the influence of the *Tarquins*. They repreſented in a moving ſtrain the loſs they had ſuſtained of all the flower of their youth; that ſcarce a family in *Latium* was out of mourning. They conjured the *Romans* to have regard to conſanguinity, and the zeal which the *Latines* had formerly ſhewn for the intereſts of *Rome*; and in concluſion, they yielded themſelves wholly to the judgment of the *Fathers*, laying at the feet of the Dictator the badges which they bore of ſuitors and ſuppliants.

Rome had long ſince made it a maxim, to ſpare the Nations which ſubmitted; and *Titus Lartius*, the late Dictator, declared himſelf for obſerving it in the preſent caſe. He adviſed a total oblivion of the fault committed by the *Latines*, and a renewal of the ancient treaties with them. Nevertheleſs the Senate was not without ſome ſevere men, who were for razing all the Cities of *Latium*, ſeizing their territories, and reducing the inhabitants to ſlavery. Among theſe was *Spurius Coſſius*. Others were for depriving them of half their lands, by way of puniſhment; and, in conſideration of kindred and blood, for leaving them in poſſeſſion of their liberty. But the opinion of *Lartius* being approved by *Poſthumius*, there was no further oppoſition to it; and a Decree was accordingly paſſed for renewing the old League; on condition however,

[a] *Dion. Hal.* relates a fabulous ſtory of two young horſemen, of an extraordinary and majeſtic ſtature, who during the action appeared to *Poſthumius* and his party. They marched at the head of the cavalry, ſtriking terror among the *Latines*, whom they wounded with darts and lances. In the evening, after the victory, the ſame horſemen appeared at *Rome* in the *Forum*. Their fierce and threatening countenances, and their horſes all dropping with ſweat, made people conclude that they were returned from the battle. When they had diſmounted, they waſhed themſelves in the water of a ſpring that roſe near the Temple of *Veſta*; and they told the crowd of citizens, who ſurrounded them, the firſt news of the victory gained by the *Romans*; after which, they diſappeared. The next morning the Magiſtrates receiving Letters from the Dictator, which among the other circumſtances of the battle mentioned the ſudden appearance of the two young horſemen, who fought for the *Romans*, it was concluded they were the ſame who had brought the news to *Rome*, and that they could be no other than *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Paulus Æmilius*, adds to this relation, that *Lucius Domitius* was the firſt who was informed by *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, of the entire defeat of the *Latines*: and to make the fable ſtill more wonderful, the ſame author affirms, that *Domitius* having appeared ſurprized at the account, the two horſemen took him gently by the beard, and it immediately changed its colour from black to red; which miracle confirmed the relation, and got *Domitius* the ſurname of *Ænobarbus* Brazen beard: and this ſtory, fabulous as it is, was believed among the *Romans*. They tranſmitted it to poſterity by publick monuments, which were ſtill ſubſiſting in the time of *Dionyſius*.

V. of *R.* 257. Bef. *C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

that the *Latines* reſtored the priſoners they had taken; delivered up the deſerters, and drove the *Roman* exiles out of *Latium*.

Such was the end of the laſt war which the *Romans* had with their neighbours on account of their baniſhed King. As for *Tarquin* himſelf, the only perſon now left of his family, being abandoned by the *Latines*, *Hetrurians*, *Sabines*, and all the other free States about *Rome*, he retired into *Campania* to *Ariſtodemus*, Tyrant of *Cumæ*. Here he ſhortly after ended his days, at about 90 years of age, and after 14 years exile, which he had made remarkable by almoſt as many wars.

It muſt be granted, that *Tarquin* had ſeveral of thoſe endowments and qualifications which enter into the character of a Hero; intrepid courage; experience in arms; an excellent capacity for negotiations; an addreſs whereby, even in baniſhment, and when diveſted of all power, he could alienate from the *Romans* their ancient Allies, and unite thoſe Allies againſt *his* enemies; an invention fruitful in expedients; and a ſteady reſolution never to quit his claim to Empire but with life. All theſe made an aſſemblage of qualities not to be deſpiſed. But with theſe he had alſo in his nature ſuch a ſtrange compoſition of the moſt extravagant vices, as could not but prove fatal to his uſurped tyranny. And as a judicious * writer has obſerved, had not the death of the unfortunate *Lucretia* adminiſtered to the *Roman* people an opportunity of liberty, yet a far ſlighter matter would have ſerved them for a ſpecious reaſon to endeavour the aſſertion of their rights.

* *Kenn.* Antiq.

The freedom which the *Romans* recovered by the expulſion of *Tarquin the proud* was now ſecured to them by his death; a freedom that was indiſputably the ſource of all their future grandeur. Nevertheleſs it is the opinion of *Livy*, that this very freedom, had they aſſumed it more early, and wreſted the Royal Power from any of their former Princes, would have proved the ruin of the riſing ſtate. For what, *ſays he*, would have been the conſequence, if that commonalty, made up of herdſmen and outlaws from other countries, who found refuge and impunity at *Rome*, if they, being ſet free by ſome *Brutus* from the dread of Majeſty, had begun to be ruffled and agitated by the ſtorms of *Tribunician* fury; and, in a ſtrange City, to engage in quarrels with the Nobles, before the pledges of wives and children, and an affection (not quickly entertained) for the very place and ſoil, had aſſociated their hearts, and linked them together in one common intereſt. Certainly the State not yet come to maturity, would through diſcord have faded and periſhed; whereas a peaceable and gentle government foſtered and cheriſhed it, and by a proper nouriſhment brought it to ſuch ſtrength and perfection as to be able to produce the wholeſom fruits of liberty.

Liv. B. 2. c. 1.

How juſt this reflection of the *Latin* hiſtorian is, will ſufficiently appear by the events which come next to be related.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§. I. *Domeſtic broils at* Rome. §. II. *The* Volſci *encouraged thereby, prepare to fall upon the* Romans. *The* Plebeians *refuſe to liſt themſelves for the war.* Servilius, *one of the Conſuls, with an army of volunteers, who follow him out of perſonal affection, terrifies the enemy into a ſubmiſſion for the preſent; but he has no ſooner led back his army, than they renew their preparations to attack the Republic.* §. III. *While the Senate are conſulting about the levies to be made on this occaſion, a ſudden accident occaſions an inſurrection at* Rome. Servilius *appeaſes the tumult. News comes that the* Volſci *are approaching.* Servilius *by fair promiſes in relation to the debts engages the people to liſt themſelves.* §. IV. *He defeats the enemy, and, tho' the Senate refuſe him a triumph at his return, on account of his indulgence to the ſoldiers, he triumphs in ſpight of their oppoſition.* §. V. *After this he takes the field again, and defeats the* AURUNCI. §. VI. *The debtors at his return from the war claim the performance of his promiſes.* Servilius, *not having power to make them good, is treated by the people with contempt. He thereupon becomes their enemy, and the ſedition increaſes.*

§. I. SCARCE was the dangerous war with the *Latines* over, and the Dictatorſhip of *Poſthumius* expired, when the domeſtic feuds and diſſenſions at *Rome* revived. The Senate, who thought it needleſs any longer to court the people, or even to ſhew them any condeſcenſion, revoked, by a decree, that ſuſpenſion of the ſuits for debt, which nothing but neceſſity had before induced them to grant. The creditors began to proſecute their debtors with more rigour than ever; and theſe of courſe renewed their murmurs and complaints. To prevent the miſchiefs which this grand affair might occaſion, the Senate procured the Conſulſhip for *Appius Claudius*, whoſe reſolution they were well acquainted with. But leſt he ſhould carry it too far, they gave him, for his Collegue, *P. Servilius*, a man of a gentle, humane character, and agreeable to the poor and the multitude. Theſe two Magiſtrates were ſure to be of contrary opinions. *Servilius*, out of goodneſs and compaſſion to the unfortunate, inclined to the remiſſion of the debts, or at leaſt of thoſe exorbitant and accumulated intereſts which conſiderably exceeded the principal. He exhorted the Senate to make ſome regulation in this matter, that might eaſe the people, and ſettle the tranquillity of the State upon a laſting foundation.

Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J. C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

But *Appius*, a ſevere obſerver of the laws, maintained, with his uſual conſtancy, that it was a manifeſt injuſtice to relieve the debtors at the expence of their creditors; that this project tended to the very ruin of the ſubordination neceſſary in a well governed State; that the condeſcenſion which *Servilius* was for ſhewing to the neceſſities of the people, would

Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J.C* 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

would be looked upon by the ſeditious, only as a diſguiſed weakneſs, and ſo breed new pretenſions; whereas nothing would be a better proof of the power of the Government, than a juſt ſeverity ſhewed to thoſe who by their diſobedience and cabals had violated the Majeſty of the Senate.

This diverſity of opinion produced nothing but bitterneſs of ſpeech and perſonal reflections. The Senate aſſembled daily, and as often broke up without coming to any concluſion. In the mean time the people continued to be oppreſſed and to complain. Being informed of what paſſed in the Senate, and of the different inclinations of the two Conſuls, they ſhowered many praiſes upon *Servilius*, and heaped as many imprecations upon *Appius*. The moſt ſeditious among the multitude flocked together: They held ſecret aſſemblies in the night and in by places; and, in a word, the diſcontent and diſorder in the City were ſuch as ſeemed to preſage nothing leſs than a civil war.

§. II. THE news of theſe diſturbances at *Rome* having reached the *Volſci*, they immediately began to draw their forces together, in order to march and beſiege it; believing they could never have a more favourable opportunity to cruſh the new Republic, which they hated and had always looked upon with a jealous eye. Had the authority of the Senate been regarded, an alarm of this kind would have been the luckieſt thing that could have happened for their views, becauſe it furniſhed a pretext to ſend away the moſt mutinous of the people from the City: But the *Roman* youth, being ſummoned as uſual to be liſted for the ſervice, abſolutely refuſed to appear; and this diſobedience occaſioned another diſpute between the Conſuls. *Appius* was for puniſhing the refractory with rigour, and *Servilius* for more indulgence.

As it was neceſſary to take the field againſt the enemy, the Senate without coming to any determination about the affair of the debts, decreed that *Servilius* ſhould conduct the war, and *Claudius* govern the City. They made this regulation, in hopes that *Servilius*, being a popular man, would have leſs difficulty than the other to levy an army. Nevertheleſs the people ſtill refuſed to liſt themſelves in the accuſtomed manner. What troops he could raiſe were only volunteers who offered to ſerve, out of perſonal affection to the General. They were indeed the more formidable on this account; and the Conſul marched them ſtrait into the enemies territory. The *Volſci*, depending on the civil broils at *Rome*, and little expecting that they ſhould ſo ſoon have occaſion to act upon the defenſive, had not made ſuch expedition in their preparations for the war, as to be in a condition to face the *Romans* in the field. They were forced therefore to have recourſe to ſupplications and intreaties; and by theſe they wrought upon the eaſy Conſul to favour them. He required of them only ſubſiſtence and clothes for his troops, and 300 hoſtages of the beſt families.

Not long after the return of *Servilius* to *Rome*, and when the rich Partricians, believing the ſtate to be in no danger from any quarter, were purſuing their poor debtors with the uſual ſeverity, ſome Envoys from the *Latines* arrived in the City, bringing with them by force certain Deputies who

who had been ſent by the *Volſci* to the *Latine* Nation. Thoſe Deputies had been commiſſioned to engage the *Latines*, if poſſible, to join with the *Volſci*, the *Hernici* and *Sabines* in a league againſt *Rome*: But the *Latines*, quite humbled by their defeat in the battle of *Regillus*, would liſten to no propoſal for a new rupture with the Republic; and the *Romans*, to reward their fidelity, and the zeal they ſhewed on this occaſion, reſtored them 6000 priſoners taken in the laſt war; theſe captives they alſo new cloathed before they ſent them home, in order to make the favour yet more obliging. Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J.C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

§. III. THE diſcovery made by the *Latine* Envoys of the ſecret negotiations of the *Volſci*, was more than ſufficient to determine the Senate to a declaration of war againſt them: But the *Fathers* had now the ſame difficulties as before, in relation to the levies. They were aſſembled to debate this matter, and likewiſe what number of ſoldiers it would be proper to raiſe in the preſent exigence, when a ſudden accident ſuſpended their deliberations; and the calamity of a private citizen occaſioned a general inſurrection of the people. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

A *Plebeian*, loaded with chains, threw himſelf into the public place as into an *Aſylum*. He was a man in years, tall of ſtature, meagre, pale, and his eyes ſunk into his head; his cloaths dirty and ragged, his beard buſhy, his hair matted, and his appearance all together a ſhocking ſpectacle. Nevertheleſs, he was very well known; and ſome remembered to have been with him in the wars, and to have ſeen him fight with great valour. He himſelf named the Conſuls and the Tribuns under whom he had ſerved, and, addreſſing his ſpeech to a multitude of people that ſurrounded him, and earneſtly enquired the cauſe of his deplorable condition; he told them, that while he bore arms in the laſt war againſt the *Sabines*, he had not only been hindred from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incurſion, had plundered and burnt his houſe. That the neceſſities of life, and the tributes which, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that the intereſt being by degrees grown to an exceſſive ſum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to diſcharge part of it. But that the mercileſs creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to priſon, with two of his children; that to oblige him to haſten the payment of the reſidue, he had delivered him over to his ſlaves, who, by his order, had torn his body with whips: At the ſame time throwing off his garment, he ſhewed a back ſtill bloody with laſhes, ſuffered from his creditor; and a breaſt covered with the ſcars of wounds he had received in battle. *Livy*, B. 2. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

The people already ripe for ſedition, and juſtly provoked at ſo barbarous an action, utter'd a thouſand cries of indignation againſt the *Patricians*. The noiſe ran in a moment over the whole City, and the people flocked from all parts into the *Forum*. Thoſe whom the like misfortunes had thrown into the fetters of their creditors, made their eſcape; the ſedition quickly found leaders and abettors, and the authority of

A. of R. 258. Bef. J. C. 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

the Magiſtrate was no longer regarded. The Conſuls, who came in hopes of putting a ſtop to the diſorder by their preſence, being ſurrounded by the people hot with fury, found neither reſpect nor obedience in the citizens.

Appius, abhorred by the multitude, was juſt going to be inſulted, if he had not eſcaped under favour of the tumult. *Servilius*, though more agreeable to the people, was forced to throw off his conſular robe, and without any mark of his dignity, to run into the thickeſt of the crowd. He careſſed and embraced the moſt mutinous, and with tears in his eyes conjured them to appeaſe this diſorder. He gave them his word that he would immediately call the Senate, and take as much care of the people's intereſts in it, as any *Plebeian* could do; and as a proof of his ſincerity, he proclaimed by a herald, that no citizen ſhould be arreſted for debt, 'till the Senate had made ſome new regulation in this affair.

The people upon his word diſperſed themſelves; and the Senate immediately aſſembled. *Servilius* laid before them the diſpoſition of men's minds, and the neceſſity, in ſuch a conjuncture, of abating ſomewhat of the ſeverity of the laws. *Appius*, always faithful to his firſt opinion, firmly oppoſed this meaſure, and as he could never help tincturing his counſels with the auſterity of his character, and the harſhneſs of his manners, he publickly upbraided his Collegue with being a flatterer and a ſlave of the people. *Servilius*, in his turn, reproached him with the obſtinacy of his temper, his pride, and the animoſity he ſhewed againſt the *Plebeians*. Each Conſul had his party. The warm contention, occaſioned by this oppoſition of ſentiments, had begun to raiſe a great noiſe in the aſſembly, when ſome horſemen came full ſpeed with an account, that an army of *Volſci* were upon their march to *Rome*.

D. Hal. B. 6.

This alarming news had not the ſame effect on all. The Senators, their Clients, and the richer ſort of *Plebeians* took arms: But thoſe who were oppreſſed with debts, ſhewing their chains, aſked with a bitter ſmile, whether it was worth their while to expoſe their lives to preſerve ſuch ornaments? And all theſe *Plebeians* obſtinately refuſed to give their names to be inrolled.

Rome was at this time in ſuch an agitation as uſually preceedes the greateſt revolutions; the Conſuls divided; the people diſobedient to their Magiſtrates; an enemy at the gates. The Senate, who were almoſt equally afraid of the citizens and the *Volſci*, engaged *Appius* to take upon him the defence of the city; becauſe they hoped the people would more willingly follow his Collegue into the field. *Servilius*, being appointed to march againſt the enemy, conjured the people not to abandon him in this expedition; and, to prevail upon them to take arms, he publiſhed a new prohibition againſt detaining in priſon any *Roman* Citizen who was willing to go with him to the war, or ſeizing his children or his goods: And by the ſame edict he engaged himſelf, in the name of the Senate, to give the people, at his return, all reaſonable ſatisfaction, with relation to their debts.

This

This declaration was no ſooner publiſhed, but the people crowded to liſt themſelves, ſome out of affection to the Conſul, whom they knew to be their friend, and others that they might not ſtay in *Rome* under the ſevere and imperious government of *Appius*. But of all the *Plebeians*, none enrolled themſelves more chearfully, than thoſe very perſons who had been moſt active in the laſt tumult. V. of *R.* 258. Bef. *C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

§. IV. AS ſoon as the levies were compleated, *Servilius* marched to meet the enemy, and, when he was come within a ſmall diſtance of them, encamped, a little before night, near the *Pontine* * lake. The *Volſci* inſulted him the very next morning in his camp. The Conſul was in no haſte to leave his entrenchments, not being yet ſufficiently aſſured of the good will of his troops; but when he overheard his men accuſe him of inactivity, and by their ſhouts was convinced of their eagerneſs to fight, he immediately ordered all the gates of his camp to be opened, and a general ſally to be made. The *Volſci* could not ſtand the attack of the *Romans*, but were entirely defeated; and the Conſul, to reward his ſoldiers, gave them all the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was very rich, to enable them to pay their debts. *D. Hal.* B. 6. *Liv.* B. 2. * In *Latium.*

He then marched to *Sueſſa Pometia*, a conſiderable City of the *Volſci*, took it by aſſault, and put all to the ſword who were paſt the age of puberty; an act of barbarity which ſeemed contrary to his natural temper. (*Appius* at the ſame time beheaded the 300 *Volſcian* hoſtages at *Rome*.) As to the ſpoil of *Sueſſa*, *Servilius* abandoned that likewiſe to his ſoldiers, without reſerving any part of it for the publick treaſury.

This profuſeneſs of the Conſul to his troops highly diſpleaſed his Collegue. *Servilius* in his return to *Rome*, where he doubted not to obtain a triumph, received intelligence that *Appius* had purſuaded the Senate to refuſe him that honour, under pretence, that he was a ſeditious man, who aimed at popularity by an exceſſive indulgence to his ſoldiers. The conqueror, touched to the quick with ſo undeſerved a treatment, no ſooner came before *Rome*, but he cauſed the People to be called together in a field without [a] the walls, and there complained to them of the jealouſy of his Collegue, and the injuſtice of the Senate. He preſently found by the diſpoſition of the audience, that he might attempt whatever he pleaſed. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

[a] *Servilius* made an halt, as ſoon as he came before *Rome*, becauſe the Laws did not permit him, who demanded a triumph to enter into the city. He was obliged to keep without the walls with his army, and there wait for the conſent of the Senate; to which he, according to cuſtom, ſent a letter wrapped up in laurel. Upon the receipt of this, the Senators aſſembled in the temple of *Bellona*, which ſtood in one of the ſuburbs of *Rome*. Here the General gave them an account of his expedition, after which they made a decree, whereby they granted the conqueror the honours of a triumph. This decree was reported to the people, who confirmed it, and fixed the day for the ceremony, unleſs the *Tribunes of the People* oppoſed it; which ſometimes happened. And this Law was a great inſtance of the policy of the *Romans*. An ambitious General, at the head of a victorious army, might have cauſed great diſorders in *Rome*, if he had been permitted to enter it with his army; and might by force have obtained a triumph, which he had not merited.

Y. of R. 258. Bef. J. C. 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

Without regard therefore to the Senate's deciſion, he immediately decreed himſelf a * triumph, and marched with the uſual pomp to the capitol, attended by his army and all the people.

§. V. BEFORE the expiration of this Conſulſhip, a new enemy ſtarted up againſt the Republic. *Ecetræ* a *Volſcian* town had lately ſubmitted to the *Romans*; and theſe had ſent thither a garriſon to defend it. The AURUNCI, a ſmall community that poſſeſſed a part of *Campania*, not far from the *Ecetrans*, took umbrage at the neighbourhood of that garriſon; they ſent to *Rome* a haughty demand to have it inſtantly removed; and they added threatenings in caſe of refuſal. The Senate in anſwer, bid the Envoys *go tell their Maſters, That it was a dangerous thing to attack thoſe whoſe very neighbourhood was formidable to them.* A war preſently enſued. The *Aurunci* entered *Latium* and advanced as far as *Aricia:* There the *Romans* came up with them, and, at firſt ſight of theſe new enemies, were a little daunted at their gigantick ſtature, thoſe fierce looks, and that martial air which diſtinguiſhed them from all the other Nations of *Italy:* However, calling to mind the great abilities of their own Generals, *Servilius* and *Poſthumius Regillenſis* (which latter commanded the cavalry) this reſtored their confidence. In the beginning of the action the *Romans* had much the diſadvantage, being very unequal in ſtrength to the enemy, and unable to ſuſtain the fury of their firſt charge; and, to their further diſcouragement, they quickly found that their horſe could be of no ſervice to them, becauſe the field of battle was extremely uneven and full of rocks. *Poſthumius* nevertheleſs recovered the day by his able conduct. Making his cavalry diſmount, he led them to the aſſiſtance of thoſe battalions that were giving ground, and by his words and example in a ſhort time brought them again into order; after which the enemy were ſoon routed and their camp taken. The *Aurunci* entirely diſappearing, *Servilius* marched his army back to *Rome*.

§. VI. AND now after ſo many victories obtained, chiefly by the bravery of thoſe who were moſt in debt, the people thought they might confidently demand the performance of *Servilius*'s promiſes; and indeed for his part, he left no means untried to make good his word. He employed his utmoſt efforts to prevail with the Senate to grant the debtors a general releaſe. But *Appius*, who looked upon the leaſt change in the laws to be dangerous, ſtrongly oppoſed his Collegue's deſire. He gave the creditors freſh power to drag the debtors to priſon; and the applauſes he thereby got from the rich, and the curſes from the poor, equally concurred to the confirming this Magiſtrate in his ſeverity.

Thoſe who were arreſted, appealed to *Servilius*; they urged upon him the promiſes he had made to the people before the campaign, and the ſervices they had done in the war. They cried aloud before his tribunal, that either in quality of Conſul he ſhould undertake the defence of his fellow-citizens, or, as General, not deſert the entereſt of his ſoldiers. But *Ser-*

* This triumph is not marked in the *Capitoline Tables*.

vilius,

vilius, who was naturally timorous and averſe to ſtrife, durſt not declare openly againſt the whole body of Patricians; and by endeavouring to manage both parties, he diſobliged both, ſo that he got the hatred of the one, and the contempt of the other. Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J.C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, Dec. 1. l. 2.

How long he was ſunk in the eſteem of the people moſt remarkably appeared when the time came to conſecrate a temple which had been erected to *Mercury*. The conſecrator was to have conſiderable powers and privileges. He was to be the Head and Founder of a ſociety of * Merchants in *Rome*; to have the charge of furniſhing the city with proviſions, and to inſpect them; and he was to have all the honours, and perform all the functions of a *Pontifex Maximus* within the verge of this temple. *Appius* and *Servilius* ſtanding in competition for this office, the Senate were unwilling to decide any thing in the matter, and therefore referred it wholly to the people. This would ſome time ago have been in effect to decree in *Servilius*'s favour; but at preſent the people were ſo much diſſatisfied with both their Conſuls, that they would not beſtow the honour in queſtion upon either of them; they choſe one *M. Lætorius*, who was only a centurion, to perform the conſecration. Hereupon the two Magiſtrates, equally enraged, joined with the Senate in putting the laws in execution againſt the debtors with the utmoſt rigour; a vain effort of revenge, for the multitude paid no regard to their authority. When any *Plebeian* was proſecuted for debt, the populace came in crowds into court, and made ſuch a noiſe, that the ſentence, pronounced by the Judges, could not be heard. The debtors no longer endeavoured to appeaſe their creditors and mollify the Senate by entreaties, they inſulted both; and inſtead of the *Plebeians*, the *Patricians* were now in danger of impriſonment and ſlavery. Nothing prevailed in the City but tumult and violence.

* *Mercury* was thought by the *Pagans* to be the God of Commerce, whence *Cicero* calls Merchants *Mercuriales*.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *The people refuſe to obey the ſummons of the new Conſuls* (A. Virginius *and* T. Veturius,) *to liſt themſelves for a war againſt the* Sabines, Æqui *and* Volſci. Manius Valerius, *a brother of* Poplicola, *is created Dictator.* §. II. Valerius *prevails with the people to ſerve, by promiſing them full ſatisfaction in relation to their complaints when the war ſhall be over, and by ſuſpending in the mean time all proſecutions for debt. Three armies are raiſed, to be commanded by the Dictator and the two Conſuls. The enemy are defeated on all ſides.* §. III. *The Dictator at his return home demands of the Senate to diſcharge his engagements to the debtors. His demand is rejected. He excuſes himſelf to the people and reſigns the Dictatorſhip.*

§. I.

Y. of R. 259. Bef. J. C. 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

§. I. SUCH was the ſtate of *Rome* when *A. Virginius* and *T. Veturius*, men of little ſteadineſs, took poſſeſſion of the Conſulate. The moſt conſiderable of the diſcontented *Plebeians* held private aſſemblies by night to conſult the proper meaſures for a redreſs of their grievances, and for preventing their being drawn by ſurprize into any thing diſadvantageous to them, when they ſhould be called together in legal *Comitia*. Notice being brought to the Conſuls of theſe ſecret meetings, they informed the Senate of them, ſubmitting it to the wiſdom of that venerable body to preſcribe a remedy for the growing evil; a deference that was by no means agreeable to the Conſcript Fathers, who ſaw through the policy of their Magiſtrates, that were unwilling to draw the odium of puniſhing the offenders upon themſelves. The Senate having ſeverely reproved them for their timid conduct, ordered them immediately to raiſe an army in legal form, for a war which threatened the Republic. It ſeems the *Sabines*, encouraged by the inteſtine broils at *Rome*, had revolted, and they had engaged the *Roman* colony of *Medulia* to enter with them into a league confirmed by oaths. The Conſuls according to their inſtructions ſummoned the tribes, but it was to no purpoſe, the people being obſtinately determined not to liſt themſelves till ſuch time as all debts ſhould be aboliſhed. *Virginius* and *Veturius* finding that no-body regarded their ſummons, laid all the blame of the diſobedience upon the Senate. They even accuſed the *Fathers* to the *Fathers* themſelves, and they added, *Let thoſe of you who are the boldeſt within doors at making ſevere decrees, now ſhew their heads without doors, and face the fury of the multitude. You will then ſee whether it be to our want of courage, or to your falſe meaſures, that the untractableneſs of the people is owing.* Theſe words ſo provoked the younger Senators, that, leaving their ſeats, they ſurrounded the Conſuls, called them cowards, and bid them come down from their thrones and diſcharge themſelves of a burthen that was too heavy for their weakneſs.

After ſome time ſpent in theſe mutual reproaches, the Conſuls returned once more to the Forum, guarded by a good number of the Senators, to add the more weight to their authority. They aſcended their tribunal, and called upon one of the moſt factious by name to come and be enrolled. The man did not anſwer; and his ſilence being taken for diſobedience, he was inſtantly ſeized: but the populace quite furious, tore him out of the lictors hands; and the Conſuls experienced on this occaſion how little reſpect is paid to Majeſty without ſtrength; they had enough to do to defend the Senators, who attended them, from blows.

While the people were thus enraged againſt the Senate, the Senate againſt the people, and the Conſuls regarded by neither people nor Senate, Envoys came from the *Latines* and *Cruſtumini* (allies of *Rome*) complaining of the hoſtilities of the *Æqui* and *Sabines*; and an Embaſſy from the *Volſci* arrived at the ſame time, demanding reſtitution of the lands conquered by the *Romans* from them. Upon this new alarm the Senate aſſembled

bled extraordinarily. *Titus Lartius*, that venerable Senator, who had been formerly Dictator, gave his opinion firſt. He ſaid, *That the only way to put an end to theſe alarms from abroad, was to eſtabliſh peace at home*, and he propoſed, that the aſſembly might meet again the next day to deliberate about the methods neceſſary to procure that happineſs. That in the mean time the *Volſcian* Ambaſſadors ſhould be anſwered, *That it was not conſiſtent with the honour of the Republic to comply with their demands.* And as to the allies, he adviſed, that aſſurances ſhould be given them, *that* Rome *would never leave them expoſed to the inſults of their enemies.* This advice was approved and followed. A. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J. C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

The next day the Senate ſat again. Then the Conſul *Virginius* ſpoke firſt, and propoſed a medium between the ſeverity of *Appius* and the general releaſe of debts. He was for having thoſe ſoldiers, who had fought ſo ſucceſsfully the laſt year, protected by the Senate againſt their creditors; but for leaving the other debtors to the ſeverity of the law.

Lartius ſtood up next and ſaid, That he ſaw, with abundance of grief, *Rome* ſplit as it were into two Cities: That one was full of nothing but riches and pride, and the other of miſery and rebellion: That there was no appearance in either of juſtice or of honour, or even of common decency; that the haughtineſs of the great was no leſs odious than the diſobedience of the lower ſort; that he could not but foreſee, the extream poverty of the people would always keep up diſſention; and that he did not think it poſſible to reſtore peace and union between the two orders, by any other means than a general abolition of the debts.

Appius, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, was equally againſt both theſe propoſals: He affirmed, That the frequent mutinies among the people did not proceed ſo much from their want, as from an unbridled licentiouſneſs, which ſeditious men were pleaſed to call by the name of liberty; and from the abuſe which they made of the *Lex Valeria*. "They violate, *ſaid* "*he*, the Majeſty of the Conſuls with impunity, becauſe they know they "can appeal from the condemnation of their crime to the very accompli- "ces of it: And what order can we ever hope to eſtabliſh in a State, "where the decrees of the Magiſtrates are ſubject to the reviſal and judg- "ment of a rabble guided wholly by their fury and caprice? Let us cre- "ate a Dictator, whoſe judgments are without appeal; and then we need "not fear, that even the moſt daring of the *Plebeians* will be ſo inſolent "as to repulſe the lictors of a Magiſtrate, who has the ſovereign diſpo- "ſal of their lives and fortunes.

The younger Senators, and thoſe eſpecially whoſe intereſt was concerned in the abolition of the debts, declared for *Appius*'s opinion; and were even for conferring the Dictatorſhip upon him: They ſaid, that a ſupreme Magiſtrate of his firmneſs and intrepidity was abſolutely neceſſary to reduce the people to their duty. But the more experienced and the more moderate of the Senate thought the Dictatorial power, always formidable, would be very improperly placed in the hands of a man naturally ſevere

Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J. C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

ſevere and inflexible. By their advice, one of the Conſuls named to that office *Manius Valerius*, a man of above 70 years of age, brother to the famous *Poplicola*. This nomination was indeed contrary to law, which required that the Dictator ſhould always be choſen out of ſuch as had been, or were actually Conſuls; but as no perſon was judg'd ſo proper for that ſtation at this time, the neceſſity of the caſe made the Senate overlook rules.

D. Hal. B. 6.

§. II. *VALERIUS*, *Plebeian* in his inclination, named, for *General of the Horſe*, *Quintus Servilius*, the brother of the laſt year's Conſul, and who thought, as the Dictator himſelf did, that there was a great deal of juſtice in the people's complaints. Then having convened a general aſſembly of the Citizens, he told them, That they need not have any apprehenſions, that either their liberty, or the *Lex Valeria*, which was its chief ſupport, would be in danger under a Dictator of the family of *Valerius Poplicola*. That he did not aſcend his tribunal to cheat them with falſe promiſes; that indeed there was a neceſſity of their marching againſt the enemies who were advancing towards *Rome*; but that he would engage in his own name, and on the part of the Senate, to give them full ſatisfaction, with relation to their complaints, at their return from the campaign: "*He added*, And in the mean while, by the ſovereign authority with which "I am inveſted, I declare your perſons, your lands, and your goods, to "be perfectly free: I ſuſpend the effect of all obligations that might "be made uſe of to give you trouble. Come and aſſiſt us to conquer new "lands from our enemies for your uſe."

This ſpeech filled the people with hopes and with comfort. Every body took arms with pleaſure, and ten legions were raiſed compleat; three were given to each Conſul, and the Dictator reſerved four to himſelf. The *Romans* marched againſt the enemy on different ſides. The Dictator gained a notable victory over the *Sabines*, laid waſte their country, and enriched his ſoldiers with ſpoil: The Conſul *Veturius* routed the *Volſci*, after which he took their camp, and then *Velitræ*, into which place he entered ſword in hand in purſuit of the vanquiſhed: And *A. Virginius*, the other Conſul, obtained over the *Æqui* a victory, which, by reaſon of their haſty flight, was without much bloodſhed. Except the victory at *Regillus*, the *Romans* had never gained a more important one than that of the Dictator over the *Sabines*. Accordingly he was decreed a triumph by both Senate and People; and as a further mark of diſtinction, they allotted him an honourable place in the Circus, at the celebration of the public games, and appointed that a curule chair ſhould always be placed there for him; and this honour they made hereditary in his family.

Id. Ib.

Livy, B. 2.

D. Hal. B. 6.

§. III. THE Senate apprehending that the ſoldiers at their return would challenge of the Dictator the execution of his promiſe, deſired him and the two Conſuls to detain them ſtill under their enſigns, upon pretence that the war was not quite finiſhed. The two Conſuls obeyed; but the Dictator, whoſe authority was independent of the Senate, diſbanded his army.

army. He declared his ſoldiers free of the[a] oath they took when they liſted themſelves; and as a new proof of his affection to the *Plebeians*, he choſe out of that order four hundred of the moſt conſiderable, whom he brought into that of the Knights. He then went to the Senate, and demanded that a decree ſhould be paſs'd for the abolition of the debts, purſuant to the promiſe he had made the people. The oldeſt Senators and the beſt men, excepting only *Appius*, were for conſenting to this demand. But the faction of the rich got the better, being ſupported by the young Senators, who thought that nothing could be done for the relief of the people, but to the diminution of the Senate's authority. There were even ſeveral who, preſuming upon the Dictator's mildneſs of temper, reproached him, that he ſought by the vileſt methods the applauſes of a baſe populace. Not only his demand was rejected, but he was made to underſtand, that if his dictatorial dignity had not ſet him above the laws, the Senate would call him to an account for diſbanding his army, as an action contrary to the military laws, while the enemies of the Republic were ſtill in arms. Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J. C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

The venerable old man anſwered, "I plainly perceive that I am not agreeable to you: I am accuſed of being too popular; may the Gods "grant that all the defenders of the *Roman* people, who ſhall riſe here- "after, may be as moderate as I am! But expect not that I will deceive "my Fellow-Citizens, who took up arms upon my promiſe, and who at "the price of their blood have triumphed over your enemies. A fo- "reign war, and our domeſtic feuds, were the occaſion of the Repub- "lic's honouring me with the Dictatorſhip. We now have peace abroad, "and I am hindered from eſtabliſhing it at home; thus my office being "grown uſeleſs, I am reſolved to hold it no longer. I had rather "behold the ſedition as a private perſon, than with the title of Dicta- "tor." Concluding with theſe words, he left the Senate abruptly and convened an Aſſembly of the People. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

[a] The giving the military oath, which was called *Sacramentum*, was, properly ſpeaking, the legal method of forming the *Roman* Armies. After the ſoldiers had been choſen out of each tribe, in the manner elſewhere deſcribed, this oath was adminiſtered to them. The ceremony was this. The *Tribunes* of each *Legion* aſſembled the body they commanded. Then one ſoldier in a *Legion* ſwore, in the name of all the reſt, to obey the Commanders of the *Roman* army. After this, every ſoldier came, and ſingly engaged to perform what had been ſworn. This cuſtom continued till the 538th year of *Rome*; and then another oath, called by *Livy*, B. 22. *Juſjurandum*, (of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place) was added to the former. By virtue of this engagement, rebels and deſerters were puniſhed with death, and no appeal admitted. There was likewiſe another way of enliſting men, which was called *Conjuratio*. It took place, in caſe of unforeſeen commotions, and the ſudden irruptions of an enemy. Then, that no time might be loſt in raiſing the neceſſary ſuccours, the ſoldiers were excuſed the formalities uſually obſerved in enrolling them. The General only went up to the *Capitol*, and there erected two Standards; one red, for the foot; and the other blue, for the horſe. After which, he pronounced theſe words, with a loud voice: *Let thoſe who love the ſafety of the Republic, make haſte and follow me.* A third way of enrolling or enliſting men, then in uſe, was this. The Conſuls committed it to the care of choſen perſons, to raiſe troops in different places, as the Republic had occaſion for them; and this was called *Evocatio*.

Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J. C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

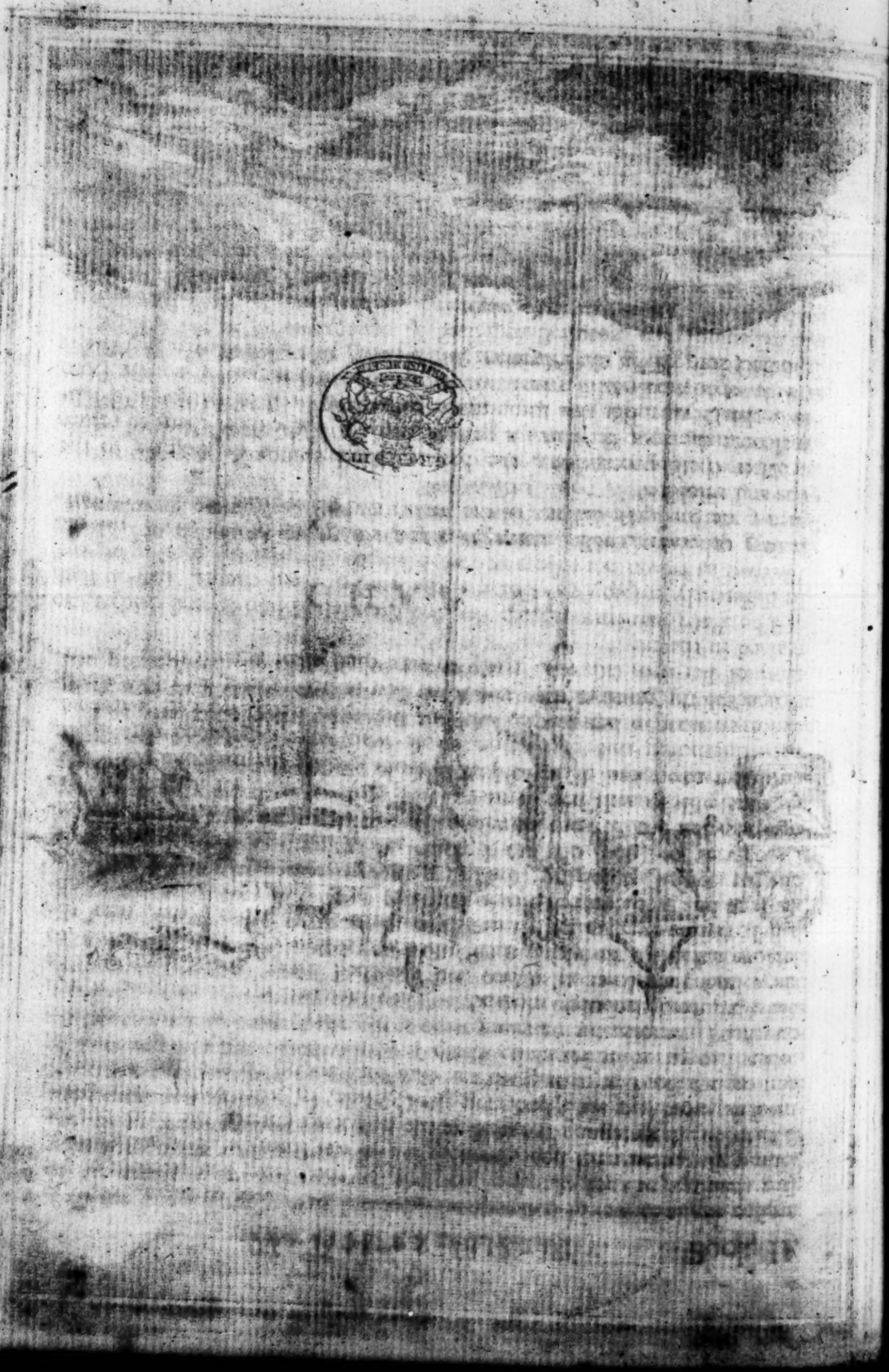
When the Aſſembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the enſigns of his dignity; he firſt returned the people thanks for the readineſs with which upon his orders they had taken arms, and then he highly praiſed the valour they had ſhewn in every action of the war, againſt the enemies of the Commonwealth. "You, ſaid he, like good Citizens, have perform-"ed your duty. It were now my turn to acquit myſelf of the promiſe "I made you; but a faction more powerful than the authority of the Dic-"tator himſelf, hinders the effect of my ſincere intentions. I am pub-"lickly called an enemy to the Senate; my conduct is cenſured; it is "imputed to me as a crime, that I left you the ſpoils of our enemies, and "above all, that I abſolved you from the military oath. I know after "what manner, in the vigour of my life, I ſhould have anſwered ſuch "injuries; but they deſpiſe an old man of above threeſcore and ten; and "as I am now paſt either revenging my ſelf, or doing juſtice to you, "I freely reſign a dignity in which I can do you no ſervice. If "any one of my Fellow-Citizens condemns me for the non-perform-"ance of my word, I willingly put my ſmall remains of life into his "hands; he may deprive me of it; if he pleaſes; I ſhall neither murmur "nor oppoſe.

The Multitude heard this diſcourſe with reſpect and veneration for the man, and they conducted him to his houſe with as many praiſes as if he had pronounced the abolition of the debts.

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *The diſcontent among the people augments. The Conſuls, to give the mutineers a diverſion, lead their two armies, which they had not yet diſbanded, again into the field. The ſoldiers deſert their Generals, and by the advice of* Sicinnius Bellutus, *retire to a hill three miles from* Rome. §. II. *The Senate diſpatch a deputation to them to perſuade them to return; but in vain.* Poſthumius Cominius, *and* Spurius Caſſius, *are choſen Conſuls. Warm debates in the Senate. A ſecond deputation is ſent to the mutineers in ſpite of the remonſtrances of* Appius Claudius. §. III. *The artful management of* Sicinnius Bellutus, *and* Junius Brutus, *the two heads of the ſedition, in their conference with the Deputies.* §. IV. Menenius Agrippa, *by his famous apologue, overcomes the obſtinacy of the mutineers; but when they are juſt ready to go back to the city,* Brutus *puts a ſtop to their march till the Senate have agreed to the creation of ſome new officers, choſen out of the* Plebeians, *to be the future protectors of the people. Theſe officers are ſtiled* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

§. I. AND now the *Plebeian* debtors turned their whole indignation againſt the Senate, which had ſo often deceived them: They held aſſemblies, not by night, but in open day and ſeemed determined to keep no longer any meaſures. The Conſuls, who ſtill held their





The Military Ensigns of the Romans.

troops engaged by the cuſtomany oath they had taken to them, *never to quit their enſigns without leave*, led them by the Senate's advice out of the city, under pretence of apprehending a new war from the *Æqui* and *Sabines*. The ſoldiers, perceiving the artifice, had no ſooner entered the field, but the moſt furious were for murdering the Conſuls, in order to free themſelves and their fellows at once from the oath that bound them: But the more ſober having repreſented to thoſe madmen how uſeleſs with regard to their purpoſe, ſuch a crime would be, they, by the advice of one *Sicinnius*, took another method. They ſnatched up the enſigns, which they had *ſworn not to deſert*, and marched away with them. The legions inſtantly, forſaking their officers [a], followed; and all retired to a hill, (afterwards called *Mons Sacer*) three miles from *Rome*, near the river *Anio*. Here they encamped, and here they continued quiet, obſerving an exact diſcipline, and attempting no ſort of violence whatever. A. Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J. C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

§. II. A DESERTION ſo general, and which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneaſineſs to the Senate. They immediately ſet guards at the gates of the city, as well for its ſecurity, as to hinder any more of the *Plebeians* from joining the malcontents. But, notwithſtanding this precaution, thoſe who were burthened with debts, and even many others, who, without being in debt, were diſcontented, eſcaped to the mutineers; and *Rome* ſaw at her gates a very formidable army of her own citizens, ready to turn their arms againſt thoſe that remained in the city.

The *Patricians* immediately divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies, to be differently employ'd: Some at the head of their clients, and of ſuch *Plebeians* as would not take part in the *Seceſſion*, ſecured the moſt advanced poſts; others intrenched themſelves at the entrance of the city; the old men undertook the defence of the walls; and all appeared equally vigourous and reſolute. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

After theſe precautions, the Senate diſpatched a deputation to the malcontents, to offer them a general pardon, and exhort them to return into the city. But this ſtep, taken before the ſwell of paſſion had ſubſided, produced nothing but a contemptuous and menacing anſwer from the Seceders, *That the* Patricians *ſhould quickly find what enemies they had to*

[a] *Dion. Hal.* gives us the reaſon why the legions ſo readily followed their enſigns. The *Romans*, ſays he, when they are in the field, reſpect nothing more than their enſigns and ſtandards. They are to them as ſo many Deities. They ſwear by their military enſigns, and pay them a ſort of religious worſhip. On certain feſtivals, they crown them with flowers, and perfume them. *Aquilæ certe, ac ſigna illa paloveralenta, & cuſtodiis horrida, inaugurantur etiam feſtis diebus. Utinamque dicere poſſemus quis primus inſtituiſſet!* *Plin.* B. 13. This cuſtom is alſo atteſted by an inſcription on an ancient marble; which runs thus, CORONÆ. INLATÆ. SIGNA QUE UNCTA. Animated by this ſuperſtitious prejudice, the ſoldiers braved the greateſt dangers, and deſpiſed death itſelf, to ſecure theſe precious pledges from being taken by the enemy. It often was treated as a capital crime, a man's ſuffering his ſtandard to be taken from him; Hiſtory gives us ſeveral inſtances of thoſe who were condemned to be whipped, and to loſe their heads, for having loſt the colours committed to their care.

deal with: which augmented the general conſternation and perplexity in *Rome*.

The two Conſuls, whoſe Magiſtracy was expiring, appointed an aſſembly for the election of their ſucceſſors; no body preſented himſelf candidate for that dignity; ſeveral even refuſed it. At length *Poſthumus Cominius*, and *Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus*, both conſular perſons, were conſtrained to accept it; and the Senate pitched upon them, becauſe they were equally agreeable to the Nobles and *Plebeians*, and becauſe *Caſſius* eſpecially had always behaved himſelf very artfully between the two parties.

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

The new Conſuls began their adminiſtration with aſſembling the Senate to conſider of the beſt and moſt ſpeedy methods of reſtoring peace and union in the State.

Menenius Agrippa, a conſular perſon, and eminent for integrity of manners, being the firſt called upon to give his opinion, declared, that he thought it adviſable to diſpatch a new deputation to the malcontents, and to give the Deputies full power to put an end to this ugly affair, upon whatever conditions they ſhould find neceſſary for the good of the Republick. Some of the *Fathers* objected, that it would be a derogation to the majeſty of the Senate, to ſend a ſecond deputation to rebels, who had given ſuch an unworthy reception to their firſt: But *Menenius* anſwered, that this was no time to inſiſt upon a vain punctilio; that the preſervation of the Republick, and even neceſſity, to which the Gods themſelves were ſubmitted, obliged the Senate to court the people. That *Rome*, the terror of her neighbours, was in a manner beſieged by her own citizens; that indeed they had as yet committed no act of hoſtility, but that for this very reaſon the Senate ought to be the more careful to prevent a war, which whatever ſhould be the ſucceſs of it, could not but be fatal to the State.

He added, that the *Sabines*, the *Volſci*, the *Æqui*, and the *Hernici*, all irreconcileable enemies of the *Roman* name, would already have joined the rebels, if they had not perhaps thought it more proper to let the *Romans* weaken and deſtroy themſelves by their own diviſions. That no great aſſiſtance was to be expected from the Allies of the Republick; that as for the nations of *Campania* and *Hetruria*, they were always governed by events, and their faith was to be ſuſpected; that even the *Latines* were not much more to be depended on, a people jealous of the ſuperiority of *Rome*, and ever fond of novelty. That the *Patricians* deceived themſelves, if they hoped, merely with the help of their clients and ſlaves, to withſtand a combination of ſo many foreign and domeſtick enemies.

M. Valerius, (the late Dictator) whoſe mind was embittered againſt the Senate, added to what *Menenius* had ſaid, that there was reaſon to apprehend the mal-contents would renounce their country, and think of ſettling elſewhere: That *Rome* would become a deſert; and the Senate, by continuing inflexible, loſe its chief ſtrength. That, if they had followed his advice during his Dictatorſhip, they might by the abolition of the debts

D. Hal. B. 6.

have

have preſerved union and peace between the two orders in the ſtate; but muſt not imagine that the people, who had ſo often been cheated by the falſe promiſes of the Senate, would now be ſatisfied with that abolition. That he feared the ill treatment they had received would incite them to demand ſecurities for the future enjoyment of their rights and liberties. That the creation of a Dictator, a modern invention of the Senate's, entirely defeated the purpoſe of the *Lex Valeria*, the People's refuge, and the guardian of their liberty. That it could not be denied, but many of the *Plebeians* had been deſpoiled of their lands by the exorbitant intereſts exacted from them for money lent by certain rich uſurers; and thoſe poor wretches thrown into chains and ſlavery as ſo many criminals: That indeed the more equitable among the *Patricians* had no ſhare in theſe tyrannical proceedings, but only ſome haughty ſpirits, who aimed at an Oligarchy, and had formed themſelves into a faction; at the head of which was *Appius Claudius*, the moſt declared enemy of the people, and who was always endeavouring to perplex and embroil the publick affairs. And he concluded with ſeconding the motion of *Menenius* for ſending a new deputation to the Seceders. Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

Appius, when it was his turn to ſpeak, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to *M. Valerius*, ſaid, "If you had confined your ſelf barely to give your "opinion upon the affair in queſtion, without falling upon me ſo unjuſtly, "you had not expoſed yourſelf to hear truths, which may not be very "agreeable to you. But before I offer them to this Aſſembly, it is fit I "ſhould anſwer your calumnies. Tell me, *Valerius*; Where are the *Romans* whom I have proſecuted with the rigour of juſtice, to oblige "them to pay me what they owe me? Name the Citizens whom I have "kept in chains; go ſearch among the crowd of mal-contents, and ſee "whether there be one man who will ſay, he left the City out of fear of "being impriſoned by me. Every body knows that I have uſed "my debtors like my clients and friends; that without conſidering "the old debts, I have aſſiſted them anew in their neceſſities; and that, "as much as in me lay, the Citizens were always free. Not that I propoſe my conduct as a rule for others; I will always contend for the "authority of the laws in favour of thoſe who have recourſe to them. I "am even convinced, that, with regard to certain debtors who ſpend their "lives in idleneſs and debauchery, it is as reaſonable to make them pay, "as it is noble and generous to forgive poor Citizens who are peaceable "and laborious, but whoſe misfortunes have reduced them to extream "want: ſuch has been my conduct, and ſuch are the *imperious maxims* "with which I am charged. But, it ſeems, I have declared myſelf a favourer of the great, and it is by my counſels that they have poſſeſſed "themſelves of the Government.—This crime, (*turning toward the chief "of the Senate*) I am guilty of in common with you. The Government "belongs to you, and you are too wiſe to yield it up to an unbridled rabble, to that furious beaſt which hearkens only to its flatterers, its ſlaves; "ſlaves that often become its Tyrants: And this is what we ought to ap-

"prehend

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

" prehend from *M. Valerius*; who, tho' all the credit he has in the Re-
" public be owing to the dignities with which we have honoured him,
" makes uſe of it now to ruin our laws, change the form of our govern-
" ment, and by his mean condeſcenſions, pave himſelf a way to the ty-
" ranny. You have heard his own words, and muſt have obſerved, that,
" being better informed than we of the pernicious deſigns of the rebels,
" he gives us notice to prepare for new pretenſions: under colour of de-
" manding ſecurity for the liberty of the people, he ſeeks nothing but to
" deſtroy that of the Senate.

" But, to come to the chief point, upon which we meet this day: I
" ſay, that it is ſtriking at the very foundation of a State to change its
" laws; and that it is impoſſible to annul the contracts between private
" perſons, without violating the public faith, the bond of ſociety. Will
" you now grant to a ſeditious mob, who are ready to turn their arms a-
" gainſt their Country, what you have often prudently refuſed to quiet Ci-
" tizens, and to brave ſoldiers? Conſider that you can make no conceſſion
" in this article of the debts, without opening a door at the ſame time to
" new pretenſions. Before it be long, the Leaders of the ſedition, in con-
" cert with *M. Valerius*, will want to be admitted into the chief dignities
" of the State. May the tutelar Gods of *Rome* grant, that the Govern-
" ment do not at laſt fall wholly into the hands of a baſe populace, that
" will puniſh you for your weakneſs, and baniſh you your ſelves from
" your Country!

" Endeavours are uſed to terrify you with the arms of the Rebels: But
" have you not their wives and children in hoſtage? Will they, with open
" force, attack a City which incloſes all that they hold moſt dear? But
" I ſhall grant, that they have no more regard to the ties of Blood, than
" to the laws of the Government: Have they the Generals, the Provi-
" ſions, the Money neceſſary to maintain themſelves in ſuch an enter-
" priſe? What will become of them during winter, which is now approach-
" ing, without bread, without ſhelter, and without daring to ſtraggle
" for fear of falling into our hands? If they take refuge among our neigh-
" bours, will they not find the Government there, as well as at *Rome*, in
" the hands of the great? Can rebels and run-aways expect to be placed in
" any other condition, than that of wretched ſlaves? Perhaps it is feared,
" that our neighbours, and they will join their forces and beſiege *Rome*;
" and that the City will not have a ſufficient number of inhabitants for its
" defence; as if the ſtrength of the Republic lay wholly in the rebels.
" But have you not amongſt the *Patricians* a flouriſhing youth, and full
" of courage? Our clients, who are the ſoundeſt part of the *Ple-*
" *beian* body, are they not, like us, immoveably faithful to the intereſt
" of the commonwealth? It appeared by the laſt numbering of the
" people, that we had no leſs than 130000 men fit to bear arms; there is
" ſcarce the ſeventh part of theſe among the mal-contents. But, if occa-
" ſion be, let us arm our ſlaves, let us make of them a new people; theſe
" we ſhall find obedient. In our ſervice, and from our example, they have
" learnt

D. Hal. B. 5. p. 293. Ann. 246.

"learnt the diſcipline of war. How couragiouſly will they fight, if liber- Y. of *R.* 260.
"ty is to be the reward of their valour? If all theſe helps do not Bef. *J. C.* 492.
"ſeem ſufficient, recall your colonies. Nay, rather than ſubmit to re- 17 Conſulſhip.
"ceive law from the rebels, grant the *Latines* the rights of Citizens of
"*Rome*, which they have ſo long ſued for: You will then ſee them im-
"mediately run to your aſſiſtance; and you will want neither ſoldiers nor
"Citizens. To reduce my opinion to a few words, I think we ought
"not to ſend Deputies to the rebels, nor do any thing that can ſhew the
"leaſt fear or uneaſineſs. If they return to their duty, we ought to uſe
"them gently; but, if they perſiſt in their revolt, fall upon them ſword
"in hand."

This advice was approved, tho' for different reaſons, by the faction of the rich, and by all the young Senators. On the other hand, the two Conſuls, favourers of the people, and the old men, naturally timorous, maintained, that Civil war was the greateſt calamity that could befal a State. The ſame was urged, by ſuch of the Senate as regarded only the preſervation of the public liberty, and who doubted whether ſome ambitious and enterprizing man might not ariſe even out of the body of the Senate, and by the help of theſe diviſions make himſelf ſole maſter of the Government. But ſcarce were they ſo much as heard; the place was filled with clamour and threatnings. The youngeſt Senators, inſolent upon account of their birth, and jealous of the prerogatives of their rank, went even ſo far as to intimate to the Conſuls, that they ſuſpected them. They put thoſe magiſtrates in mind, that being in the place of the Kings, it was their duty to maintain, againſt the invaſions of the people, not only the regal authority, but that of the Senate; and the more violent declared, that if the leaſt inſult were offered to the latter, they would take arms to preſerve to their order an authority which they had received from their anceſtors.

The Conſuls, having conferred together, determined to give theſe warm ſpirits time to cool; and for that purpoſe to put off the deciſion of this great affair to another day: But, before the Aſſembly broke up, in order to intimidate the young Senators, who had talked in ſo audacious a manner, they threatened them, that unleſs they behaved themſelves for the future with more modeſty in ſo venerable an Aſſembly, means would be found to exclude them wholly from it, by fixing * the age neceſſary for a

* That there was a certain age, in after times required, is plain from the frequent uſe of *Ætas Senatoria* in Authors. *Dio Caſſius* poſitively limits it to five and twenty, which was the ſooneſt time any one could have diſcharged the Quæſtorſhip, the firſt office of any conſiderable note: Yet we meet with very many perſons promoted to this order without any conſideration had to their years, as it uſually happened in all other honours whatever. *Kus. Antiq.* p. 202.

Pompey eſtabliſhed among the *Bithynians* a law by which no one could become a Member of their Senate till he was thirty complete. It is probable that he followed the cuſtom of the *Roman* Republic in this regulation; and the more ſo, becauſe *Pliny the younger* tells us, in one of his letters to the Emperor *Trajan*, that the *Bithynians* made the *Romans* their pattern, eſpecially in what related to their Magiſtracy and Senate.

I Senator,

Y. of R. 260. Bef. J. C. 492. 17 Conſulſhip. Senator. As this had not yet been ſettled, the young men, more afraid of loſing their dignity than their point, truckled to the menaces and power of the Conſuls, who at the ſame time made uſe of another artifice againſt the older Senators who oppoſed the abolition of the debts. They told them, they could no longer bear this diviſion in the Senate; and that, if the *Fathers* did not enter into more unanimous meaſures, they would carry the affair before the People, to whom, as it related to war, they could not without injuſtice refuſe the cognizance of it, according to what had been practiſed even under the Government of the Kings.

Thoſe of the Senators, who had embraced *Appius*'s opinion with moſt warmth, plainly ſaw by the turn which the Conſuls gave to this affair, that it would ſlip from them, if they perſiſted in their firſt ſentiments. The fear of falling into the people's hands ſtaggered them; and the tears and cries of the women and children who embraced their knees, and begged of them their fathers and huſbands, gained them over entirely; ſo that, the Senate being convened again, they declared for coming to an agreement with the mal-contents. *Appius* remained almoſt alone in his oppoſition. Addreſſing himſelf to the two Conſuls, he ſaid, "I find, it "will be to no purpoſe for me to offer any thing further upon this mat- "ter; you ſeem reſolved to treat with the rebels upon their own conditi- "ons; however, you will give me leave to declare once more, that this "ſhall never be with my conſent. I repeat it, that I think we cannot "indeed have too much regard to the miſeries of thoſe debtors who have "continued faithful and obedient to the government; but I affirm, "that all manner of negotiation with rebels is dangerous, ſo long as they "continue in arms."

As the *Fathers* had already taken their reſolution, they gave no longer any heed to the oppoſition of this inflexible Senator; but named ten Commiſſioners to treat with the mal-contents; and choſe them out of thoſe of their own body who had always declared in favour of the people. At the head of this deputation were *T. Lartius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius*, all three in great eſteem, and of whom two had governed the Republic, in quality of Dictators. They ſet forward with their Collegues towards the camp. This great news got thither before them; and the ſoldiers ran out in crowds to receive them.

§. III. Among the *Seceders* was a certain *Plebeian*, named *Lucius Junius*, and who, out of a ridiculous vanity, had aſſumed the ſurname of *Brutus*, that he might have the greater reſemblance to the illuſtrious deliverer of his country from the *Tarquins*. Notwithſtanding this affectation, for which many of his companions laughed at him, he was a man of ſingular penetration and foreſight, and wanted not the talents of ſpeaking readily and to the purpoſe. He adviſed *Sicinius*, the Leader of the mutineers, to croſs the negotiation at firſt, and to ſtart new objections againſt a re-union, in order to find out what advantage they might get from it, and at what price the other party would purchaſe it. "The Senate, *ſaid he*, betray their fear: "We are maſters, if we know how to improve this opportunity: Let

" those grave Senators deliver their errand; I undertake to answer them Y. of R. 260.
" in the name of our companions; and I hope to do it in a manner that Bef. J. C. 492.
" will not be unserviceable to the common cause." 17 Consulship.

These two heads of the Secession having agreed upon the different parts they were to act, *Sicinnius* introduced the Deputies into the camp, who, when they had placed themselves where they could be heard by the multitude, which flocked about them, were told, that they might give an account of their commission. *Manius Valerius* then said, That he *D. Hal.* B. 6. brought them joyful news; that the Senate had not only decreed an *amnesty* of all their past faults, but had empowered him and his Collegues to grant them all the favours that were compatible with the honour of the *Patrician* body; and that there was nothing now to hinder them from returning to the city. To this he added some pressing exhortations to the *Seceders*, not to neglect the present favourable opportunity, which the Senate's great condescension and goodness gave them, of putting a happy period to all their discontents.

When *Valerius* had ended, *Sicinnius* observed to the audience, That, in affairs of importance, prudent men never came to a determination, upon hearing only what could be said on one side of a question: And he declared, That whoever was willing to answer *Valerius*, might speak his objections without shame or fear, or reserve; the necessity of the case not admitting of ceremony or human respects. Nevertheless, a profound silence reigned in the assembly; the soldiers stood looking at one another, each expecting that some other would make himself advocate for the common cause. Then *Brutus*, pursuant to his agreement with *Sicinnius*, stept forward, and, addressing himself to his comrades, said: " From this deep
" silence, fellow-soldiers, one would imagine, You are still awed by that
" servile fear in which the *Patricians* and your creditors kept you so
" long. Every man consults the eyes of the rest, to discover, whether
" there be more resolution in others than he finds in himself; and not
" one of you has the courage to speak, in publick, that which is the con-
" stant subject of your private conversations. Know you not that you
" are free? This camp, these arms, have they not convinced you, that
" you are no longer under your Tyrants? Or, if any doubt remained,
" this step which the Senate has now taken, is not this sufficient to sa-
" tisfy you? Those *Patricians*, so haughty and imperious, now send to
" court us; they no longer make use either of proud commands, or
" of cruel threats; they invite us as their fellow-citizens to return into
" our common city; nay some of our Sovereigns, you see, are so gra-
" cious as to come to our very camp, to offer us a general pardon.
" Whence then can proceed this obstinate silence, after such singular
" condescensions? If you doubt the sincerity of their promises; if you
" fear, that, under the veil of a few fine words, they conceal your former
" chains, why do you not speak? — All silent? — Hear then a *Roman*,
" who has the courage to declare his thoughts freely to these ambassadors,
" and to dissemble nothing."

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J.C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

Then turning to *Valerius*, "You invite us to go back to *Rome*; but you do not tell us upon what terms we are to be there: Can *Plebeians* poor, tho' free, think of being united with *Patricians* ſo rich, and ſo ambitious? And, ſhould we agree to the conditions you have to offer, what ſecurity will the *Patricians* give us for the performance? Thoſe haughty *Patricians*, who make it a merit among themſelves to have deceived the people? You talk to us of nothing but condeſcenſion and forgiveneſs, as if we were your ſubjects, and ſubjects in rebellion; but that is the point to be diſcuſſed. Is it the People or the Senate who are in fault? Which of the two orders was it, that firſt violated thoſe laws of ſociety, which ought to reign among the members of one and the ſame Republic? This is the queſtion.

"In order to judge of this without prejudice, give me leave barely to relate a certain number of facts, for the truth of which I will appeal to no other but yourſelf and your Collegues.

"Our government was originally monarchic; we had ſeven Kings in ſucceſſion; and none of them ever did the people the leaſt wrong. *Tarquin* himſelf, the laſt of thoſe Princes, *Tarquin*, ſo odious to the Senate and the Nobility, favour'd our intereſts as much as he oppoſed yours. He loved the ſoldiers, he had an eſteem for valour, he was always for rewarding it; and every body knows, that having found immenſe riches in *Sueſſa*, a town of the *Volſci*, which he had taken, he choſe rather to leave the booty to his army, than to appropriate it to himſelf; ſo that beſide the ſlaves, the horſes, the corn, and the houſhold-ſtuff, there remained over and above to each ſoldier five *Minæ* of ſilver *

"Nevertheleſs, to revenge *your* wrongs, we drove that Prince from *Rome*; nor were all his repeated ſolicitations, and rich offers ſufficient to move us, to forſake your intereſts and return to his obedience. We afterwards cut to pieces the armies of *Veii*, and *Tarquinii*, which endeavoured to reſtore him to the throne. The formidable power of *Porſena*, the famine we underwent during a long ſiege, the fierce aſſaults, the continual battles — Were all theſe, or, in ſhort, was any thing capable of ſhaking the faith which we had given you? Thirty *Latine* Cities united to reſtore the baniſhed King. What would you have done, if we had then abandoned you, and joined your enemies? We might have had any rewards from *Tarquin*, while the Senate and Nobles would have been the victims of his reſentment. Who diſperſed that dangerous combination? To whom are you obliged for the defeat of the *Latines*? Is it not to this people? To them you owe that very power which you have ſince turned againſt them. What recompence have we had for the aſſiſtance we gave you? Is the condition of the *Roman* people one jot the better? Have you aſſociated them in your offices and dignities? Have our poor Citizens found ſo much as the ſmalleſt relief in their neceſſities? No, our braveſt ſoldiers, oppreſſed with the weight of uſury, have been groaning in the chains of their mercileſs creditors. All thoſe fine promiſes of aboliſh-

"ing

* 15 *l. Arbuthnot.*

" ing in time of peace the debts which the extortions of the great had forced us to contract, What is become of them? Scarce was the war finiſhed, but you forgot both our ſervices, and your oaths. With what deſign then do you come hither? Is it to ſeduce this people by the enchantment of words? The moſt ſolemn oaths have not ſtrength enough to bind your faith. And after all, what would you get by a union effected by artifice, never free from mutual diſtruſt, and which muſt end at laſt in a Civil War? Let us on both ſides avoid ſuch heavy misfortunes; ſend to us our wives and children; ſuffer us to depart from *this land of our nativity*, where we are loaded with chains like ſo many ſlaves; or, at beſt, are only farmers of our own inheritances, and conſtrained to cultivate them for the profit of our Tyrants. So long as we have our ſwords in our hands, we ſhall be able to open ourſelves a way into more fortunate climates; and where-ever the Gods ſhall grant us to live in LIBERTY, *there* we ſhall find OUR COUNTRY."

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

This bold diſcourſe renewed in the aſſembly the melancholy remembrance of all thoſe miſeries whereof the people had ſo frequently complained; every man was eager to quote examples of the rigour of the *Patricians*; ſome had loſt their inheritances; others had ſuffered in the priſons of their creditors; ſeveral ſhewed the marks of the ſtripes they had received; and there was not one who, beſide the general cauſe, had not a particular injury to revenge.

The venerable *T. Lartius*, undertaking to anſwer *Brutus*, began with the article of the debts. He ſaid, that to hinder men, who had fairly lent their money, from exacting the repayment of it, had been a thing impracticable; and that it was without example in any well regulated State, that the Magiſtrate ſhould refuſe the aid of the laws to thoſe who demanded it, ſo long as thoſe laws and cuſtoms ſerved for a rule in the Government. That nevertheleſs, as the creditors had doubtleſs been cruel to their debtors, the Senate was willing to look into the neceſſities of the people, and to provide a remedy for them by new regulations; but that it became the Senate's juſtice at the ſame time to diſtinguiſh men, who, tho' not fortunate, had been ever ſober and induſtrious, from ſuch as were fallen into poverty, only thro' their own ſloth and intemperance: that it was highly unjuſt in the *Plebeians* to extort, by force of arms, an abolition of the debts, when they might obtain it by fair means; and *to complain of the Senate as refuſing* what they demanded, when they ought only *to complain of thoſe who threw obſtacles in way of the Senate's good intentions.*

Lartius, continuing his diſcourſe, was beginning to ſay ſomething of the raſhneſs of their enterpriſe, when *Sicinnius*, provoked at what he had thrown out againſt him and *Brutus*, and addreſſing himſelf to his companions: " You now ſee, by the haughty ſpeech of this *Patrician*, what " you are to expect from his negotiation, and what treatment is preparing " for you at *Rome*, if the Senate can once draw you into their power:"

Y. of R. 260. Bef. J.C. 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

And then, turning immediately to the Deputies: "Propoſe directly, the "conditions you are impowered to offer us; or this inſtant leave our camp, "where we are not diſpoſed to bear with you any longer."

§ VI. THESE words were highly applauded by the multitude. But then *Menenius*, in the midſt of their acclamations, made a ſign to them, that he had ſomething to ſay. His known character of integrity, and of being a friend to the people, eaſily gained him attention. Silence being made, he told them, that the Commiſſioners were not come to the camp, only to juſtify to them the Senate's conduct, but alſo to inform them of what the Senate had reſolved in their favour. That *the Fathers*, ſtudious of the public good, had carefully enquired into the cauſes of the unhappy diviſions, and had found, that the ſeverity of the creditors to their debtors was the true ſource of them. That, in order to remedy theſe evils, they had determined a remiſſion of all debts due from inſolvents; liberty to all debtors, whether actually in arreſt, or in danger of being ſo, in conſequence of any ſentence given againſt them: And that as to debts which might be contracted hereafter, a new regulation ſhould be made by the People and the Senate in concert, and ſhould become an eſtabliſhed law: And that all the Commiſſioners in the Aſſembly engaged their lives to the people, and devoted themſelves and their children to the infernal Gods, if they failed in their promiſe.

This prudent Senator finding the minds of the people ſoftened by the promiſe he had made them, and deſiring to leſſen the jealouſy which they had of the rich, repreſented to them how neceſſary it was in a State, that one part of the Community ſhould be richer than the other: and we are told, that, to make this truth the more palpable to them, he employ'd that famous apologue of a conſpiracy of all the members of the human body againſt the ſtomach, under pretence that this alone, without working, enjoy'd the fruit of all their labours. Having applied it to the people and the Senate, he deſired them to conſider, that this auguſt body, like the ſtomach, convey'd into the ſeveral members joined to it, the ſame nouriſhment that it received itſelf, but much better prepared; and that to it alone they owed their life and ſtrength. He added, "Were they not "the *Patricians*, who firſt ſtood up for the public liberty? To whom do "you owe the eſtabliſhment of the Republic? When dangers threaten, on "whom do you turn your eyes, and whence have always proceeded thoſe "generous counſels that have ſaved the State? Nothing is more precious "to that wiſe body, than your preſervation and union. The Senate loves "you all with the reaſonable affection of a father, but without debaſing "itſelf to the treacherous fawnings of a flatterer. You demand an abſo- "lute remiſſion of the debts; the Senate grant your demand: but they "grant it only becauſe they think it juſt, and neceſſary to the welfare of "our country. Return then with confidence into the boſom of that "common mother, who has educated us all in ſentiments equally gene- "rous and free. Receive our embraces as the firſt fruits of the peace be- "tween us; let us jointly carry to *Rome* the firſt news of it; and may

Livy, B. 2.

D. Hal. B. 6.

"the

" the Gods who protect this Empire grant, that our re-union may be here- " after celebrated by new victories over our enemies."

A. of R. 260. Bef. J. C. 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

The people could not hear this diſcourſe without ſhedding tears; they all cried out, as with one voice, to *Menenius*, that they were ſatisfied, and that he might lead them back to *Rome*. But the artful *Brutus*, who had juſt before ſpoken ſo ſharply againſt the Senate, put a ſtop to this ſudden motion. He told the people, that in truth they ought to be very thankful for the favour ſhew'd them at preſent, in the abolition of the debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know, that he was very anxious about the future, much fearing, that the Senate would one day revenge themſelves for the juſt conceſſions they had been forced to make, unleſs means were found to ſecure the rights and liberties of the People againſt the enterprizes of ſo ambitious a body.

" What better ſecurity, replied *Menenius*, can you aſk, than what our " laws and the conſtitution of the Republic already afford?" " Grant us, " anſwered *Brutus*, the privilege of creating annually, out of the body " of the *Plebeians*, ſome magiſtrates, who ſhall have no other power " but that of ſuccouring the *Plebeians*, when injuſtice or violence is done " to them, and of defending their rights both public and private. We " deſire, we earneſtly intreat you not to refuſe us this requeſt; but ge- " nerouſly to add this to the other favours which, of your own motion, " you have already granted us. If you came hither with a ſincere inten- " tion of peace, you cannot reject ſo equitable a propoſal."

The people highly applauded what *Brutus* had ſaid. On the other hand the Deputies were extremely ſurpriſed at this new demand; they retired a little apart from the Aſſembly to confer together; and when they were returned to it, *Menenius* told them, that they aſked a very extraordinary thing, and which in time might even be a ſource of new diſſentions; that though he and his Collegues had full powers to treat, they did not think it became them to make uſe of thoſe powers in the preſent inſtance; but that *Valerius* and ſome others of the Deputies would go and report the matter to the Senate, and that it would not be long before they returned with an anſwer.

Theſe Commiſſioners repaired with all ſpeed to *Rome*, where, the Senate being immediately convened, they laid before the Aſſembly the new pretenſions of the mal-contents. *Valerius* made himſelf their Advocate: He repreſented to *the Fathers*, that they ought not to think of governing a warlike people, a people who were ſoldiers as well as Citizens, in the ſame manner as they might rule meer Citizens, quiet, and peaceable, and who never ſtirred from the hearths of their domeſtic Gods. That war, and a continual exerciſe of arms inſpired a kind of courage, which could not bear ſuch a ſervile dependence as was expected from theſe brave men: that it was but juſtice to treat with great conſideration a generous people, who had extinguiſhed tyranny at the expence of their blood; that it was his opinion, the Officers they demanded ought to be granted them; and that perhaps ſuch Inſpectors might not be altogether

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

gether uſeleſs in a free State, to have an eye over thoſe among the great, who might ſome time or other be tempted to carry their authority too far.

Appius could not hear ſuch diſcourſe without burning with indignation. He called the Gods to witneſs the innumerable miſchiefs, which he pretended to foreſee from ſuch an innovation in the Government. But this angry Senator was little minded, his remonſtrance being looked upon as only the peeviſh diſcourſe of a man obſtinately wedded to his own opinion, and out of humour that it was not followed. The other ſide prevailed; moſt of the Senators, weary of theſe diviſions, were willing to have peace at any rate; ſo that with almoſt an univerſal conſent, a *Senatus-conſultum* was paſſed to permit the creation of theſe new Magiſtrates, who were to be called TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

This Decree, (which included alſo the abolition of the debts) was carried by the Deputies of the Senate to the camp as the ſeal of peace. The *Seceders*, in purſuance of *Menenius*'s advice, ſent *L. Junius Brutus* with *M. Decius* and *Spurius Icilius* to finiſh, *in form*, the accommodation with the Senate; which was accordingly done by the miniſtry of the *Feciales*. *Brutus* and his Collegues returned the next day to the camp: And then was held an aſſembly by *Curiæ*; where they choſe, for the firſt *Tribunes of the People*, (according to *Dionyſius*) *L. Junius Brutus*, and *C. Sicinnius Bellutus*, the Leaders in the Seceſſion, with whom they joined *C.* and *P. Licinius*, and *Sp. Icilius Ruga* in the ſame dignity.

* The election over, the Deputies from the Senate imagined that all buſineſs was finiſhed. But *Brutus*, not yet content, having convened the people, adviſed them, to make a Law, (before they left the camp) declaring the perſons of their TRIBUNES *ſacred*. The motion was univerſally approved; He and his Collegues drew up the Law in writing, and the Aſſembly paſs'd it. By this Law, whoever offered the leaſt violence to a *Tribune*, was declared accurſed; and his effects confiſcated to the Goddeſs *Ceres*: He might with impunity be ſlain without any previous form of proceſs. And all the *Romans* were to engage themſelves by oath, and under the moſt dreadful imprecations, in their own name, and in that of their poſterity, never to repeal this law. The people, after theſe regulations, erected an altar to *Jupiter the Terrible*, upon the top of the hill where their camp ſtood, and when they had offered ſacrifices to the God, and conſecrated the place of their retreat, they returned to *Rome*, led by their TRIBUNES and the Deputies of the Senate.

* The Tribunes were elected the 10th of *December*, which continued ever after to be the day when theſe Magiſtrates entered on their office. *Livy* ſays, that *C. Licinius* and *Lucius Albinus* were the firſt Tribunes, and that they choſe themſelves three Collegues, among whom *Sicinnius Bellutus* was one; and the ſame Hiſtorian adds, that, according to ſome Authors, there were but two Tribunes created upon the *Mons Sacer*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *The* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE *obtain of the Senate, that two Officers be annually elected (out of the* Plebeians) *to be their Miniſters and Aſſiſtants; who are afterwards called* ÆDILES. §. II. *The war is renewed againſt the* Volſci. Caius Marcius Coriolanus *ſignalizes his courage in this war.* §. III. *A famine at* Rome *revives the civil diſſentions. The Senate ſend away great numbers of the people to plant two Colonies.* §. IV. *The* Tribunes *give out, that the dearth of proviſions is owing to the malice of the Senate. The* Conſuls *convene the People to undeceive them. The* Tribunes *diſpute with the* Conſuls *for the right of ſpeaking in the aſſembly. The contrivance of* Brutus *to engage* the People *to make* A LAW, Tribuno rogante. *The Senate will not admit this Law to be valid. The* Tribunes *refuſe the Senate levies regularly made to act againſt the* Antiates. Coriolanus *at the head of ſome Volunteers ravages the enemy's territory, ſharing all the ſpoil among his ſoldiers.*

§. I. ROME, by the eſtabliſhment of the Tribuneſhip, made a great advance towards a new change in the form of her Government. It had paſſed before, as we have already ſeen, from the Monarchic State, to a kind of Ariſtocracy; for upon the expulſion of *Tarquin*, the whole authority did really and in fact devolve upon the Senate and the Great: But now, by the creation of the Tribunes, a Democracy began to take place; and the people by inſenſible degrees, and under different pretences, got poſſeſſion of the much greater ſhare in the Government. A. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

The Senate indeed had no reaſon at firſt to apprehend ſo fatal a miſchief to their authority from the Tribunes. Theſe officers, at their original inſtitution, had neither the quality of Senators, nor a particular tribunal, nor any juriſdiction over their fellow-citizens; they could not properly be called Magiſtrates. Habited like mere private men, and attended by only one ſervant, called *Viator*, who was little different from a footman, they ſate upon a bench without the Senate, and were never admitted into it but when the Conſuls called them in to aſk their opinion upon ſome affair that concerned the intereſts of the *Plebeians*. Their ſole function was to defend the *Plebeians*; to interpoſe in all grievances and impoſitions offered them by their ſuperiors. This *interpoſing* in matters decreed, or going to be decreed by the Senate, or the Magiſtrates, was called *Interceſſio*, and was performed by pronouncing only one word, VETO, (*I forbid it.*) But this power was confined within the walls of *Rome*, or extended at moſt to a mile round it. And that the people might always have protectors at hand, the Tribunes were not allowed to be abſent from the city any one whole day, except in the *Feriæ Latinæ*. For the ſame reaſon *D. Hal.* L. 8. *A. Gell.* L. 3. c. 2. *Macrob.* Sat. L. 1. c. 3.

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

reaſon they were obliged to keep their doors open day and night to receive the complaints of ſuch citizens as ſhould ſtand in need of their protection.

Theſe officers, very ſoon after their eſtabliſhment, obtained permiſſion of the Senate, that two perſons, who ſhould be their Subſtitutes and Aſſiſtants in the multitude of their affairs, might be annually choſen out of the *Plebeians*: And ſuch was the origin of the PLEBEIAN ÆDILES. They were at firſt called *Miniſters* and *Aſſiſtants* of the Tribunes; and, in the beginning, were indeed nothing more than the Tribunes Agents; but they had, in after-times, the inſpection of the public edifices, the care of the temples, baths, aqueducts, and the cognizance of a great many affairs of the like nature, which before belonged to the Conſuls; and then they were ſtiled * ÆDILES.

D. Hal. B. 6.

* *Ab Ædibus curandis.*

§. II. ALL oppoſition to the making of regular levies being now at an end, the Conſul *Cominius* led an army againſt the *Volſci*. He defeated them in battle, and took from them *Longula* and *Poluſca*; after which he beſieged *Corioli*, a city ſtrongly fortified, and which might be called their Capital. He carried this place, and gained a victory over the *Antiates* the ſame day: but CAIUS MARCIUS, an eminent *Patrician*, had all the glory of both actions. The troops detached by the Conſul to ſcale the walls of *Corioli* being repulſed in their firſt aſſault, *Marcius* rallied the runaways, led them on afreſh to the charge, drove back the enemy within their walls, and, entering the city with them, made himſelf maſter of it. This exploit atchieved, he with all expedition put himſelf in the foremoſt ranks of the Conſul's main army, that was juſt going to engage with the *Antiates*, who were come to the relief of the place; and there he behaved himſelf with equal bravery, and had equal ſucceſs.

The next day the Conſul, having erected his Tribunal before his tent, called the ſoldiers together. His whole ſpeech to them was little more than a panegyrick upon *Marcius*. He put a crown of gold upon his head, aſſigned him a tenth part of all the ſpoil, and, in the name of the Republic, made him a preſent of a fine horſe with ſtately furniture, giving him leave at the ſame time to chuſe out any ten of the priſoners for himſelf; and laſtly, he allotted him as much money as he could carry away. Of all theſe offers *Marcius* accepted only the horſe and one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, that he might give him his liberty. So generous and diſintereſted a conduct left no room for jealouſy or envy: and, to add to the glory of the brave warrior, the Conſul beſtowed on him the ſurname of CORIOLANUS, transferring thereby from himſelf to *Marcius* all the honour of the conqueſt of *Corioli*.

Cominius, at his return to *Rome*, diſbanded his army; and war was ſucceeded by works of religion, public games, and treaties of peace. The *Latines* having of late deſerved well of the Republic, a new treaty of peace and alliance was made with them and confirmed by oaths: And in memory of the happy reconciliation between the Senate and People, a third day was at this time added to the *Feriæ Latinæ*.

During

During this feſtival *Menenius Agrippa* died, and in great poverty like *Poplicola*. His relations thought to bury him privately and without ceremony; but the people being informed of it, they agreed to pay a *Sextans* (or two ounces of braſs) *per* head, in order to have magnificent obſequies for him. Upon this the Senate entered into an emulation with the Commons, and would by no means ſuffer an illuſtrious *Patrician* to be buried at the expence of the *Plebeians*. They allotted a ſum out of the public treaſury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the *Quæſtors*. Nevertheleſs the People refuſed to receive back their money, and ordered it to be given to *Menenius*'s children, *to comfort them in their indigence, and excite them to the purſuit of virtue.* Y. of R. 261. Bef. J.C. 491. 17 Conſulſhip.

A *Cenſus* and a *Luſtrum* cloſed the events of this memorable Conſulſhip; there appeared to be in *Rome* at this time no more than 110000 men fit to bear arms, a number by many thouſands * leſs than at the laſt enrollment.

§. II. UNDER the following adminiſtration of *T. Geganius* and *P. Minucius*, *Rome* was terribly afflicted by a famine, occaſioned chiefly by the neglect of ploughing and ſowing during the late troubles: For the *Seceſſion* had happened after the autumnal equinox, about ſowing-time; and the accommodation was not made till juſt before the winter ſolſtice. The Senate diſpatched Agents into *Hetruria*, *Campania*, the country of the *Volſci*, and even into *Sicily*, to buy corn. Thoſe who embarked for *Sicily* met with a tempeſt which retarded their arrival at *Syracuſe*; where they were conſtrained to paſs the winter. At *Cumæ*, the Tyrant *Ariſtodemus* ſeized the money brought by the Commiſſaries; and they themſelves with difficulty ſaved their lives by flight. The *Volſci*, far from being diſpoſed to ſuccour the *Romans*, would have marched againſt them, if a ſudden and moſt deſtructive peſtilence had not defeated their purpoſe. In *Hetruria* alone the *Roman* Commiſſaries met with ſucceſs. They ſent a conſiderable quantity of grain from thence to *Rome* in barks: But this was in a ſhort time conſumed; and the miſery became exceſſive: The people were reduced to eat any thing they could get; and nature in ſo great extremity loathed nothing. Y. of R. 261. Bef. J.C. 491. 18 Conſulſhip.

During this diſtreſs a Deputation came from *Velitræ* a *Volſcian* City, where the *Romans* had formerly planted a colony, repreſenting, that nine parts in ten of its inhabitants had been ſwept away by a plague, and praying the *Romans* to ſend a new colony to repeople it. The *Conſcript Fathers*, without much heſitation, granted the requeſt: For they conſidered that *Velitræ* might be an excellent barrier againſt thoſe of the *Volſci* who ſhould be diſpoſed to invade the *Roman* territory; and that by diſcharging *Rome* of a great number of the Citizens, the famine would be leſſened. But what more than any thing elſe determined them to this meaſure, were the murmurings of the people againſt the *Patricians*, for not having foreſeen and prevented, by timely precautions, the preſent calamity. Some went ſo far as to accuſe the Nobles of deſignedly bringing the famine upon

* Doubtleſs great numbers had run away to avoid being ſlaves to their creditors.

V. of *R.* 261. Def. *J. C.* 491. 18 Conſulſhip.

upon the *Plebeians*, by way of revenge for the *Seceſſion*. The Senate therefore preſſed the departure of the colony, and without delay named three Leaders to conduct it.

The people at firſt were very well pleaſed with the propoſal, as it gave them a proſpect of relief in their hunger: but when they reflected on the terrible havock the plague had made among the old inhabitants of *Velitræ*, they began to fear that the place might be ſtill infected; and this apprehenſion became ſo univerſal, that not one of them would conſent to go thither. Nevertheleſs the Senate at length publiſhing a decree that all the citizens ſhould draw lots, and that thoſe to whoſe lot it fell to be of the colony ſhould inſtantly march for *Velitræ*, or ſuffer the ſevereſt puniſhments for their diſobedience, fear and hunger made the people comply; and the *Fathers*, a few days after, ſent away a ſecond colony to *Norba*, a conſiderable city of *Latium*. But the *Patricians* were diſappointed as to the benefit they expected from theſe meaſures. The *Plebeians* who remained in *Rome*, being more and more preſſed by hunger and want, grew daily more angry with the Senate. At firſt they aſſembled in ſmall companies to vent their wrath in abuſive complaints; and at length, in one great body, ruſhed all together into the Forum, calling out upon their TRIBUNES for ſuccour.

§. IV. THE Tribunes made it their buſineſs to heighten the general diſcontent. Having convened the people, SPURIUS ICILIUS, chief of the College, inveighed moſt bitterly againſt the Senate, and when he had ended his harangue, exhorted others to ſpeak freely their thoughts; particularly, and by name, calling upon *Brutus* and *Sicinnius*, now Ædiles. Theſe men, far from attempting to extinguiſh the fire, added freſh fuel to it. In ſet ſpeeches, which they had purpoſely prepared, they inſinuated, that the dearneſs of proviſions was wholly owing to the reſentment and revenge of the rich *Patricians*, touched to the quick at the liberty the people had recovered by their *Seceſſion*: That having *corn* hid in their granaries, and *money* to buy what proviſions were brought from foreign countries, (while the *Plebeians* had neither the one nor the other) they little troubled themſelves about the famine: And that the ſending away ſuch a numerous colony of *Roman* citizens into an infected air, could be with no very good deſign *. And the more to inflame the ſpirits of the multitude, they enumerated all the paſt inſults which the people had ſuffered from the Nobles. *Brutus* concluded his harangue with loudly threatning, that, if the *Plebeians* would follow his

* The *Plebeians* and their Leaders were doubtleſs, in ſome reſpects, very unjuſt towards the Senate, on this occaſion: Yet the latter ſeem blameable for not having taken more early meaſures to prevent the ſcarcity of proviſions, which the want of a year's crop, muſt naturally occaſion. And by the ſpeeches which *Dionyſius* and *Livy* (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) put into the mouth of *Coriolanus*, and which are repreſented as heard with applauſe by a great part of the Senate, it appears, that there were many in that body, who meant to take advantage of the people's hunger to get the Tribuneſhip aboliſhed.

advice,

D. Hal. B. vii. c. 15.

V. of R. 291. Bef. J. C. 461. 1 Conſulſhip.

"you Tribunes, give place to the Conſuls for the preſent; you will not "do it for ever, when you ſhall know the prerogatives of your dignity: And theſe you ſhall ſoon learn. I promiſe you to make the thing "clear to demonſtration, and to humble, in ſome meaſure, the haughtineſs of theſe *Patricians*. If I deceive you, inflict upon me what puniſhment you pleaſe."

Nobody offering to anſwer *Brutus*, the aſſembly broke up; and the two parties retired with very different thoughts. The indigent *Plebeians* went home, perſuaded that *Brutus* had hit upon ſome excellent ſcheme, and would not be ſo bold in promiſing, if he had not the means of performing. On the other hand, the *Patricians* deſpiſed him as an idle boaſter, and conſidered his promiſes as meer empty air; knowing very well, that the only power, granted by the Senate to the Tribunes, was that of ſuccouring the *Plebeians* in caſe of oppreſſion. Not all the nobles, however, made ſo light of the matter. The eldeſt Senators, eſpecially, apprehended ſome great and incurable miſchief from the fury of that enterpriſing *Plebeian*.

Brutus ſpent the following night with the Tribunes, imparting to them his project, and conſulting with them on the beſt meaſures for its execution. Eſcorted by a conſiderable body of *Plebeians*, they, by break of day, repaired to the *Forum*, took poſſeſſion of the temple of *Vulcan*, (where it was uſual for thoſe to place themſelves, who intended to harangue,) and preſently gave orders to call the people together. The *Forum* was quickly crowded; never was a greater confluence of the citizens. Then the Tribune *Icilius*, ſtepping forward, enter'd into a long invective againſt the *Patricians*, ſumming up all the hardſhips and oppreſſions which the people had formerly ſuffered from them. He added,—— "And no longer ago than yeſterday, they even hindered "me from *ſpeaking*, thereby depriving me of all power belonging to "my office. For what power can we hereafter have to *do* any thing, "if the liberty of *ſpeaking* be not allowed us? How ſhall we be able to "give you any aſſiſtance when oppreſſed by them, if we be *deprived* "of the power of calling you together, [and conferring with you?] For "all buſineſs is begun by *words*; and certain it is, that they who have "not the privilege to ſpeak what they think, will never be able to execute what they deſire. Take back therefore the Authority you have "given us, if you will not ſo *confirm* it to us, that we may have the "*free and undiſturbed exerciſe of it*; or, if you are willing to confirm it, "*make a* LAW, prohibiting all perſons from giving us hereafter any moleſtation."

This diſcourſe being received with great applauſe, and the people crying out to him to propoſe the Law, he immediately read it aloud to them, (for he had prepared it the night before) and then without delay, proceeded to take their ſuffrages; the affair requiring the utmoſt diſpatch, leſt the Conſuls ſhould come and oppoſe it. The law was in ſeveral articles to this effect. When a Tribune is ſpeaking to the aſſembly of the

"the people, that no one presume to interrupt him. If any one violate this Law, let him give security to the Tribunes, to pay the fine to which, after trial, they shall condemn him. If he refuse, he shall be put to death, and his goods confiscated. If there happen any dispute concerning the fine, the people shall decide it."

As Mr. Yeats and Mr. Rollin seem to have wholly misunderstood this passage of Dionysius, I shall endeavour to reconcile their mistakes to their own ideas of his meaning, they have altered the words, which he puts into the mouth of *Brutus*, interrogating the Consuls. They make *Brutus*'s Question relate only to the Negotiations on foot at the time of the Secession, "Whether it was not granted to the People, that during those Negotiations, the managers for the People should have liberty to confer with them, without being molested by the Patricians?" And the latter part of Cassius's answer, where he says, That if the Tribunes had convened the Assembly then present, he would not have interrupted it, nor have come to hear what passed, they impute to the Consul's haste, and his not foreseeing the Consequences; (of which inconsiderateness Dionysius says nothing.) And they suppose that, by the new law, of which *Brutus* was the projector, the Tribunes *acquired* the power of *convening* the people, and *presiding* in the *assemblies by them convened*, and that this was the *great point* now gained. * *La nouvelle loi dont il s'agit donne beaucoup plus d'etendue à la fonction des Tribuns que la voie de simple opposition.—Cette loi leur donne expressement le pouvoir de convoquer les assemblées du peuple et d'y presider.*

Mons. *Rollin*, that the law may the better square with his notion, makes it run thus, *In the assemblies of the people, held by the* TRIBUNES, *let no one contradict them*, &c. Now the words *held by the Tribunes*, are not in the law; and we may observe, that the pretence for making the law was the Tribunes having been hindered the day before from speaking in an Assembly, held by the Consuls. And there is not, in the law, one word of *convening* or *presiding*. And it appears, I think, very plainly, from the concession, made by the Consul *Geganius* to *Brutus*, in their dispute, that the Tribunes by *the treaty of reconciliation on the Mons Sacer*, were to have the privilege of *convening* the people as often as they pleased, and transferring to their own desire. And we shall

Liv. lib. 2. c. 27. Dionysius p.

upon it a great opposition with them, whether being treated to any *entertainment from the Patricians*. And the Tribunes *talking* [illegible] of this as a right belonging to them, and of which the *Patricians* intended to *deprive* them: And what he urges upon the people is, To secure to the Tribunes, by a new law, the *undisturbed exercise* of their undoubted right of speaking *to the people assembled*. It is probable, that when this right was first granted, there was no *penalty* laid on those who contradicted or interrupted the Tribunes when speaking to the people; and in this respect therefore the present law had something new; and it seems likewise to extend the privilege of the Tribunes to ALL *assemblies of the people* by whomsoever called. But I should think, that the *principal point* gained by *Brutus*, on this occasion, was not any thing contained in the new law, but was rather his *engaging* THE PEOPLE *to assume the power of making laws*, TRIBUNO RODENTE (at the motion of a Tribune.) The People were not accustomed to pass any thing into a law but what was proposed to them by the Senate, or the *Patrician* Magistrates. *Brutus* had promised, not only to shew the TRIBUNES *the prerogatives of their office*, but likewise to shew the PEOPLE *the extent of their power*; and his meaning could not be that he would shew them they had a title to powers which no body disputed. In pursuance of this promise, he persuaded them (as appears by the event) that they had a right to enact laws, without any previous recommendation or approbation of them by the Senate or Consuls, and *at the sole request of the Tribunes*. The Tribunes had hitherto held only *Concilia*, councils, for conferring with the *Plebeians*; but they now turned these *Concilia* into *Comitia*, for making Laws. This was a matter of great importance, extremely diminishing the authority of the Senate, and augmenting that of the people and their *Plebeian* Magistrates.

* *Roll.* Hist. Rom. Vol. 1. p. 496.

It would seem that *Brutus* and the Tribunes raised that quarrel, which they had

As soon as the Tribunes had gained their point, they dismissed the assembly. This transaction was followed by many disputes and altercations between the Patricians and the Tribunes, which we omit. The Senate would not observe the Decrees of the Commons, nor would the Commons confirm the Decrees of the Senate. Each party kept itself upon it's guard against the other. But these mutual jealousies and oppositions produced none of those mischievous effects which are the usual consequences of civil dissensions. The Patricians, (governed probably by the same principles of their own interest that the Tribunes did,) did not break the new laws of the Tribunes, nor search for hidden provisions, nor did they seize by violence what was brought from abroad to the markets, but contentedly purchased very small quantities at high prices, and themselves carefully avoided, and restrained their dependants from, every thing that could give offence. Nor did the rich Patricians, on the other hand, take advantage of the superior strength they had, by means of their numerous clients and domesticks, to fall upon the poor, enfeebled by hunger, slaving and part of them dying, and driving the other out of the city. But endured their distress (Livy, Dionysius) with that gentleness and benevolence of mind, which prudent and intelligent minds exercise towards [illegible].

During [illegible] the Latin People, several neighbouring States invited them to come in many of pleasant and fertile countries, where they should be admitted to all the privileges of the native citizens. These invitations were made by some from good-will and friendship; by others from jealousy. Of the former prosperity of the Republick. Many Roman [illegible] adopted the offer, and the day before, with the Consuls on purpose to bring about this design. They rudely interrupted the Consuls when speaking, that they themselves might be interrupted, and so have a pretext for complaining of ill treatment; and might by that complaint engage the people to make a law in favour of their [illegible]. And [illegible] in this manner [illegible] to have had a particular view to the affair of supplying [illegible] with provisions, was the great handle [illegible] what the people [illegible] about, and [illegible] the Consuls [illegible] made the most [illegible] [illegible] I say, in [illegible] the people to the [illegible] of the Senate, that [illegible] the Senate did not take [illegible] measures with regard to provisions, as the [illegible] of the people [illegible] by their own authority regulate that matter according to their own desire. And we shall presently find them threatening the Senate to exercise this authority.

It may be proper to observe, that though the new law, abovementioned, is here considered as the first *Plebiscitum*, or law made by the people, *Tribus rogante*, yet we have seen, that *Brutus*, as soon as he was created Tribune, acted the *Legislator* in form, when, on the very first day that any was made, which declared the persons of the Tribunes [illegible], he is represented as convening the people, and proposing the law to the assembly. But perhaps it, at that time, all transactions were [illegible], this was not looked upon as a [illegible] which could authorise an imitation of it. When things were settled [illegible] and there [illegible] the motive to Brutus and the Tribunes to take such precautions for preventing opposition from the Consuls in the affair of the new law; in the very making of which the [illegible] of the people, independently of the Senate, [illegible] the people and their Tribunes.

removed

removed from *Rome* with their families; and of theſe one part never returned, but the reſt came back when the Republick had recovered it's tranquillity. A. of *R.* 261. Bef. *J. C.* 491. 18 Conſulſhip.

The Conſuls obſerving theſe Migrations, reſolved, with the approbation of the Senate, to raiſe an army, and lead it into the field. Some incurſions, which the *Volſci* had made on the *Roman* territories, furniſhed a fair pretext for this meaſure. And it was hoped, that the unanimity, which generally reigns among fellow-ſoldiers in the ſame camp, would take place of that animoſity between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, which was not yet extinguiſhed; and, at leaſt, one advantage was ſure to follow from the expedition, that the troops, deſtined for the campaign, would find bread in the enemy's country, and thereby leſſen the diſtreſs in their own.

Nevertheleſs the people, inſenſible to all theſe reaſons, and diſſuaded by their Tribunes, would not give their names to be inrolled; and the Conſuls thought it not adviſeable to put the laws in force, to conſtrain them. An army of volunteers was formed of *Patricians* only with their clients, ſtrengthened by ſome few of the *Plebeians*, who joined them juſt before their marching from *Rome*. Theſe were allured to the ſervice by the perfect confidence they had of ſucceſs; a confidence founded on the experienced bravery and abilities of *Caius Marcius Coriolanus*, whom they were to have for their commander. The army advanced to the very gates of *Antium*, ravaged all the country about it, and brought from thence ſlaves, cattle, and corn, in great abundance. *Coriolanus* reſerved no part of the booty for himſelf, but ſhared it all among the ſoldiers, who returned to *Rome* loaded with proviſions. And then thoſe of the people who had refuſed to ſerve, murmured at their Tribunes for having diverted them from following ſo ſucceſsful a Leader.

CHAP. IX.

§. I. *Plenty of corn being brought to* Rome *from* Sicily, *freſh diſputes ariſe in the* Senate *about the diſtribution of it.* Coriolanus *is for taking advantage of the people's diſtreſs to get the* Tribuneſhip *aboliſhed. The younger* Senators *applaud the motion.* §. II. *The* Tribunes *who had been preſent at this debate go away in a fury and ſtir up the people to revenge. They cite* Coriolanus *to appear before them. He refuſes. They endeavour to ſeize him as he comes out of the* Senate-houſe, *but are repulſed by thoſe who attend him. The* Conſuls *appeaſe the tumult.* §. III. *Early the next morning the* Tribunes *hold an Aſſembly of the People on this affair.* Minucius *the* Conſul *by gentle words diſpoſes the multitude to peace; but* Coriolanus *ſpoils all by a freſh declaration of the ſame ſentiments which had before offended them. The* Tribunes *condemn him to death. The* Patricians *oppoſe the execution of this raſh ſentence, and the People ſeem not*

not to approve it. The Tribunes *therefore reſolve to proſecute* Coriolanus *in a legal way, and to convene the People by* Tribes *for his trial. The Aſſembly is adjourned.*

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

§. I. IN the following Conſulſhip of *M. Minucius*, and *A. Sempronius*, plenty ſucceeding to the famine gave birth to new commotions at *Rome*.

Theſe Magiſtrates took effectual care to ſtore the publick magazines with proviſions, both from the maritime towns of *Italy*, and from the inland countries. About the ſame time the commiſſioners, whom the Senate had employ'd to go into *Sicily*, returned with a great number of ſhips laden with corn. *Gelo*, Tyrant of *Sicily*, had made a preſent of one half of it, and the commiſſioners had bought the other very cheap with the publick money: The queſtion now aroſe in the Senate, what price to ſet upon it; and the Tribunes were called into the aſſembly, to give their opinion. Thoſe of the Senators who had no views, but to reſtore a perfect intelligence between the People and the Senate, were for diſtributing *gratis*, among the poor, that corn which they owed to the liberality of *Gelo*, and for ſelling, at a moderate price, that which they had bought with the public treaſure. But when it came to *Coriolanus*'s turn to ſpeak, this Senator, to whom the inſtitution of the Tribuneſhip was odious, maintained, that ſuch a condeſcenſion in the Senate to the People, would only encourage them in their inſolence; that there was no keeping them to their duty any longer than they were in indigence, and that the time was now come to avenge the majeſty of the Senate, violated by a ſeditious rabble, whoſe Leaders, by an additional crime, had extorted dignities for themſelves, as a reward for their rebellion. It was thus that he declared himſelf in the very preſence of the Tribunes.

But before we proceed to the conſequences of this affair, it will be proper to give ſome further knowledge of a man, who is to act ſo great a part in this period of our Hiſtory.

Plut. Life of *Coriol.*

Caius Marcius Coriolanus was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious *Patrician* families in *Rome*: He received the ſurname of *Coriolanus*, as was before obſerved, for having taken, ſword in hand, *Coriole*, one of the chief towns of the *Volſci*. Having, in his infancy, loſt his father, he was educated by his mother, *Veturia*; for whom (as *Plutarch* tells us) he conceived ſo high a reſpect, and ſo tender a regard, that though no man was ever more ardent in the purſuit of glory, yet glory itſelf, the *ultimate end* of other men in their nobleſt actions, was by him coveted chiefly as a *means* to create delight and ſatisfaction to his mother. Happily diſpoſed by nature, and virtuouſly educated, he kept himſelf maſter of thoſe paſſions by which young men are uſually enſlaved: and ſo great an abhorrence he had of vice, that to be innocent, or to avoid injuſtice from the neceſſity which the laws impoſed, or from fear of puniſhment, he reckoned not as virtue. He was frugal, diſintereſted, a contemner of riches, patient of hardſhips and fatigue; and never were theſe excel-

lent qualities accompanied with more exalted courage, or a greater capacity for the art of war, he seemed to have been born a General; but he was harsh and imperious in command, as severe to other men as to himself; a generous friend, an implacable enemy; too haughty for a Republic. Though ambitious of the highest dignities, he neglected those arts of management and insinuation so necessary to obtain them in a State founded upon equality and freedom. He had stood for the Consulship at the last elections, and most of the Senators, with a crowd of other *Patricians*, had appeared for him. But this very recommendation of him by the Great proved the hindrance to his promotion. For the Tribunes, who dreaded the extraordinary courage and firmness of *Coriolanus*, represented the earnest solicitations of so many Nobles as a kind of conspiracy against the *Plebeians*, and thereby engaged the latter, though they had come to the assembly well disposed in his favour, to refuse him their voices. Of this refusal he conceived the sharpest resentment, as he evidently shewed, on the present occasion. He said in full Senate, "If the people expect to have provisions at a low price, "let them restore to the Senate its ancient rights. Why must I "behold *Plebeian* Magistrates in *Rome*? I, who could not endure "*Tarquin* upon the throne, shall I suffer a *Sicinnius* to reign? Let "him *secede* once more with his *Plebeians*. The way is open to "the *Mons Sacer*, and to the other hills. Let them pillage our fields "as they did three years ago, and live upon the crops they find there; "the rich harvests their madness has occasioned. When turned by "hunger, they will be more disposed (if I mistake not) to cultivate the "lands, than, by a new secession in arms, to hinder them from being "cultivated."

Y. of R. 262, Bef. J.C. 490. 19 Consulship.

[1] *Livy*, B. 2. c. 34.

The popular and pacifick men of the Senate extremely disliked this passionate and haughty speech, and declared, that it was more like the ravings of a madman, than the counsel of a wise politician. On the other hand, almost all the young Senators, with the rich and the ambitious of the elder, gave it the highest commendations. The majority of the assembly were for abolishing the Tribuneship, and re-establishing the Government upon its ancient foundations.

§. II. THE Tribunes, who (as was said before) had been called into the Senate, broke out into the extremest passion of rage, when they saw how things went. To loud complaints and reproaches, they added the sharpest invectives against *Coriolanus*, whom they stiled an incendiary, and the pest of the Republick; and they threatened, that if the Senate did not condemn him to death or banishment, they would do it themselves. *Coriolanus*, on the other hand, threatened them, that if they did not cease their insolence, he would find means, more effectual than words, to repress it. The greater part of the Senate taking part with *Coriolanus*, the Tribunes went out in the greatest fury, invoking the Gods, the revengers of perjury, to witness the solemn oaths by which the Senate had authorised the establishment of the Tribuneship. They assembled the

V. of R. 262. Bef. J. C. 490. 19 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 2. c. 35.

people tumultuouſly, and cried aloud to them, that the *Patricians* had made a league to deſtroy them, their wives and children, unleſs they delivered their Tribunes chained into the hands of *Coriolanus*, a new Tyrant riſing up in the Republick; and they ſent him a ſummons to come and anſwer for his behaviour before the Aſſembly of the People.

Coriolanus, naturally haughty and reſolute, having contemptuouſly ſent back their Officer, the Tribunes immediately went with a ſtrong party of the moſt daring of the *Plebeians*, and waited for him at the door of the Senate, in order to ſeize him when he ſhould come out. They met him, attended as uſual with a crowd of his clients, and a great number of young Senators, who had a reſpect for his perſon, and who thought it an honour to follow his opinion in the Senate, and his example in war. The Tribunes no ſooner ſaw him, but they ordered *Brutus* and *Icilius*, who this year performed the office of *Ædiles*, to lay hold of him and lead him to priſon. But it was not eaſy to execute ſuch a commiſſion. The *Patricians*, who thought it a moſt extravagant enterpriſe of the Tribunes, to offer violence to a Senator, againſt whom no proceſs was commenced, reſolutely put themſelves before him to defend him. They beat back the *Ædiles* with their fiſts. No other arms were uſed in thoſe days, in the city, the inhabitants never putting on the ſword, but when they marched out againſt the enemy. The Tribunes, enraged at this reſiſtance, called the people to their aid; the *Patricians* received freſh ſuccours from their own party, and the tumult increaſed. But the Conſuls at length arrived, and, more by intreaties than authority, prevailed upon both parties to retire.

D. *Hal.* B. 7.

§. III. BUT the Tribunes did not ſtop here; they convened the people early the next morning, inveighed, as uſual, againſt the whole order of the *Patricians*; and then in particular againſt *Coriolanus*, enumerating his crimes; the words he had ſpoken in the Senate relating to the corn; his refuſal, when ſummoned, to appear before the people; and his driving away with blows the *Ædiles*, who were ſent to arreſt him. In concluſion they added, That if the *Patricians* would ſpeak in their own defence, they were at full liberty to do it; and they kept the people together, waiting till the Senate ſhould break up. For *the Fathers* were at the ſame time deliberating, whether they ſhould juſtify themſelves to the people, or ſilently let things take their courſe. The former was at length reſolved, and the Conſuls, having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, repaired to the Comitium, to clear the *Patricians* from the charge againſt them, and to beg the people not to proceed to any harſh reſolution againſt *Coriolanus*.

Menenius the firſt Conſul ſpoke to the following effect. He firſt complained in general, and with abundance of moderation, of thoſe who catched at the leaſt pretence to raiſe new diſturbances in the Republic; and then remonſtrated to the people, how very unreaſonable it was to accuſe

the

the Senate and *Patricians* of having caused the dearth, when every body knew it to have been wholly occasioned by the defertion of the people, and their neglecting to cultivate and sow their lands. He told them, that the other calumnies they so often heard, of the Senate's designing to abolish the Tribuneship, and to make the whole *Roman* People perish by famine, were no less extravagant and monstrous. That to put a stop at once to reports so false and injurious, he declared to them, that the Senate did again confirm the power of the Tribunes; and that as to the corn, they left it entirely to the People to fix what price upon it they themselves thought fit. V. of R. 262. Bef. J. C. 490. 19 Conſulſhip. D. H. B. 7.

The Conſul, after a preamble ſo well adapted to ſoften the minds, and gain the good will of the People, added, by way of a mild reproach, that he could not help blaming them for the precipitation with which they ſuffered themſelves to be carried away by the firſt reports ſpread abroad by ſome particular incendiaries. That it was a ſtrange thing to hear the Senate accuſed as criminal in relation to a matter wherein it had neither done, nor determined any thing, and only becauſe in the debates about it, the members had delivered different opinions. "Remember, *ſaid he*, that "at the time of your ſeceſſion on the *Mons Sacer*, all your intreaties, "and even your utmoſt wiſhes at firſt were only to obtain the abolition "of the debts. Scarce had you received ſo great a favour, but you made "yourſelves a kind of new right, founded on the calmneſs of the Senate, "to demand the creation of two *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, whoſe whole au"thority, according to your own propoſal, was to be confined to the "hindering a *Patrician* from oppreſſing a *Plebeian*: a new grant, for "which you returned us the greateſt thanks, and which ſeemed to give "you full content. In thoſe times of trouble, even when the ſedition "was at the higheſt, you never thought of acquiring a diminution of "the Senate's authority, or an alteration in the form of our Govern"ment. By what right then do your Tribunes now pretend to carry "their inſpection, and give their cenſure upon what paſſes in our delibe"rations? When till now was a Senator ever treated as a criminal, for "having ſpoke his mind freely in the Senate? What laws give you au"thority to demand his baniſhment or his death? Let us ſuppoſe, ſince "you will have it ſo, that *Coriolanus* has let ſlip ſome words too harſh in "delivering his opinion, and that he is accountable to you for this; are "you not obliged in equity to forget a few random words that were "loſt in air, for the ſake of his real ſervices, of which you yourſelves "have reaped all the fruit? Preſerve the life of ſo excellent a Citizen, "preſerve to your Country ſo great a Captain; and if you will not ac"quit him as innocent, at leaſt grant him as criminal to the whole Senate, "who intreat this favour of you by my mouth. This will be a bond to "unite us more cloſely than ever, and will be a new motive to the Senate "to continue their goodneſs towards you: whereas if you perſiſt in your "reſolution of deſtroying this Senator, perhaps the oppoſition you

V. of R. 262. Bef. J.C. 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

"may meet with from the *Patricians* may produce calamities that will "make you repent of having puſhed your reſentment too far."

This diſcourſe made an impreſſion upon the multitude, and brought them to an inclination for peace and union. *Sicinnius* was ſurpriſed and confounded at it, but, diſſembling his uneaſineſs, gave great praiſes to *Minucius* and all the Senators, for having been pleaſed to condeſcend ſo far as to account to the People for their conduct, and for not having diſdained to interpoſe their prayers and good offices in favour of *Coriolanus*. *Then* turning to that Senator, *he added in an ironical tone*, "And you, ex- "cellent Citizen, will you not defend to day before the People that advice "ſo uſeful to the public, and which you ſo boldly gave in the Senate? "Or rather, why have you not recourſe to the clemency of the *Roman* "People? For I would not adviſe you to deny a fact, of which there "are ſo many witneſſes, nor impudently attempt to juſtify it. *Coriola-* "*nus*, I ſuppoſe, thinks it below him, in perſon to aſk pardon of the "people, though not below the Conſuls and *Patricians* to aſk pardon for "him."

The artful Tribune ſpoke in this manner, becauſe he was perſuaded that *Coriolanus*, a man of too lofty a ſpirit to retract what he had ſaid, or to ſtoop to ſupplications, would provoke the People afreſh by the haughtineſs of his anſwers. Nor was he deceived in his hopes; for *Coriolanus* was ſo far from owning himſelf guilty, or endeavouring to pacify the people, as *Minucius* had done, that he quite deſtroyed the effect of that Conſul's ſpeech, by an ill-timed reſolutenеſs, and by the harſhneſs of his expreſſions. He inveighed more violently than ever againſt the Tribunes; and declared boldly that the People had no right to judge a Senator: that, if any man was offended at what he had ſaid in the Senate, he might ſummon him before the Conſuls and Senate, whom he acknowledged for his natural judges, and before whom he ſhould be always ready to give an account of his behaviour.

The young Senators, charmed with his intrepidity, and overjoyed to have a man who durſt ſpeak openly what they all thought, cried out, that he had advanced nothing but what was conformable to the laws; but the People, who ſaw themſelves deſpiſed, reſolved to make him feel their power. Some were even for killing him inſtantly; and the Tribunes gave the reins to this fury. *Sicinnius*, without collecting the voices of the Aſſembly, pronounced ſentence of death againſt him, declaring that it was the ſentence of the whole College of Tribunes, as a puniſhment for his inſult upon them the day before, in the perſons of their *Ædiles*; and he ordered him to be thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock. The *Ædiles* immediately drew near to lay hold of him; but then all the *Patricians* in the Aſſembly running to his aſſiſtance, they placed him in the midſt of them, reſolutely determined to oppoſe force with force. The tumult roſe to a great height, and the two parties from mutual reproaches, came even to blows. At length the Conſuls throwing themſelves into the crowd, and ordering their Lictors to diſperſe it,

D. Hal. B. 7. *Plut.* in *Cor.*

the tumult and ſtuffle preſently ceaſed; ſo great a reverence, ſays *Dionyſius*, had the multitude in thoſe days for that royal authority which reſided in the Conſuls. Y. of R. 262. Bef. J.C. 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

While *Sicinius*, much diſconcerted at this event, and yet very unwilling to quit his enterpriſe, was conſidering what new ſtep to take, *Brutus*, that able counſellor, ever fruitful in expedients, taking him aſide, repreſented to him, That he muſt never think of deſtroying *Coriolanus* ſo long as he was guarded by the whole body of the Nobility; that even the People had begun to murmur at his pretending to be both Judge and Party at the ſame time; that the multitude, who turn in an inſtant from the moſt violent fury to ſentiments of compaſſion, looked upon the ſentence of death as too rigorous; that in the preſent diſpoſition of mens minds he would not ſucceed by ways of violence; and that the moſt reaſonable, and unexceptionable method was, to cite *Coriolanus* to appear in judgment before the people; and he adviſed him by all means to have their ſuffrages taken *by Tribes*, where the great and the rich would be mingled with the poor, and every man's voice would be of equal value; whereas in an Aſſembly *by Centuries*, the rich *Patricians* might carry their point againſt a majority of the Citizens.

Sicinnius ſeeing no better way to extricate himſelf out of his perplexity, reſolved to follow his friend's advice. Addreſſing himſelf to the people, "You ſee, *Romans*, that no thanks are due to the *Patricians*, if much "blood is not ſhed this day, and that they are ready to come to the great- "eſt extremities to reſcue the declared enemy of the *Roman* People "out of the hands of juſtice. Let us ſet them an example of more "moderation. Some, to ſcreen the delinquent, have cited the law "which forbids the putting any man to death, before a formal trial and "condemnation. Let us admit this plea, though they act not legally "towards us. Return home now, and wait a more favourable oppor- "tunity to do yourſelves right. You will not wait long. As for us, "when we have regulated ſome affairs more preſſing, we ſhall appoint "a day for *Marcius* to appear before you. In the mean time, as to "what regards the price and diſtribution of the corn, if the Senate do "not take proper care of that matter, the Tribunes will give direc- "tions about it themſelves." Having thus ſpoken, he diſmiſſed the Aſſembly.

CHAP. X.

§. I. *The* Conſuls *endeavour by remonſtrances to allay the heat of the* Tribunes, *and bring them to conform to the ancient uſages, which did not allow the People to take cognizance of any affair till it was referred to them by a decree of the* Senate. *The* Tribunes *conſent to obſerve this rule, and deſire they may be heard by* the Fathers *in relation to their charge againſt* Coriolanus. §. II. *The* Tribune Decius *makes a long ſpeech in the* Senate, *inveighing*

inveighing bitterly against the accused, and intending for the People to be to judge him. §. III. Appius Claudius *in very strong terms opposes this pretension.* §. IV. *But* Valerius *in terms no less strong, urges the expediency of the* Senate's *compliance. He exhorts* Coriolanus *in the most pathetic manner to submit himself to the People's judgment; and he adds a discourse in behalf of a balance of power between the* Patricians *and* Plebeians. §. V. *It is carried by a majority of votes that* Coriolanus *shall be tried by the People.* Coriolanus *having assurances given him, that the accuser's charge shall be confined to the single crime of* Tyranny, *consents to the drawing up of the decree. The* Senate *fix a day for the trial.*

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

§. I. THE Conſuls having, ſoon after, aſſembled the Senate, to deliberate on means for appeaſing the preſent trouble, it was reſolved, that they ſhould endeavour to ſooth the *Plebeians*, by ſelling the corn to them at the loweſt price it had ever been at before the ſeceſſion; and likewiſe to engage the Tribunes, for the Senate's ſake, either to drop the proſecution againſt *Coriolanus* entirely, or at leaſt to defer it for a conſiderable time, during which, the paſſions of the people might happily ſubſide. The decree about the corn, when publiſhed, was univerſally well received and ratified: But the Tribunes could not be prevailed upon, with regard to the trial, to grant any thing more than the delay requeſted. A farther delay was occaſioned by ſome acts of hoſtility committed by the *Antiates*, which called the *Romans* into the field. But thoſe enemies readily ſubmitting, the troops in a ſhort time returned home: And as ſoon as they were diſbanded, *Sicinnius* called an aſſembly of the people, and named to them a day for *Coriolanus*'s trial. He invited all the inhabitants of the city to be preſent at it, and ordered thoſe who dwelt in the country to quit their work, and punctually repair to the Aſſembly, that they might give their votes in an affair which concerned the liberty and ſafety of the whole State. And he likewiſe ſent notice to *Coriolanus* to appear there and anſwer for his conduct; aſſuring him, that he ſhould have juſtice done him in all it's forms.

Great was the ſolicitude of the Senate, to put a ſtop, if poſſible, to this proceeding. The Conſuls, not deſpairing to overcome the obſtinacy of the Tribunes, entered into conference with them upon the affair of the accuſed. *Minucius* put them in mind, that it was contrary to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, to refer any affair to the People, before it had paſſed the judgment of the Senate: that the Kings themſelves had always had this deference for that auguſt body. He exhorted them to conform to the uſage of their anceſtors, and, if they had any conſiderable grievances to lay to the charge of *Coriolanus*, to apply themſelves to the Senate, who, according to the nature of the crime, and the ſolidity of the proofs, would refer it by a *Senatus-conſultum* to the judgment of the People; who then, and not till then, would have a right to try a Citizen.

Sicinnius

Sicinius determined against this proposal; declaring that he would never suffer the authority of the Roman People to be restrained and di-rected by a Senatus-consultum. His Colleagues, however, were more tractable. By the advice of *Decius*, they consented that the Senate should first make a decree upon the affair; a complaisance, that with regard to the present case, was of little moment, because they had doubtless taken a firm resolution, if the *Senatus-consultum* were not such as they desired, to appeal from it to the Assembly of the People, and for so doing to make the *Lex Valeria* their foundation of right; so that in reality the only question was, whether the affair should be carried before the People in the first or second instance.

A. of R. 262. Bef. J. C. 490. Consulship.

When the Tribunes consented to let the *Conscript Fathers* decree (as usual) whether the Commons should take cognizance of the matter depending, they demanded, in return, that not only they themselves, who by their office were Protectors of the People, might be heard in the Senate, but any citizen, who would support the reasons of the Tribunes, or oppose them; and they further insisted, that the Senators should be all sworn, as judges used to be, to give their sentence according to truth and equity; and that a decree should be made conformable to the opinion of the plurality. To these conditions the Consuls agreed.

§. II. THE Tribunes were the next day introduced into the Senate. *Decius*, though a young man, was their speaker, an honour yielded to him, doubtless, because of his eloquence, and the readiness with which he expressed himself in publick. "You are not ignorant, *Conscript Fathers*, of what might happen to us, if a certain Colleague of "ours, who disapproves our coming hither to ask from you, as a favour, that power, to which by the Laws we have a right, should bring us into judgment before the People for this proceeding: We "should doubtless be condemned, as deserters and betrayers of our trust, "to the most ignominious punishments. Nevertheless, confiding in the justice of our cause, and the sincerity of your oaths, we have ventured to come. And though we are inconsiderable men, little qualified to speak in a manner suitable to the importance of the subject, yet "as the subject is so highly important, we doubt not but this will be sufficient to engage your attention to our words. And if that which "we are going to demand, shall appear to you to be just and useful "to the Republick, and even necessary to it's welfare, we hope that "you will readily, and without hesitation, comply with our request.

"When you, *Conscript Fathers*, having, by our assistance, expelled "Kings, and established the present form of government (of which we "do not complain) came to remark, that the *Plebeians*, in all controversies which they afterwards had with *Patricians*, were constantly worsted, you, by the advice of *Valerius Poplicola*, made a Law, that "any *Plebeian*, who suffered violence and injustice from the *Patricians*, might bring his cause before the People. And nothing contributed

"more,

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J.C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

" more, than this Law, to the maintaining that union among the citi-
" zens, which enabled them to defeat the many attempts of *Tarquin*
" to reaſcend the Throne. It is in virtue of this Law that we, the Tri-
" bunes, now cite *Caius Marcius* before the Tribunal of the People, to
" anſwer for the violence and injuries we have all ſuffered from him.
" And what need can there be of a previous *Senatus-conſultum* for this
" proſecution? In matters concerning which there are no Laws enacted,
" you have a power to make Decrees, which the People, if they pleaſe,
" may confirm by their ſuffrages. But in caſes provided for by an in-
" violable Law, actually ſubſiſting, we may certainly make uſe of this
" Law, without waiting for a previous Decree of conſent from you. Will
" any one ſay, that every private citizen has the privilege of appealing
" to the People from an unjuſt ſentence, but that we, the Tribunes, have
" not the ſame privilege?

" With regard to natural rights, the unwritten Laws of Nature, we
" think it juſt, that the *Plebeians* ſhould be upon an equal foot with you.
" The honours, dignities, magiſtracies of the State, we are content, that
" you, who ſurpaſs us in virtue and riches, ſhould enjoy. But not to
" ſuffer injuries, and, if any perſon do them, to bring him to condign pu-
" niſhment, we judge theſe to be rights common to all the citizens.
" And, in this reſpect, we will not ſuffer the equality between the two
" orders to be deſtroyed. So much for the queſtion of Right.

" If it be aſked, whether the granting what we now demand, will
" be for the intereſt of the Republick, there is ſurely no man, who
" conſiders, that diſcord is the greateſt evil that can happen to a State,
" but muſt anſwer in the affirmative. I will ſuppoſe that it was againſt
" your inclination, and was neither for the honour, nor the parti-
" cular advantage of your order, to make us thoſe conceſſions, which
" we obtained from you on the *Mons Sacer*: Yet as you have made
" them, and are bound by the moſt ſolemn oaths never to violate the ar-
" ticles of our treaty, what conſequences can you expect from your in-
" fraction of them, but a new revolt, and a civil war? And what hope
" can there be of preſerving that domeſtic peace which was then effect-
" ed, if you refuſe the People, aſſembled by Tribes, the power of
" judging a private citizen, who not only has himſelf violated our con-
" vention, by inſulting the Tribunes in the perſons of their officers, but
" has had the inſolence to exhort you in full Senate, entirely to aboliſh
" the Tribuneſhip, the ſtrongeſt bulwark of our liberty, and principal
" bond of our reunion? Nor is this the worſt of his crimes. You re-
" member it well, *Conſcript Fathers*, he audaciouſly told you, that the
" fortunate moment was come for revenging yourſelves upon the peo-
" ple. He would have had you keep up the high price of proviſions,
" that you might thereby force one part of the poor *Plebeians* to fly
" their country, and reduce the other, miſerably to periſh by hunger.
" Cruel and unthinking man! did he not conſider that this People, whom
" he meant to exterminate with ſo much inhumanity, and who are more

" numerous

"numerous and powerful than he could with, being reduced to default, T. of R. 262.
"would have broken into the houſes of the rich, forced open their Dion. l. 7. c. 408.
"granaries and ſecret repoſitories which conceal ſo much wealth, and
"either have fallen under the power of the *Patricians*, or effectually
"rooted out that whole order? Could he imagine that an enraged
"populace would in ſuch a caſe have hearkened to any law but what
"was dictated by neceſſity and reſentment?

"For, that you may not be ignorant of the truth, we would not have
"periſhed by a famine brought upon us by our enemies; but, hav-
"ing firſt invoked the Gods, Revengers of injuſtice, filled *Rome*
"with blood and ſlaughter. Such had been the fatal conſequence of
"the counſels of that perfidious Citizen, if ſome Senators, better
"friends to their country, had not hindered them from taking
"effect. To you, *Conſcript Fathers*, we addreſs our juſt com-
"plaints. To your aid, and to the wiſdom of your Decrees, we
"have recourſe, to oblige this publick enemy to appear before the whole
"*Roman* People, and anſwer for his conduct. It is there, *Corio-*
"*lanus*, that thou muſt defend thy counſels, if thou darеſt ſo to
"do, or excuſe them as proceeding from want of thought: Take my
"advice; leave thy haughty and tyrannical maxims; make thy ſelf leſs
"become like us: Now put on a habit of mourning, ſuit thy ſelf to thy
"preſent fortune, implore the pity of thy fellow-citizens; perhaps
"thou may'ſt obtain their favour, and the forgiveneſs of thy faults."

Decius having left off ſpeaking, the Conſuls aſked the opinion of the Aſſembly: They began with the Conſulars and the oldeſt Senators; for in thoſe days, ſays *Dionyſius*, the young Senators were not ſo preſumptuous as to think themſelves capable of inſtructing their ſeniors. Modeſt and reſerved, and not daring to ſpeak, they only gave their opinion by ſome ſign, or by walking over to that ſide which they thought to be moſt in the right. It was from this reſpectful way of declaring their minds, that they were called *Senatores Pedarii*, (from the Latin *pes*, a foot:) Thus it was a common ſaying, that a *Pedarian* opinion was like a head without a tongue. B. 7.

§. III. ALL the Senators waited, ſome with impatient deſire, others with uneaſy apprehenſions, to hear how *Appius Claudius* would declare himſelf. When it came to his turn to ſpeak, he ſaid, "You know,
"*Conſcript Fathers*, that I have long oppoſed, and frequently alone, that
"too great eaſineſs with which you grant the People whatever they de-
"mand. Perhaps I made my ſelf troubleſome, when I ſo frankly laid
"before you the misfortunes which I preſaged would follow from our
"re-union with the deſerters from the Commonwealth. The event how-
"ever has but too well juſtified my apprehenſions. The People take
"advantage of your favours to ruin your authority; you cannot but ſee
"that there is a deſign to change the form of our Government. At
"firſt the only demand was, *the abolition of the debts*; and this People,
"who are now ſo haughty, and who endeavour to make themſelves the

Y. of R. 262. Bef. J. C. 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

" ſole Judges of the Senators, then thought they ſtood in need of " a pardon, for the diſreſpectful manner in which they ſued for that firſt " conceſſion.

" Your eaſineſs gave occaſion to new pretenſions; the *Plebeians* would " have their particular Magiſtrates. You know how earneſtly I oppoſed " this innovation; but you aſſented in this point alſo; you allowed the " annual creation of Tribunes, that is to ſay, ringleaders of ſedition. " Not content with this, the People would have the perſons of their " Tribunes declared ſacred and inviolable, made ſecure by the moſt ſo- " lemn oaths; privileges never granted even to the Conſuls: Yet you, " *Conſcript Fathers*, ſuffered this uſurpation too, and ſwore upon the " altars the deſtruction of yourſelves and your poſterity. What has " been the fruit of all theſe favours? They have only ſerved to encou- " rage the People to further encroachments upon your authority. They " *make Laws without previouſly conſulting you*, and even contrary to " your will. They deſpiſe the Decrees of the Senate, accuſe the Conſuls " of male-adminiſtration, and, if any extraordinary adverſity happens, " which human prudence could not foreſee, they impute it, not to for- " tune, but to our malice. They pretend, that we form plots to de- " priſe them of their liberty, or drive them out of their country: and " under this pretext they are ever conſpiring againſt us, as if they knew " no way of preſerving themſelves, but by our deſtruction. Too " many of their actions, which are freſh in your minds, evidently diſ- " cover this deſign; but eſpecially their late attempt, without " any the leaſt form of juſtice, to take away the life of that great cap- " tain, and moſt worthy citizen, *Caius Marcius*, on pretence that he " gave bad counſels in our Aſſembly. If the Conſuls and moſt reſpecta- " ble Senators had not united to ſtop their fury, we had all in one day " been deprived of our dignities, our power, and our liberty.

" The reſolution and courage, which you ſhewed upon this laſt occa- " ſion, in ſome meaſure awakened theſe mad-men from their drunken fit. " They ſeem now to be aſhamed of a crime which they could not accom- " pliſh; they deſiſt from violent methods becauſe they have found them " unſucceſsful, and they ſeemingly have recourſe to juſtice, and the rules " of law.

" But what is this juſtice, immortal Gods! which theſe men would " introduce? they endeavour, by appearances of ſubmiſſion, to obtain " from you a *Senatus-conſultum*, which may give them power, not to *try*, " but, in truth, to drag to execution the beſt Citizen of *Rome*. They " alledge the *Lex Valeria* as the rule of your conduct: But does not " every body know, that this law, which allows of appeals to the As- " ſembly of the People, was not a law made *againſt* the *Patricians*, " but only for the relief of ſuch poor *Plebeians* as might happen to " be oppreſſed by the Great? And when you afterwards conſented to " the creation of the Tribunes, neither you, nor even the People them- " ſelves, intended any thing more in the eſtabliſhment of thoſe new Magiſtrates,

" Magiſtrates, than that this law might have proteſtors, and the poor
" be provided with advocates. The treaty of re-union gave no power
" to the *People* to try *Patricians* at their Tribunal. No, the *Valerian*
" Law is what they inſiſt upon. Well then, during eighteen years that it
" has been in force, let *Decius* give me one ſingle inſtance of a *Patrician*
" called in judgment before the People by virtue of that law, and our
" diſpute will be at an end. There is no ſuch precedent: and indeed
" what juſtice would there be in ſuffering the People to be Judges in
" their own cauſe; as if they could be ſuppoſed to decide equitably,
" without prejudice, and without paſſion? It is my advice, *Conſcript*
" *Fathers*, that, before you come to any determination, you maturely
" conſider, that in this affair your intereſts are inſeparable from thoſe of
" *Coriolanus*: As for the favours you have already granted the People,
" I am not for revoking them, by whatever means they were obtained;
" but I cannot forbear exhorting you to refuſe reſolutely what they now
" demand, or may hereafter demand, inconſiſtent with your own au-
" thority, and the preſent form of our Government."

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. Conſulſhip.

§. IV. IT is plain by theſe two oppoſite ſpeeches of *Decius* and *Appius*, that what the *Patricians* in general aimed at, was to keep the Government purely Ariſtocratic; and that the Tribunes, and other ſpirited men of the *Plebeians*, were bent on bringing the whole authority into the hands of the People. Thus ambition, intereſt, and jealouſy animated the two parties, and made the wiſeſt men apprehenſive of a new ſeparation, or of a Civil War.

Manius Valerius, that Conſular who had been ſo ſerviceable in the treaty upon the *Mons Sacer*, repreſented to the Senate this danger, in terms equally ſtrong and moving. Being a true Republican, he was diſpleaſed to ſee thoſe of his own order conſtantly affecting diſtinctions and prerogatives ever odious in a free State. He firſt ſpoke in general of the benefits of peace, and of the neceſſity of preſerving union in the Republic; and then proceeding to the affair of *Coriolanus*, declared himſelf for referring the cognizance of it to the Aſſembly of the People. He ſaid, that nothing was more likely to diſarm the People's rage againſt the illuſtrious *Patrician* accuſed, than to leave him to their judgment: that the multitude calling to mind his perſonal merit, and full of gratitude for the Senate's ready compliance with their deſires, would certainly abſolve him: That, however, to appeaſe them entirely, he would have all the Senators diſperſe themſelves in the Aſſembly, and each endeavour, by a gentle and popular behaviour, to win over thoſe of the *Plebeians* with whom he was acquainted.

Valerius then turning to *Coriolanus*, conjured him in the moſt affecting manner to give peace to the Republic: " Go, *Coriolanus*, offer yourſelf
" generouſly to the People's judgment; this is the only way of juſtify-
" ing yourſelf, that is worthy of you; this is the ſureſt means to ſilence
" thoſe who accuſe you of aiming at the tyranny. If you perſiſt
" in ſhewing a contempt for that Tribunal, and in diſowning its ju-

V. of R. 262. Def. J. C. 490. 19 Consulship.

" sidiction, to you alone will be imputed all the evils that shall be con-
" sequent to such an obstinate and proud behaviour. Are you desirous
" that the Senate, your zealous friends, should, for your sake alone, en-
" gage in a conteſt with the People, where a defeat muſt be fatal to
" them, and even a victory would be shameful? Set before your eyes
" the frightful image of a Civil War; the laws without force; the
" Magiſtrates without power; fury and violence reigning univer-
" sally; fire and sword gleaming on all sides; your fellow-citizen mur-
" dering each other; *Rome* sinking under the rage of the two parties,
" and buried beneath its own ruins."

Valerius, who sincerely loved his country, and was softened by the idea of such great calamities, could not refrain his tears; and the tears of so venerable a Conſular, more eloquent than even his diſcourſe, touched the greater part of the Senators, and diſpoſed their minds to peace.

Then *Valerius*, finding that he was maſter of the aſſembly, raiſed his voice, and, as if he had gotten freſh ſtrength, or were become another man, ſhewed himſelf undiſguiſed, and ſpoke to them with that authority which his age and long experience in affairs gave him. "We are made to fear,
" that the public liberty will be in danger, if we grant ſo much power
" to the People, and allow them to try thoſe of our order who ſhall be
" accuſed by the Tribunes. I am perſuaded, on the contrary, that nothing
" is more likely to preſerve it. The Republic conſiſts of two orders,
" *Patricians* and *Plebeians*: The queſtion is, which of theſe two orders
" may more ſafely be truſted with the guardianſhip of that ſacred *depoſitum*,
" our liberty. I maintain that it will be more ſecure in the hands of the
" People, who deſire only not to be oppreſt, than in thoſe of the Nobles,
" who all have a violent thirſt of dominion. The Nobles, inveſted with
" the prime Magiſtracies, diſtinguiſhed by their birth, their wealth, and
" their honours, will always be powerful enough to hold the People to
" their duty; And the People, when they have the authority of the laws,
" being naturally haters and jealous of all enormous power, will watch over
" the actions of the Great, and by the dread of a popular enquiry and
" judgment, keep a check upon the ambition of ſuch *Patricians* as might
" be tempted to aſpire to the tyranny. You aboliſhed the Royalty, *Con-*
" *ſcript fathers*, becauſe the power of a ſingle man grew exorbitant.
" Not ſatisfied with dividing the regal authority between two annual
" Magiſtrates, you gave them a Council of three hundred Senators to be
" inſpectors over their conduct, and moderators of their Empire. But
" this very Senate, ſo formidable to the Kings and to the Conſuls, has
" nothing in the Republic to balance its power. I know very well, that
" [illegible] is all the reaſon in the world to applaud its moderation.
" But who can ſay, whether we are not obliged for this to our fear of ene-
" mies abroad, and to thoſe continual wars which we have been forced
" to maintain? Mine will be anſwerable, that our ſucceſſors, growing
" more haughty and more potent by a long peace, ſhall not make attempts
" upon the liberty of their country, and that in the Senate there ſhall not
" ariſe

" arife ſome ſtrong faction, whoſe Leader will find means to become the Tyrant of *Rome*, if there be not, at the ſame time, ſome other power, out of the Senate, to withſtand ſuch ambitious enterpriſes, by impeaching the authors and abettors of them before the People?

" Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the like inconvenience is to be apprehended from the People, and that it is impoſſible, by any proviſion, to aſſure our ſelves, that there ſhall not ariſe among the *Plebeians*, ſome popular man, who will abuſe his influence over the minds of the multitude, and under the pretence of defending the People's intereſts, in the end invade both their liberty and that of the Senate. But you well know, that upon the leaſt danger which the Republic may ſeem to be in, from that quarter, our Conſuls have the privilege to name a Dictator, whom they will never chuſe but from among your own body; and that this ſupreme Magiſtrate, abſolute Maſter of the lives of his fellow-citizens, is able, by his own authority, to diſſipate a popular faction. The wiſdom of our laws has allowed him that formidable power but for ſix months, for fear he ſhould abuſe it, and employ, in the eſtabliſhment of his own Tyranny, an authority intruſted with him only to prevent the uſurpations of other men.

" Thus with a mutual inſpection the Senate will be watchful over the behaviour of the Conſuls, the People over that of the Senate; and the Dictator, when the State of Affairs requires the intervention of ſuch a Magiſtrate, will curb the ambition of all.

" If, *Conſcript Fathers*, what I have ſaid, concerning a balance of power, be reaſonable, refuſe not to the People their preſent demand. They annually create the Magiſtrates of the Commonwealth; they enact Laws; they abrogate Laws; they make peace; they declare war: The Senate has never pretended to be abſolute maſter in theſe points; which, nevertheleſs are, of all, the moſt important to the State. While you recognize in the People thoſe high prerogatives I have mentioned, how can you think of denying them the permiſſion to try a private citizen, who is accuſed of exciting ſedition, and aſpiring to the Tyranny? The more you intimidate the violators of our Laws, and the corruptors of our manners, by the many inſpectors you eſtabliſh to watch the conduct of covetous and ambitious men, the more ſecure will be our liberty, and the more perfect our conſtitution."

V. of R. 262. Bef. J. C. 490. Conſulſhip.

Almoſt all the Senators, who ſpoke after *Valerius*, agreed with him in opinion; and, in concluſion, it was carried by a great majority to refer the cauſe in queſtion to the judgment of the People.

§. V. BEFORE the Decree was drawn up, *Coriolanus*, who found the Senate were deſerting him, deſired leave to ſpeak; and having obtained it, he ſaid, " You know, *Conſcript Fathers*, what the whole courſe " of my life has hitherto been. You know that this unjuſt perſecution " which I now ſuffer from the People, is occaſioned only by the ſteady " and unalterable zeal which I have always ſhewn for your intereſts. I " ſhall ſay nothing of the return I now meet with; the event will ſhew

" the

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J.C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

"the weakneſs, and perhaps the malice, of the counſels given "you in this affair. But ſince *Valerius*'s opinion has at length pre-"vailed, let me know at leaſt what is the crime I am charged with, and "upon what conditions I am delivered over to the fury of my adver-"ſaries."

D. Hal. B. 7.

Coriolanus ſaid this, in order to draw the Tribunes into a confeſſion, that they had no crime to accuſe him of, but the ſpeech he had made in the Senate. That ſpeech was doubtleſs the ſole or principal cauſe of their rage againſt him. However, that they might not be obliged to confine their charge to one fact only, and a fact, which, to treat as a crime muſt naturally engage the whole body of the Senate in his defence, they, after conferring together, declared in general, that they would accuſe him of aſpiring to the Tyranny.

Coriolanus inſtantly replied, "If that be the charge I am to anſwer "to, I freely ſubmit my ſelf to the judgment of the People; let the Se-"nate's Decree be put in writing."

The Senate, for two reaſons, were very well pleaſed, that the affair took this turn: Firſt, becauſe no attack was to be made on the freedom of ſpeaking in their Aſſemblies; and, in the ſecond place, becauſe *Coriolanus*, having always obſerved an irreproachable conduct, with regard to the crime, undertaken to be proved upon him, they doubted not but he would eaſily clear himſelf at his trial.

All the parties being thus far agreed, and the Decree drawn up, the cauſe (as cuſtom required) was appointed to be heard on the third market-day; that is to ſay, twenty-ſeven days were allowed to the accuſed to prepare his defence: For theſe markets were held every ninth day, when the country people came to the City, to vend their commodities, and make up their differences with one another. The Tribunes, having aſſembled the People, read the Senate's Decree to them, notified the trial, and exhorted all the Citizens of the Republic, as well thoſe who dwelt in the country, as the inhabitants of *Rome*, to be at the *Forum* on the day appointed for hearing and judging ſo important a cauſe. There needed not much eloquence on this occaſion. Moſt of the *Plebeians* waited impatiently for the favourable opportunity to ſignalize their hatred to *Coriolanus*; and were as zealous againſt him, as if the preſervation of the Commonwealth had depended on his deſtruction.

CHAP. XI.

§. I. *The day being come for* Coriolanus's *trial, a diſpute ariſes between the* Conſuls *and* Tribunes, *whether the People ſhall give their Suffrages by* CENTURIES, *according to the ancient cuſtom, or by* TRIBES, *which had never yet been practiſed. The* Tribunes *who are for the latter prevail.* §. II. Coriolanus's *cauſe is heard. He is condemned to baniſhment, and leaves* Rome.

§. I.

§. I. WHEN the day came, that the great affair of *Coriolanus* was to be decided, an innumerable multitude crowded the *Forum* betimes in the morning. The Tribunes ſeparated them by Tribes before the Senators came; whereas, from the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the voices had always been gathered by Centuries. This ſingle * difference gave the deciding turn to the preſent affair, and was afterwards in almoſt all conteſts between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, ſufficient to weigh down the ſcale in favour of either ſide. The Conſuls being come to the Aſſembly, were for keeping up the ancient cuſtom, not doubting but they cou'd ſave *Coriolanus* if the voices were reckoned by Centuries, of which the *Patricians* themſelves and the richeſt Citizens made the majority. But the Tribunes, no leſs artful, and more reſolute, alledged, that in an affair which concerned the rights of the People and the Public Liberty, it was but juſt that the vote of every the pooreſt and meaneſt Citizen ſhould be of equal weight and value with that of the richeſt and moſt noble; and they loudly declared, that they would never conſent to let the voices be collected otherwiſe than by Tribes. This diſpute was carried very far; but at length the Senate, who would not make *Coriolanus*'s cauſe their own, and who were apprehenſive of a direct attack upon their authority, gave way, as uſual, to the obſtinacy of the Tribunes. V. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J.C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

Juſt before they entered upon the cauſe, *Minucius*, the firſt Conſul, made an harangue to the Aſſembly. He opened his diſcourſe with the advantages flowing from peace and union, and the calamities which attend diſcord. From theſe common places, he proceeded to the affection which the Senate had for the People, and the favours it had heaped upon them at different times; and he declared, that all the return *the Fathers* aſked was *Coriolanus*'s diſcharge. He exhorted the *Plebeians* not to conſider ſo much a few words which had eſcaped him in the heat of his diſcourſe, as the important ſervices which he had done the Commonwealth; to be ſatisfied with his ſubmiſſion to their cenſure; and not ſuffer it to be ſaid, that ſo illuſtrious a Citizen underwent the forms of juſtice like a criminal. *Sicinnius* anſwered, that if ſuch indulgence were to take place in the Government of States, none would be ſecure: And he loudly proteſted, that he would neither betray the liberties of the People, nor ſuffer any other man to betray them. But that, if the Senate did, *bona fide*, ſubmit the accuſed to the judgment of the People, he ſhould have a fair and impartial trial.

"Well then, (replied *Minucius*) ſince, notwithſtanding our intreaties, "you obſtinately inſiſt that *Coriolanus* ſhall be tried by this Aſſembly, I "demand that, purſuant to your agreement with the Senate, you confine "your accuſation to the ſingle article of aiming at the Tyranny, and that "you pretend not to mention any thing, by him ſaid againſt the People "in our Aſſembles: For you are barr'd from that, by the conditions

* See this matter fully explained, p. 93, 94, 95.

"expreſſed

V. of R. 262. Bef. J.C. 490. 13 Conſulſhip.

" expreſſed in the very Decree which refers his cauſe to the judgment of " the People." To prove what he alledged, he read aloud to them this *Senatus-conſultum*; after which he deſcended from the Roſtra.

§. 11. *CICINNIUS* then began the accuſation with a laboured ſpeech, which conſiſted however of only general invectives, importing, that the whole tenour of his words and actions againſt the People, had manifeſtly diſcovered an intention to invade their Liberties, and become the Tyrant of his Country.

As ſoon as the Tribune had done ſpeaking, *Coriolanus*, with a courage deſerving a better fortune, preſented himſelf in the Aſſembly, and anſwered the calumnies thrown upon his conduct, by a bare recital of his ſervices. He began with his firſt campaigns, he gave an account of all the engagements in which he had fought, the wounds he had received, the military honours which his Generals had beſtowed upon him, and the ſeveral commands in the army to which he had been gradually promoted. He expoſed to the view of the whole People a great many different crowns which he had received, either for ſaving the breach firſt in aſſaults, or for having firſt broke into the enemies camp; or laſtly, for having in various battles ſaved the lives of a great number of Citizens. He called them aloud, each by his name, and cited them as witneſſes of what he advanced. Theſe men immediately ſtood forth, and gave public teſtimony of the obligations they lay under to him. Extending their hands as ſupplicants, they conjured the Aſſembly not to deſtroy a man, to whom they owed their lives, and all that was dear to them. And they offered to undergo in his ſtead, any puniſhment to which he ſhould be condemned. As theſe ſtrong witneſſes were mostly *Plebeians*, and known to have deſerved well of their Country, the multitude could not reſiſt their preſſing ſolicitations, nor even refuſed from tears. Then *Coriolanus*, tearing away his robe, ſhewed his breaſt all covered with the ſcars of a great number of wounds which he had received: "It was to ſave theſe worthy men, ſaid he, it was to reſcue theſe good Citizens out of the hands of our e- "nemies, that I have a thouſand times ventured my life. Let the Tri- "bunes ſhew, if they can, how ſuch actions are conſiſtent with the trea- "cherous deſigns they lay to my charge. Is it eaſy to believe, that an "enemy of the People, a man who intended to deſtroy them in a time of "peace, would expoſe himſelf to ſo many dangers in war, only to pre- "ſerve their lives?"

This diſcourſe, ſupported by a noble air, and that confidence which flows from innocence and truth, made the *Plebeians* quite aſhamed of the proſecution. The beſt diſpoſed of that order cried out, that they ought to acquit ſo good a Citizen. But then the Tribune *Decius*, alarmed at this change, ſtood forth and ſaid, "Tho' the Senate does not allow us to prove

"Liberty is allowed to ſay what they will for the *ſuggeſtum* (or pulpit) or any eminent place, whereas we find the Magiſtrates ſpeaking to the People; though the word *roſtra* was not introduced till many years after this time.

" the ill designs of *Coriolanus*, by the ſpeech he made in their Aſſembly,
" and by the violent proceedings that followed it, we do not want other
" proofs equally ſtrong and cogent, of his pride, and that ſpirit of tyran-
" ny of which we accuſe him. You know that according to our laws, the
" ſpoils of the enemy belong to the *Roman* People; that neither the ſol-
" diers, nor their General himſelf has power to diſpoſe of them; but
" that all ought to be ſold, and the money, thence ariſing, carried
" by a Quæſtor into the public treaſury; ſuch is the uſage and conſti-
" tution of our Government. Nevertheleſs, contrary to theſe laws,
" which are as ancient as *Rome* itſelf, *Coriolanus*, having got a conſi-
" derable booty in the territories of the *Antiates*, divided it all, by his
" private authority, among his friends, giving them what was the
" People's due. This I call a proof of Tyranny. For indeed what
" was this, but with the public money to make to himſelf creatures,
" and provide guards, and ſupporters of his intended uſurpation? He
" muſt either deny a notorious fact, and ſay, that he did not diſ-
" poſe of that booty, or muſt ſhew that, in diſpoſing of it, he did
" not violate the laws. Without dazzling us with the ſplendid ſhow
" of his crowns and ſpears, or uſing any other arts to blind the
" Aſſembly, let him anſwer directly to this one article which I urge
" againſt him."

V. of R. 262. Bef. J. C. 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

It was true, *Coriolanus* had, by his private authority, diſpoſed of the plunder which the Tribune ſpoke of: but it was not true, that he had divided it among his friends and creatures only, as was objected to him, but among all his ſoldiers: nor had he done this with a view to the Tyranny, or with any evil intention. The chief reaſon why he had let them ſhare the booty among them was, that he might, by their example, incite the *Plebeians* at *Rome* to take the field, and ſeek proviſions in the enemy's country, at a time when the City was grievouſly diſtreſſed by a famine, and the Tribunes oppoſed all regular levies of Soldiers. This was the real fact. But thoſe of the People who had not had any ſhare in that expedition, could not, without extreme diſſatisfaction, behold *Coriolanus*'s ſoldiers return home well provided with corn. *Decius*, who had obſerved this uneaſineſs in their minds, reſolved to make advantage of it on the preſent occaſion, not doubting but men, envious of the good fortune of their neighbours, would readily condemn *Coriolanus* for a generous action, by which they themſelves had received no benefit.

Coriolanus, ſurpriſed at this accuſation, againſt which he had prepared no defence, contented himſelf with giving a bare relation of the matter of fact, as it has been ſtated. He repreſented, that one part of the People had received the advantage of the ſpoils of the enemy, and he called with a loud voice upon the Centurions and principal *Plebeians*, who had gone with him in that incurſion, to bear teſtimony to the truth. But thoſe of the Aſſembly who had not been ſharers in the corn of the *Antiates*, being more numerous than *Coriolanus*'s Soldiers, made ſo much noiſe,

Y. of R. 262. Bef. J.C. 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

peiſe, that the latter could not be heard. The Tribunes finding the People blown up again to their former animoſity, laid hold of this opportunity to collect the ſuffrages; and *Coriolanus* was accordingly condemned to perpetual baniſhment. Of the twenty one tribes, but three voted for him, and twelve againſt him.

D. Hal. B. 7. *Plut. in Coriol.* *Livy*, B. 2.

Moſt of the Nobles and *Patricians* thought themſelves in a manner condemned to baniſhment with this great man, who had always been the defender and ſupport of their order. At firſt it was only a general conſternation; but this was quickly ſucceeded by indignation and rage. Some reproached *Valerius*, that he had miſled the Senate by his artful diſcourſes; others reproached themſelves for their exceſs of condeſcenſion to the People; all repented that they had not rather endured the laſt extremities, than abandoned ſo illuſtrious a Citizen to the inſolence of the multitude.

Coriolanus was the only perſon among the *Patricians* who ſeemed unconcerned at his diſgrace. He left the Aſſembly with the ſame tranquillity, in appearance, as if he had been acquitted. He went immediately to his own houſe, where he found his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, all drowned in tears, and in the firſt tranſports of their grief. He exhorted them in few words to bear this reverſe of fortune with courage and conſtancy; and having recommended to them the care of his children, which were yet but infants, he inſtantly took his leave, not ſuffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the Senators and other *Patricians* accompanied him to the gates of the city, but he ſaid not one word to them by the way, and he parted from them in the ſame reproachful ſilence, neither thanking them for any good offices paſt, nor requeſting any future favours.*

* *Coriolanus* was probably about 35 years of age at the time of his baniſhment. He had ſtood for the Conſulſhip the year before, and (according to *Plutarch*) had then ſerved 17 years. He began to ſerve as ſoon as he was of an age to bear arms, that is at 17.

CHAP. XII.

§. I. *The* Plebeians *exult upon the victory they have gained over the* Patricians *in the affair of* Coriolanus. *The* Romans *having now no war abroad, nor ſquabble at home to employ them, turn their minds wholly to ſuperſtition, during the Conſulate of* Q. Sulpicius *and* Sp. Lartius. §. II. *The* Tribunes, *from a political view, perſuade the People at the next election of* Conſuls, *to chuſe men of little ſpirit and mean abilities for war. Their choice falls upon* C. Julius *and* P. Pinarius Rufus. §. III. *In the mean time,* Coriolanus *retires privately to* Antium, *one of the principal cities of the* Volſci, *diſcovers himſelf to* Attius Tullus, *General of that Nation, offers him his ſervice againſt* Rome, *and is nobly received by him.* §. IV. *Theſe two Generals concert a ſtratagem to ſtir up the* Volſci *to renew the*

with the Romans. Coriolanus is introduced by Tullus into the assembly of the Volscians. Struck with shame, which is highly applauded, that nobler upon men, and to commit the conduct of it to Tullus and Coriolanus: but soon, by the advice of the latter, send an embassy to Rome, to make such demands of the Republic, as they are sure will be rejected. The Volscian Ambassadors are dismissed by the Roman Senate with a haughty answer.

NEVER did the People testify more joy, not even upon vanquishing the most formidable enemies of *Rome*, than they did now for the check they had just given to the Senate and the whole body of the *Patricians*. By the proceedings in the affair of *Coriolanus*, the Plebeians had got a precedent for citing before their Tribunal, and judging the most illustrious of the Nobles; a precedent which the Tribunes failed not to improve into an established custom. And how much soever the ancient dignity of the *Patrician* order was diminished by this innovation, *Dionysius* is of opinion, that it was a proper curb upon the ambition of the Great, and not only salutary to the Republic, but even necessary to it's preservation. And though some hot-headed Tribunes, animated by views of self-interest, or private pique, might now and then abuse their power, by commencing unjust prosecutions, yet those of the Nobles, who took upon them the management of public affairs, with honest and patriot intentions, would be in little danger of suffering any disgrace by a sentence of the People.

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Consulship.

The same Historian, in the close of his relation of what happened at *Rome*, from the time of the *Secession*, to the trial of *Coriolanus*, very justly remarks, as more worthy to be admired, than the most shining exploits of the *Romans*, the rare temper and moderation which appeared in both parties, in their late contentions: That such important changes should be brought about, merely by conferences and arguments, and without any of those inhuman and fatal acts of violence, which, on the like occasions, were so common in the States of *Greece* and *Sicily*.

During the following Consulship of *Q. Sulpicius* and *Sp. Lartius* *, superstition alone filled the minds of the *Romans*. Nothing now was talked of but visions, spectres, miraculous voices, monsters, and prodigies of all sorts. *Titus Latinus*, or, according to *Livy*, *Tib. Atinius*, an old man, and bed-rid, made himself be convey'd in a litter, from the country to *Rome*, where he related to the *Conscript Fathers* a dream, in which he said, *Jupiter Capitolinus* had appeared to him, and commanded him to tell the Senate, "That they must repeat the celebration of the Publick "Games, because in the last performance, a bad Dancer had led up the "dances. *He added*, That he having neglected the admonition, *Jupiter* "in revenge had thrown him into the condition he then was, and had "killed one of his sons." As fast as the man discharged his commission, so fast he recovered the use of his limbs; and this put the Senate

Y. of *R.* 263. Bef. *J. C.* 489. 20 Consulship. * A 2d time Cons.

V. of R. 263. Bef. J.C. 489. 20 Conſulſhip.

into a terrible fright. Swift enquiries were made after the firſt Diſcoverer, and he was at length found to be a Slave, whom his Maſter, a conſiderable Citizen, had, juſt before the religious proceſſion ſhou'd paſs, cauſed to be whipp'd through the *Cryptæ*, the *Velia*, and the *Circus*, through all which places the proceſſion was to paſs. The poor wretch, from the violence of his pain, had uttered imprecations, and had ſcrew'd himſelf into an hundred odd poſtures at every ſtroke, an improper and indecent prelude to ſo ſolemn a ceremony. And this it ſeems had offended *Jupiter*. The Citizen was fined, and a decree paſſed for renewing the Games in a more ſumptuous and expenſive manner than before. The Senate however deferred the celebration of them to the next Conſulate.

§. II. THE Conſular Power being now the only thing which kept the Tribunes in awe, we may well ſuppoſe, that they employed their efforts to hinder its falling into any hands, but of *Patricians* devoted to their intereſts, or too little eſteemed to be much feared: And perhaps they inſinuated to the People, that the greateſt Captains were not the moſt fit to govern a Commonwealth: That men of their high courage, and accuſtomed to an abſolute power in the armies, brought home with their victories a ſpirit of pride, ever dangerous in a free State. As the Conſuls were always choſen in the *Comitia* by Centuries, of which thoſe of the firſt and richeſt claſs made the majority, the Senators and *Patricians* had uſually diſpoſed of that dignity as they pleaſed. But now, even in that kind of Aſſembly, the *Plebeian* party carried their point by the artful management of the Tribunes. C. *Julius*, and P. *Pinarius Rufus*, men known to be but indifferent ſoldiers, were, by the votes of the People, raiſed to the Conſulſhip, and chiefly, (ſays *Dionyſius*) for that reaſon*.

D. Hal. B. 8. Y. of R. 264. Bef. J.C. 488. 21 Conſulſhip.

* Mr. *Vertot* obſerves upon this occaſion, that the Senate and the People acted both of them contrary to their real intereſts, and ſeemed to aim at joining two things incompatible. All the *Romans*, ſays he, as well *Patricians* as *Plebeians*, aſpired to the conqueſt of *Italy*; the command of the armies was reſerved to the *Patricians*, who indeed poſſeſſed all the dignities of the State; they had no ſoldiers but the *Plebeians*, whom they would reduce to that timid ſubmiſſion and that ſervile dependence, which they could ſcarce have expected in mean artificers, and a populace bred up in obſcurity. The People on the other hand powerful, numerous, and full of that ferocity growing from a continual exerciſe of arms, in order to leſſen the authority of the Government, were for having Conſuls and Generals who would be eaſy, indulgent, complacent to the multitude, and would behave themſelves towards their ſoldiers rather with the modeſt manners of equality, than with that lofty and imperious air which the command of armies naturally gives a General. It was neceſſary for putting an end to the miſunderſtanding between thoſe two orders in the Republic, that they ſhould either jointly have reſolved to content themſelves with the narrow limits of their State, and lay aſide the ambition of making conqueſts; or that the *Patricians* ſhould have allowed a greater ſhare in the Government to a warlike People, Citizens during winter, but Soldiers all the ſummer; and the People, on their ſide, have ceaſed to the command none but the beſt Generals in the Republic.

Mr. *Vertot* adds, that he owes this reflection to the events that follow; it not being long before the People repented their having intruſted the government of the State, and the command of the Armies, to two men equally incapable of thoſe functions.

A. M. 3564. Ant. R. 260. Bef. J. C. 488. Confulship.

§. III. The banished state, *Coriolanus*, that exiled Hero who had appeared so formidable by his diligence, was meditating, with all the force of his mind, the most effectual means to revenge his wrongs; his silence, and seeming insensibility having been the pure effect of an indignation and resentment too deep for superficial expression. He spent the first days of his banishment at a country seat of his own, his thoughts wholly employed how to surpass the destruction of his enemies; a design, which his vengeful heart would not forego, though the execution of it should involve the ruin of his country. But at length, when he had cast his eyes upon the several nations that were neighbours and enemies to *Rome*, *Sabines*, *Æqui*, *Tuscans*, *Volsci*, and *Hernici*, he found none that seemed more exasperated against the *Romans*, or in a better condition to undertake a war, than the *Volsci*.

They were a Republic or Community, consisting of several small cantons, united by a league, and governed by an assembly of Deputies from each of them. This Nation bordering upon *Rome*, and jealous of her rising greatness, had always opposed it with remarkable courage, though with little success. The *Romans* had taken from them some of their towns, and part of their territory; and, during the time that Coriolanus's affair was depending, had by threatening them with a new war (occasion of some violence they had offered to certain *Sicilian* Ambassadors sent to *Rome* upon the corn traffick,) terrified them into the submission of supplianss for peace. The *Volsci* obtained of the Republic a truce for two years. But this did not lessen the animosity in their hearts; they sought all over *Italy* to stir up new enemies against the *Romans*; and it was upon the knowledge of this *Coriolanus* built his hopes of engaging them to renew the war. But he was the most unfit man in the world for such an undertaking; he had done them more mischief than all the other *Roman* Generals; more than once he had cut to pieces their troops, ravaged their country, taken and plundered their towns: the name of *Coriolanus* was no less odious than formidable throughout the whole community of the *Volsci*.

Besides, they had at this time, for their General, *Attius Tullus*, whom *Coriolanus*, in many actions, where they fought against each other, had constantly vanquished; a disgrace which few Commanders have magnanimity enough to forgive. Nothing could be more dangerous for the *Roman*, than to put himself into the hands of such an enemy: But immoderate thirst of vengeance being now the prevailing passion in his soul, that was unus'd to fear, he came to a resolution to apply himself directly to *Tullus*.

He departed from his retreat in disguise; and in the evening entered *Antium*, one of the chief Cities of the *Volsci*. It was here that *Tullus* resided, and to his house *Coriolanus* went directly. With his face covered, and without speaking one word, he walked in, and seated himself by the hearth of the domestic Gods, a place sacred in all the houses of the ancient *Pagans*. A behaviour so extraordinary, and a certain air of authority

Livy, B. 2. *Plut.* in *Cor.* *D. Hal.* B. 8. *Val. Max.* B. 5.

V. of R. 264. Bef. J. C. 488. Conſulſhip.

country that never abandons great men, ſurpaſſing [illegible] they can to tell their maſter *Tullus* [illegible] was, and what he required.

Coriolanus then diſcovering himſelf; "If thou doſt not yet know me, "I am *Caius Marcius*, my ſurname is *Coriolanus*, the only reward left "me of all my ſervices. I am baniſhed from *Rome* through the hatred "of the People, and the puſillanimity of the Great. I ſeek revenge; "it lies in thy power to employ my ſword againſt our common ene- "mies. If thy Republic will not accept of my ſervice, I give my life "into thy hands; deſtroy an old enemy, who otherwiſe may do more "miſchief to thy Country."

Tullus, amazed at the greatneſs of his courage, gave him his hand: "Fear nothing, *Marcius*, thy confidence is thy ſecurity. By giving us "thy ſelf, thou makeſt us an ineſtimable preſent; we ſhall know how "to value thy ſervices better than thy fellow-citizens. So great a Cap- "tain may juſtly expect the higheſt honours from the *Volſci*." He then led him into his apartment, where they privately conferred about the means of renewing the war.

§. IV. IT has been already obſerved, that there was at this time a truce between the *Volſci* and the *Romans*; the buſineſs was to bring the former to a reſolution of breaking it; a point not eaſy to be car- ried, becauſe of the loſſes which the *Volſci* had ſuffered in the laſt war. However, the two Generals found means to compaſs what they deſired. The *Romans* were preparing for their public ſports (a part of the religion of thoſe times) purſuant to the admonition, before mentioned, of *Jupi- ter* by the old man. From the ſeveral Nations about *Rome*, there flocked to the *ſhow* great numbers, and particularly of the *Volſci*. They crowd- ed every quarter of the City; nay many, not being able to find hoſts to receive them, lay under tents in the public places. So unuſual a multitude of ſtrangers gave uneaſineſs to the Conſuls; and, to add to it, *Tullus* contrived to raiſe a falſe alarm, that the *Volſci* intended to ſet fire to the Town. The known animoſity of that People againſt the Re- public, made the report eaſily credited; ſo that the Magiſtrates cauſed an order to be publiſhed, enjoining all the *Volſci* to depart before night, and even preſcribing the gate through which they ſhould paſs: And ac- cordingly all of that Nation were inſtantly driven out of *Rome*. As they were returning home, each man bearing in his heart the ſhame of this ill uſage, and a ſtrong deſire of revenge, *Tullus* met them in the way as by chance; and, when he had heard them relate the unworthy manner in which they had been treated, "Is it poſſible, *he cried*, they "could drive you from a public feſtival, like the profaneſt wretches "and outlaws? After ſo vile a treatment, you can no longer hide from "your ſelves the implacable hatred which the *Romans* bear you. And "will you patiently wait till, without regard to the truce which has "diſarmed you, they ſuddenly invade us again, and lay waſte our "territories?"

An

An Assembly of the Latines was called without delay; and the more violent were for immediately carrying fire and sword into the territory of *Rome*, in revenge for the affront they had received. But *Tullus*, who conducted their affairs, advised them, before they broke out, to send for *Coriolanus* into their Assembly: "That Captain, *said he*, whose valour we "have so often experienced, and who now bears more enmity to the "*Romans*, than even we ourselves, seems to have been brought hither "by the Gods to retrieve our affairs; and he will give us no counsels, "whereof he will not share the dangers of the execution."

Coriolanus, being introduced into the Assembly, appeared there with a countenance sad, but resolute; all present fixed their eyes attentively upon the man, whose name had been so dreadful to them; and they listened to him with that respect, which is always paid to merit under persecution. When he had first related to them his story, and represented the ingratitude and injustice, with which he had been condemned by his fellow-citizens to perpetual banishment, he proceeded in words to this effect:

"If I had sought only a place of refuge, I might have retired "either among the *Latines* our allies, or to some *Roman* colony. But "a life so obscure had been to me insupportable; for I always thought "it better for a man to die, than be reduced to such a condition, as to "be unable either to serve his friends, or to revenge himself upon his "enemies. This is my temper: I would deserve by my sword the "*Asylum* I ask of you: let us join our common resentments. Those "ungrateful *Romans*, who have banished me so unjustly, are your most "inveterate enemies; you are sensible of it; with pleasure I perceive, "you are all disposed to renew the war; and indeed it is much your "interest to stop the progress, and diminish the strength of so encroach- "ing a neighbour. But, in order to render this war successful, the "motive you shall assign for taking arms, must be just in the sight of "the Gods, and such as will engage the several States about *Rome* to "espouse your cause. You are not ignorant of how small an extent, at "the founding of that City, the *Roman* territory was, which is now "stretched into a wide dominion, by the conquests they have made, or, "to speak more justly, by their usurpations. There is not, in all their "neighbourhood, a Nation from which they have not wrested some "of its towns, and a considerable part of it's lands. The *Sabines*, "*Albans*, *Æqui*, *Etrurians*, and others, have suffered from them "like injuries to yours. Make it the common interest of those States "to join you in your enterprise. Let Ambassadors be sent to demand "of the *Romans*, *A restitution of the lands and cities which they have taken "from you, whether by hostile invasions, or by compulsive treaties.*

"If the *Romans*, intimidated by your menaces of a war, consent to "restore to you the towns and the lands which they have deprived you "of, then, after your example, the other Nations of *Italy* will demand "back what has been taken from them; which, if submitted to, will

"att

Y. of R. 264. Bef. J. C. 488. Consulship.

V. of R. 264. Ant. J. C. 488. 24 Conſulſhip.

"at one ſtroke reduce that proud People to their original nothingneſs. "Or if they reſolve, as I doubt not but they will, to remain their inve- "terate enemies, and bid you defiance, then, in a war ſo equitable, you will "have both Gods and men your friends. As for me, in whatever "poſt you place me, you may rely upon my zeal for your ſervice, "and my punctual execution of your General's orders. If heretofore, "when your enemy, I was very hurtful to you, I may perhaps be found "equally uſeful, when fighting in your cauſe."

Loud and univerſal applauſe was given by the Aſſembly to this diſcourſe; and, to bind *Coriolanus* more ſtrictly to them, they inſtantly conferred on him the quality of Senator. At the ſame time, purſuant to his advice, Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to *Rome*; where being admitted to audience, they repreſented to the Senate, "that the *Volſci* were "very deſirous to terminate amicably all their differences with the *Ro-* "*man* Republic; but that, in order thereto, it was neceſſary, *Rome* "ſhould reſtore to them the towns and lands of which ſhe had de- "prived them: That without this, there could be no ſolid and laſting "peace between the two States; and they therefore hoped, the Senate "would not, by a refuſal of juſtice, put them under the neceſſity of "commencing a war."

The Ambaſſadors being withdrawn, the Senate did not ſpend much time in deliberation: At *Rome* to yield to menaces was a thing unknown, or to ſubmit to an enemy, even though victorious; ſo that the Ambaſſadors were ſoon called in again. The firſt Conſul told them in few words, that fear would never make the *Romans* give up what they had conquered by their valour; and that if the *Volſci* were the firſt to take arms, the *Romans* would be the laſt to lay them down. And with this anſwer they were diſmiſſed.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. Coriolanus *at the head of a* Volſcian *army recovers from the* Romans *all the towns they had taken from the* Volſci; *carries ſeveral cities in* Latium *by aſſault, and then leads his troops within five miles of* Rome; *where new* Conſuls *are choſen,* Sp. Nautius *and* Sex. Furius. §. II. *The People terrified at his approach, cry out to have the ſentence of his baniſhment reverſed. The* Patricians *oppoſe it. He marches to* Rome *and inveſts the place. The* Senate *and People agree to ſue to him for peace. Three Deputations are ſent to him ſucceſſively, to perſuade him to deſiſt from his demands in favour of the* Volſci; *but all in vain.* §. III. *The Mother and Wife of* Coriolanus *go attended by all the* Roman *Ladies of diſtinction to make a fourth attempt upon his reſolution.* §. IV. *The interview and conference between* Coriolanus *and his Mother, who prevails upon him to raiſe the ſiege of* Rome; *after which he is aſſaſſinated by the* Volſci.

§. I.

§. 1. THE report of the Ambaſſadors, at their return, was followed by a declaration of war. *Tullus* and *Coriolanus*, foreſeeing the Senate's anſwer, had held their troops in readineſs to enter upon action. The firſt, with a part of the forces, made an incurſion into the country of the *Latines*, in order to hinder them from ſending any aſſiſtance to the *Romans*: At the ſame time, *Coriolanus*, with the remainder, threw himſelf into the territory of *Rome*, where he made a prodigious capture of freemen, ſlaves, corn and cattle, no meaſures having been taken to oppoſe him. Both parties returned from their expeditions enriched with booty; which proved an effectual means to augment the army: For the People henceforward, big with the hopes of conqueſt and plunder, came in crowds to inliſt themſelves. And now it was agreed that *Tullus* with a body of reſerve, ſhould ſtay in the country to defend the entrance of it againſt the enemy, while *Coriolanus* at the head of the main army marched to give the Conſuls battle, in caſe they appeared in the field. According to *Livy*, he firſt drove from *Circæum* a colony of *Romans* that were eſtabliſhed there; but *Dionyſius* ſays, that the inhabitants, intimidated by the approach of the enemy, opened their gates, and that *Coriolanus* only obliged them to furniſh him with proviſions and cloaths for his ſoldiers. He then took from the *Romans*, *Satricum*, *Longulum*, *Poluſca*, and *Corioli*, towns which they had won but a little before; he alſo made himſelf Maſter of *Cerbio*, *Vitellia*, *Trebia*, *Toleria*, *Bola*, *Labicum* and *Pedum*, all in *Latium*, or upon the confines of it. The *Latines* had ſent to *Rome* for aid, but the Senate had excuſed themſelves, the diſtreſs of the Republic being extreme. For the *Æqui* and other allies had revolted; and diviſions and animoſities reigned at home in the City.

T. of R. 264. Bef. J. C. 488. 21 Conſulſhip.

D. Hal. B. 8. Livy, B. 2.

Coriolanus, in his firſt expedition, had ſpared the houſes and eſtates of the *Patricians*, either out of ſome remains of regard for thoſe of his own order; or, which is more probable, to make them ſuſpected by the People, and to increaſe the diſſentions between them. Whatever was the motive, this was the effect of his conduct. The People failed not to accuſe the Senate publickly of an underſtanding with *Coriolanus*, and of having engaged him to come at the head of an army, to aboliſh the Tribunitian power. The *Patricians* on their ſide upbraided the People, that they had forced ſo great a Captain to throw himſelf in deſpair into the party of the enemy. Suſpicion, diſtruſt, hatred actuated both parties; and in this time of danger they thought leſs of repulſing the *Volſci*, than of defaming each other. The two Conſuls, hid behind the walls of *Rome*, made levies but ſlowly. *Spurius Nautius*, and *Sextus Furius*, who ſucceeded them, uſed diligence in raiſing an army, but did not ſhew more courage and reſolution than their predeceſſors: It was viſible, they durſt not encounter ſo able a General. The People themſelves were in no haſte to give their names to be inrolled; no body cared for ſtirring out of *Rome*, whether it was that they had no great opinion of the capacity of their Leaders, or that they ſaw

T. of R. 265. Bef. J. C. 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

Y. of *R.* 265. themſelves deſerted by their allies, who had readily eſpouſed the cauſe
Bef. *J. C.* 487. which fortune favoured.
22 Conſulſhip. *Coriolanus*, finding no army in the field to oppoſe his deſigns, advanced ſtill on, took *Lavinium*, and at length encamped at the *Cluilian* trenches five miles diſtant from *Rome*.

§. II. UPON the fame of this great run of ſucceſs, multitudes of the *Volſci* flock'd to *Coriolanus*'s army. The very ſoldiers of *Tullus* himſelf, drawn by the hopes of the plunder of *Rome*, left their General, and declared, they acknowledged no other but the *Roman*; a freſh victory, of a new kind, which *Coriolanus* gained over his old adverſary, and of which *Tullus* retained a ſharp reſentment in his breaſt. The eyes of all *Italy* were turned upon the *Romans* and *Volſci*, who by only one man's changing ſides, had experienced a ſurpriſing change in their fortunes: So true it is, that the ſtrength of a ſtate conſiſts not ſo much in the number and bravery of its troops, as in the abilities of him who commands them. The conſternation was general at *Rome*. The People, who from the tops of the walls beheld the enemies ſpread all over the country, came into the *Forum*, and with clamorous voices demanded a peace, and to have the ſentence againſt *Coriolanus* reverſed. That very People, who, with ſo much fury, had hurried him into baniſhment, with equal violence now preſſed to have him recalled. The Senate being aſſembled to conſider of this propoſal, abſolutely rejected it; which they did, either to remove the ſuſpicion of their having intelligence with him, or perhaps from that high ſpirit ſo common among the great men of the Republic, never more averſe from peace than after ill ſucceſs.

Plut. *Coriolanus* no ſooner heard of the Senate's reſolution, but he broke up his camp, marched directly to *Rome*, and inveſted the place, as if he meant to beſiege it. A deſign ſo daring threw both the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians* into an equal conſternation; all courage and reſolution failed them, and hatred gave place to fear. The Senate and People with one accord determined now to ſue for peace. Five Senators, who had been zealous friends of *Coriolanus*, were choſen to be ſent to him upon this negotiation. Theſe were *M. Minucius*, *Poſtumus Cominius*, *Sp. Lartius*, *P. Pinarius*, and *Q. Sulpicius*, who had all five been Conſuls.

The *Volſci* made theſe Deputies paſs thro' two ranks of ſoldiers ſtanding to their arms; and *Coriolanus*, ſurrounded by his chief officers, received them ſeated in his Tribunal, with the ſtate of an enemy who is reſolved to preſcribe the law.

Minucius exhorted him in modeſt and pathetick terms to give peace to the two Nations; and conjured him not to puſh too far the advantages, which his ſuperior courage and abilities had given the *Volſci*; but to remember the regard he owed to his Country. He put him in mind of the friendſhip the *Patricians* had always ſhewn him; and even excuſed in ſome meaſure the People, of whom nine tribes had voted for him. He repreſented to him the unreaſonableneſs of carrying his reſentments to ſuch an unbounded exceſs, and the remorſe that muſt follow ſo criminal an

enter-

enterprize as he was engaged in, how ſucceſsful ſoever it might prove. He then reminded him of the inſtability of fortune, tho' it had hitherto favoured him; and, in concluſion, invited him to return into the boſom of his native City, which now, as a tender mother, ſtretched out her arms to receive him. Y. of *R.* 265. Bef. J.C. 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

To all theſe remonſtrances *Coriolanus* gave this ſevere anſwer. That *Rome* might obtain a peace, if ſhe would reſtore to the *Volſci* the Country ſhe had taken from them, grant them the ſame rights of Citizenſhip which ſhe had granted to the *Latines*, and recal the *Roman* colonies from thoſe towns ſhe had got poſſeſſion of unjuſtly; but that he could abate nothing of theſe demands.

That as to the liberty offered him of going back to *Rome*, it was not worth his acceptance. "With what ſatisfaction, *ſaid he*, can I return to "a City where injuſtice reigns, and vice enjoys the honours which are "due to virtue? Conſider the men who govern there, and the man you "have driven thence. What was my crime? I could not bear to ſee the "whole authority of the Government fall into the hands of factious Tri- "bunes and a ſenſeleſs Populace. This was the offence for which the "Senate delivered me up to the fury of the People. Yes, the Senators "are they whom I accuſe as the Authors of my misfortunes. The in- "juſtice of the People indeed condemned me, but it was the weakneſs of "the Senate which put me within the reach of their power: ſo that baſe- "neſs and iniquity are become univerſal in the Republic.— What a "ſhameful life ſhould I be forced to drag on, in *Rome?* Flatter the in- "ſolent multitude? not dare to ſpeak my opinion with freedom? —— "And who will promiſe me, that I ſhall not meet with a *Sicinnius* or a "*Decius* to arm the Populace once more againſt me? How can I be aſ- "ſured that the devaſtations made on your lands, the conqueſt of your "cities, and the ſlavery of your allies will not be laid as freſh crimes "to his charge, who was deemed worthy of death for bare words?—— "You accuſe me of impiety. Have I been guilty of any towards "*Rome*, that cruel mother whom no ſervices could oblige, and who has "caſt out of her boſom a ſon that was uſeful to her, and zealous for her "glory? I owe her no longer any duty. The Nation of the *Volſci* is "now my mother. She forgot the miſchiefs I did her; ſhe received "me when a fugitive, a wanderer and poor. She has been profuſe in "beſtowing upon me her honours, her magiſtracy, and the command "of her armies. You think it impious to abandon profeſſed enemies; "and you would have me betray the moſt affectionate friends, when "they place all their confidence in me. No, *Romans*, I am not like "you. I know how to acknowledge obligations, and to adhere to "thoſe who have done me honour. The remorſe you ſpeak of is for "*Rome* herſelf to feel; let *her* dread the rage of thoſe avenging furies "which torment the guilty. As for me, the Gods have ſufficiently "ſhewn that they approve of my reſentments; and victory proclaims "aloud whoſe cauſe it is that they eſpouſe."

Y. of R. 265. Bef. J.C. 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

Coriolanus having ſpoke in this haughty ſtrain as to what concerned the intereſts of the *Volſci*, and the injuries he had ſuffered from the *Romans*, came to a more gentle behaviour towards the Deputies. He aſſured them that he had not forgot the good will they had formerly expreſſed for him; nor could ever loſe the ſenſe of his obligations to them for their generous protection of his mother, wife and children, ſince his baniſhment. That he was ready to do them any perſonal good office in his power, and for their ſakes would even grant the *Romans* a truce for thirty days with regard to the proper territory of *Rome*; but that after the expiration of that term, he ſhould expect from them a deciſive anſwer. He then diſmiſſed the Deputies.

The thirty days, which he allowed the *Romans* to conſider of his demand, he employed in taking other towns of *Latium*; and then appeared once more with his whole army in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. The Senate had ſpent the time in deliberations, and had come to a reſolution never to receive law from their enemies, nor even to treat of an alliance with the *Volſci*, till they had withdrawn their troops from the territory of *Rome*, and from thoſe of her allies. Ten other Senators, who had all been Conſuls, were diſpatched to *Coriolanus* to ſignify to him this determination of *the Fathers*. Theſe Deputies conjured him to moderate his diſpleaſure, and demand nothing that was unbecoming the dignity of the *Roman* name to grant. They bid him remember, that the *Romans* were not men whom threats could terrify; but they added, that, if in his opinion the *Volſci* deſerved favour, they might, upon laying down their arms, obtain by treaty whatever they could reaſonably deſire.

His anſwer was ſhort, *That the* Romans *had no choice but reſtitution or war; and that he would allow them but three days to come to a final determination.* The Deputies would have replied, but he refuſed to hear them, commanded them inſtantly to leave his camp, and threatened to puniſh them as ſpies if they did not obey.

The Senate, though extremely piqued, when, from the report of their Deputies, they underſtood with what a haughty arrogance *Coriolanus* had treated them, were yet in no haſte to ſend an army into the field againſt him; not thinking it adviſeable to truſt an affair of ſo great importance to the management of two Conſuls, who had neither vigour, courage, nor military ſkill. It was reſolved to keep cloſe within the fortifications of *Rome*, and apply the whole ſtrength of the Republic to the defence of the City; which they had much reaſon to fear would ſpeedily be attacked. Some hope, however, ſtill remained to the *Fathers* of preventing the calamity of a ſiege, by a new deputation to *Coriolanus*. As if the Republic (ſays *Plutarch*) had been beaten by a tempeſt, and were juſt ready to periſh, they (according to the Proverb) *threw out the Holy Anchor*. For they ordered the Pontifs, Prieſts, Augurs, all the Miniſters of Religion, veſted in their ceremonial habits, to go in ſolemn proceſſion to his camp, and, with moſt preſſing inſtances, conjure him to comply with the propoſals, which had been twice made to him for finiſhing the war.

To

To these Sacred Ambassadors *Coriolanus* did not refuse an audience; yet they found him as inexorable to them as he had been to the prophane. He would abate nothing of his former demands. Y. of R. 265. Bef. J. C. 487. 22 Consulship.

§. III. ALL hope of pacifying the injured exile being now extinguished, the sole business at *Rome* was to prepare with the utmost diligence for sustaining a siege. The young and able bodied men had instantly the guard of the gates and trenches assigned to them; while those of the veterans, who, though exempt by their age from bearing arms, were yet capable of service, undertook the defence of the ramparts. The women, in the mean while, scared by these movements and the impending danger into a neglect of their wonted decorum, ran tumultuously from their houses to the temples. Every sanctuary, and especially the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, resounded with the wailings and loud supplications of women, prostrate before the statues of the Gods. In this general consternation and distress *Valeria*, (sister of the famous *Valerius Poplicola*) as if moved by a divine impulse, suddenly took her stand upon the top of the steps of the temple of *Jupiter*, assembled the women about her, and having first exhorted them not to be terrified by the greatness of the present danger, confidently declared, "that there was "yet hope for the Republic; that it's preservation depended upon *them*, "and upon *their* performance of the duty they owed their country." — "Alas! *cried out one of the Company*, what resource can there be in "the weakness of wretched women, when our bravest men, our ablest "warriors themselves despair? —— It is not by the sword, nor by "strength of arm (replied *Valeria*) that we are to prevail; these belong "not to our Sex. Soft, moving words must be our weapons and our "force. Let us all, in our mourning attire, and accompanied by our "children, go beg and intreat *Veturia*, the mother of *Coriolanus*, to in-"tercede with her son for our common country. *Veturia*'s prayers will "bend his soul to pity. Haughty and implacable as he has hitherto "appeared, he has not a heart so cruel and obdurate, as not to relent, "when he shall see his mother, his revered, his beloved mother, a "weeping suppliant at his feet."

This motion being universally applauded, the whole train of women took their way to *Veturia*'s house. Her son's wife, *Volumnia*, who was sitting with her when they arrived, and was greatly surprized at their coming, hastily asked them the meaning of so extraordinary an appearance. *What is it*, she said? *What can be the motive that has brought such a numerous company of visiters to this house of Sorrow?*

Valeria, addressing herself to the mother, "It is to you, *Veturia*, that "these women have recourse in the extreme peril, with which they and "their children are threatened. They intreat, implore, conjure you to "compassionate their distress, and the distress of our common country. "Suffer not *Rome* to become a prey to the *Volsci*, and our enemies to "triumph over our liberty. Go to the camp of *Coriolanus*: Take "with you *Volumnia* and her two sons: Let that excellent wife join

"her

Y. of R. 265, Bef. J.C 487. 2d Conſulſhip.

" her interceſſion to yours: Permit theſe women with their children to " accompany you; they will all caſt themſelves at his feet. O *Veturia*, " conjure him to grant peace to his fellow-citizens: Ceaſe not to beg till " you have obtained: So good a man can never withſtand your tears: " Our only hope is in you. Come then, *Veturia*; the danger preſſes; " you have no time for deliberation; the enterpriſe is worthy of your " virtue; the Gods will crown it with ſucceſs: *Rome* ſhall once more " owe it's preſervation to our ſex: You will juſtly acquire to yourſelf " an immortal fame, and have the pleaſure to make every one of us a " ſharer in your glory."

Veturia, after a ſhort ſilence, with tears in her eyes, anſwered, " Weak " indeed is the foundation of your hope, *Valeria*, when you place it in " the aid of two miſerable women. We are not wanting in affection to " our country, nor need we any remonſtrance or intreaties to excite our " zeal for it's preſervation. It is the power only of being ſerviceable " that fails us. Ever ſince that unfortunate hour, when the People in " their madneſs ſo unjuſtly baniſhed *Coriolanus*, his heart has been no " leſs eſtranged from his family than from his country. You will be " convinced of this ſad truth by his own words to us at parting. When " he returned home from the Aſſembly, where he had been condemned, " he found us in the extremeſt depth of affliction, bewailing the miſeries " that were ſure to follow our being deprived of ſo dear a ſon, and ſo " excellent a huſband. (We had his children upon our knees.) He kept " himſelf at a diſtance from us; and, when he had a while ſtood ſilent, " motionleſs as a rock, his eyes fixed, and without ſhedding a tear, " 'Tis done, *he ſaid*.— O mother, and thou *Volumnia*, the beſt of wives, " to you *Marcius* is no more. I am baniſhed hence for my affection to " my country, and the ſervices I have done it. I go this inſtant; and " I leave for ever a city, where all good men are proſcribed. Support " this blow of fortune with the magnanimity that becomes women of " your high rank and virtue. I commend my children to your care. " Educate them in a manner worthy of you, and of the race from " which they come. The Gods grant, they may be more fortunate " than their father, and never fall ſhort of him in virtue; and may you " in them find your conſolation! Farewel.

" We ſtarted up at the ſound of this word, and with loud cries of la- " mentation ran to him to receive his laſt embraces. I led his elder " ſon by the hand, *Volumnia* had the younger in her arms. He turned " his eyes from us, and, putting us back with his hand, Mother, *ſaid he*, " from this moment you have no ſon: Our country has taken from " you the ſtay of your old age.— Nor to you, *Volumnia*, will *Marcius* " be henceforth a huſband; may'ſt thou be happy with another, more " fortunate! —— My dear children, you have loſt your father.

" He ſaid no more, but inſtantly broke away from us. He departed " from *Rome* without ſettling his domeſtick affairs, or leaving any orders " about them; without money, without ſervants, and even without

" letting

" letting us know, to what part of the world he would direct his ſteps. Y. of *R.* 265.
" It is now the fourth year ſince he went away; and he has never en- Bef. *J. C.* 487.
" quired after his family, nor, by letter or meſſenger, given us the leaſt 22 Conſulſhip.
" account of himſelf; ſo that it ſeems as if his mother and his wife
" were the chief objects of that general hatred which he ſhews to his
" Country.

" What ſucceſs then can you expect from our intreaties to a man ſo im-
" placable? Can two women bend that ſtubborn heart, which even all the
" miniſters of religion were not able to ſoften? And indeed what ſhall I
" ſay to him? What can I reaſonably deſire of him? That he would
" pardon ungrateful Citizens, who have treated him as the vileſt crimi-
" nal? That he would take compaſſion upon a furious, unjuſt Populace
" which had no regard for his innocence? And that he would betray
" a Nation, which has not only opened him an *Aſylum*, but has even
" preferred him to her moſt illuſtrious Citizens in the command of
" her armies? With what face can I aſk him to abandon ſuch gene-
" rous protectors, and deliver himſelf again into the hands of his moſt
" bitter enemies? Can a *Roman* mother, and a *Roman* wife, with decency,
" exact, from a ſon and a huſband, compliances which muſt diſhonour
" him before both Gods and men? Mournful circumſtance, in which
" we have not power to hate the moſt formidable enemy of our Coun-
" try! Leave us therefore to our unhappy deſtiny; and do not deſire us
" to make it more unhappy by an action that may caſt a blemiſh upon
" our virtue."

The Ladies made no anſwer but by their tears and intreaties: Some embraced her knees; others beſeeched *Volumnia* to join her prayers to theirs; all conjured *Veturia* not to refuſe her Country this laſt aſſiſtance. Overcome at length by their urgent ſolicitations, ſhe promiſed to do as they deſired, if the Senate agreed to it. *Valeria* gave advice to the Conſuls, of what the women had projected. The matter was propoſed to the Senate, and was long debated. Some feared leſt *Coriolanus* ſhould detain all thoſe Ladies, who were of the beſt families in *Rome*, and by that means make the gates be opened to him, without ſo much as drawing his ſword: Others were even for ſecuring his mother, wife and children, as ſo many hoſtages that might bring him to a better temper: but the majority approved of the new deputation, ſaying, that the Gods, who had inſpired *Valeria* with this pious deſign, would give it ſucceſs; and that no treachery was to be apprehended from a man of *Coriolanus*'s character, proud indeed, ſevere and inflexible, but not capable of violating the law of Nations.

This opinion having prevailed, the very next day all the moſt illuſtrious of the *Roman* Ladies repaired to *Veturia*'s houſe. There they preſently mounted a number of chariots, which the Conſuls had ordered to be made ready for them, and, without any guard, took the way to the enemy's camp.

Y. of *R.* 265. Bef. *J. C.* 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

§. IV. *CORIOLANUS*, perceiving from afar that long train of chariots, ſent out ſome horſemen to learn the meaning of it. They quickly brought him word, that it was his mother, his wife, and a great number of other women, with their children, coming to the camp. He doubtleſs divined what views the *Romans* had in ſo extraordinary a deputation; that this was the laſt expedient of the Senate; and, in his own mind, he determined, not to let himſelf be moved. But he reckoned upon a ſavage inflexibility that was not in his nature: For, going out with a few attendants to receive the Ladies, he no ſooner beheld *Veturia* attired in mourning, her eyes bathed in tears, and with a countenance and motion that ſpoke her ſinking under a load of ſorrow, but he ran haſtily to her, and, not only calling her, *Mother*, but adding to that word the moſt tender epithets, embraced her, wept over her, and held her in his arms to prevent her falling. The like tenderneſs he preſently after expreſſed to his wife, highly commending her diſcretion in having conſtantly ſtay'd with his mother, ſince his departure from *Rome*: And then, with the warmeſt paternal affection, he careſſed his children.

When ſome time had been allowed to thoſe ſilent tears of joy, which uſually flow in abundance at the ſudden and unexpected meeting of perſons ſo dear to each other, *Veturia* entered upon the buſineſs for which ſhe came. To avoid giving umbrage to the *Volſci*, *Coriolanus* had called the principal officers to be witneſſes of what paſſed between his mother and him. That ſhe might engage her ſon to have the more regard to her requeſt, ſhe began with telling him, that all thoſe women, whom he knew to be of the beſt families in *Rome*, had, during his abſence, done every thing in their power, to give comfort to her, and *Volumnia* his wife; *ſhe added*, that, touched with the calamities of the war, and apprehending the fatal conſequences of the ſiege of *Rome*, they were come, with united ſupplications to beg a peace at his hands: and ſhe conjured him in the name of the Gods not to refuſe that favour to his Country.

Coriolanus anſwered, that he ſhould offend thoſe Gods, whom he had invoked to be witneſſes of his faith given the *Volſci*, if he granted her ſo unjuſt a demand. That he could not think of betraying the intereſts of a people who had not only honoured him with a place in their Senate, but had alſo truſted him with the command of their army: That he had found at *Antium* more honours and wealth than he had loſt at *Rome* by the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens; and that nothing would be wanting to his happineſs, if ſhe would only prevail with herſelf to forſake *Rome*, and, in the country of the *Volſci*, ſhare with him all the advantages of his glorious fortune.

The officers, preſent at this conference, teſtified, by a murmur of applauſe, that they were highly pleaſed with his anſwer. *Veturia*, in her reply to it, aſſured him, that ſhe would never require any thing of him, that could bring a blemiſh upon his honour; but added, that without

acting [illegible] Obligations to the *Volsci*, he might mediate a peace between the *Romans* and them. "Now, my son, I do not ask
" of you to betray a people who have given you so generous a reception,
" and even intrusted them armies to thy conduct: nor do I wish that
" thou should'st make a separate peace for thyself, without the consent
" of the whole Nation. *Rome* is incapable of [illegible] for to any
" base action. Grant us only a truce for a few days, in this interval,
" a solid peace may be negotiated, an alliance that shall be firm and
" durable, and equally advantageous to both Nations. You, who are
" vers'd in public affairs, can have no difficulty to perſuade the *Volſci*,
" that a peace, upon ſuch fair conditions as these only now be certain to
" obtain, is preferable to a war, the final event of which is still un-
" certain. But if, elated by the ſucceſs they have had under your
" guidance, and imagining that fortune muſt always favour them, they
" refuſe to liſten to your remonſtrances, what hinders you publickly
" to reſign your commiſſion of General? Let all be open: No diſ-
" guiſe, no breach of truſt, no treachery to your new friends: But then
" beware, my ſon, of impiouſly continuing an enemy to thoſe, with
" whom you have yet a more near relation. But let the apprehenſion
" of appearing ungrateful to your benefactors reſtrain you from com-
" plying with my requeſt. Have not the *Volſci* been ſufficiently re-
" compenſed by the many ſignal and important ſervices you have done
" them? Liberty was their ſole ambition; you have not only procur'd
" them liberty, but have raiſed them to ſo high a pitch of proſperity,
" that they are now conſidering whether it will be more adviſeable
" totally to ſuppreſs the *Roman* power, or to live with us upon a foot
" of equality, the two Nations under one and the ſame government.
" Can you imagine that thus benefited, thus exalted by your aid, they
" will reſent, as an injury, your not ſacrificing to them your own
" country, your not imbruing your hands in the blood of your fellow
" Citizens?—You will tell me perhaps that you *hate* your country.
" But are you not unreaſonable in ſo doing? When the *Romans* unjuſtly
" condemn'd you to baniſhment, was *Rome* in its natural ſtate? Was it
" govern'd by the laws of our forefathers? Was not the Republic
" agitated by a violent ſtorm? Were not the members of it diſtemper'd?
" Not all indeed; for they were not all of one mind. It was only the
" baſer and more corrupt part of the Citizens that voted againſt you,
" and theſe incited by the pernicious counſels of their Leaders, thoſe
" enemies to all good men. But had it been otherwiſe, had all the
" Citizens unanimouſly combin'd to baniſh you, as a man dangerous to
" the State on account of his miſchievous politics, wou'd it be there-
" fore allowable for you to revenge yourſelf in this manner? Many
" others, whoſe ſervices, in the adminiſtration of public affairs, were
" no leſs upright than yours, have been as unjuſtly and hardly treated
" as you; (you will find few good magiſtrates whoſe ſhining merit has
" not excited envy;) and yet thoſe worthy men ſuffered their diſgraces

V. of A. 264. Bef. JC. 490. 2 Conſulſhip.

V. of R. 265. Bef. J. C. 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

"with temper, conſider'd them as in the number of thoſe evils to "which, by the condition of humanity, they were inevitably expoſed; "and, removing into foreign countries, carried thither no reſentment, "no malice againſt their enemy. Who was ever more injuriouſly treat-"ed than *Tarquinius Collatinus*? When with an honeſt zeal and with "all his power he had aſſiſted in delivering *Rome* from the tyranny of "the *Tarquins*, he was himſelf baniſhed thence, upon a falſe accuſation "of plotting to reeſtabliſh that tyranny. He retired to *Lavinium*, "and there paſs'd the remainder of his days in tranquillity, without ever "attempting any thing that cou'd give credit to the calumnies ſo "maliciouſly vented againſt him."

"But, if you will have it ſo, I ſhall ſuppoſe that every man who "ſuffers an injury, has it from friends or enemies, his countrymen or "ſtrangers, has a right to revenge himſelf. Thoſe, who by their unjuſt "uſage of you provoked your anger, have you not ſufficiently puniſh-"ed them? Our colonies expelled from their ſettlements by your arms; "the cities of our allies forced and plundered; the *Roman* lands pillaged "and laid waſte; *Rome* itſelf inveſted, terrified with the apprehenſion "of famine, and of the whole variety of miſeries incident to a City be-"ſieged: How is it, that all this has not been ſufficient to aſſwage "thy thirſt of vengeance? O *Marcius*, at thy firſt entring the *Roman* "territory, did it not come into thy mind, *This is the country that gave* "*me birth; here I was nouriſhed in my infancy; here I was brought up?* "And cou'dſt thou have the heart to lay it waſte? When thou ſaweſt "the walls of *Rome* from afar, was it poſſible to forget, that within "thoſe walls were thy houſhold Gods, thy mother, thy wife, thy "children? Yet none of theſe reflections had any power to move thee. "The moſt amicable offers, repeated offers from the Senate, by Am-"baſſadors, men of the higheſt worth and choſen from among thy "friends, have been rejected by thee with ſcorn. The interceſſion, the "earneſt entreaties of the whole body of the Prieſthood, thoſe ſacred "miniſters of Religion have had no power to move thy compaſſion. "No; to ſatisfy thy boundleſs revenge, *Rome*, thy native City, muſt be "ſack'd, and its inhabitants reduced to ſlavery. A frenzy, a madneſs "of anger that tranſports thee! Offended Gods are appeaſed by ſup-"plications, vows and ſacrifices: Shall mortals be implacable? Will "*Marcius* ſet no bounds to his reſentment?—But, be it, that thy "enmity to thy country is too violent to let thee liſten to *her* petition for "peace, yet be not deaf, my ſon, be not inexorable to the prayers and "tears of thy mother. Thou dreadeſt the very appearance of ingrati-"tude towards the *Volſci*; and ſhall thy mother have reaſon to accuſe "thee of being ungrateful? Call to mind the tender care I took of thy "infancy and earlieſt youth; the hazards, the anxiety I ſuffered on thy "account, when, entered into the ſtate of manhood, thy life was almoſt "daily expoſed in foreign wars; the apprehenſions, the terrors I under-"went when I ſaw thee ſo warmly engaged in our domeſtic Quarrels, and

" with heroic courage oppoſing the unjuſt pretenſions of the furious
" *Plebeians*. My fad forebodings of the event have been but too well
" verified. Conſider the wretched life I have endured, if it may be
" call'd life, the time that has paſs'd ſince I was deprived of thee. O
" *Marcius*, refuſe me not the only requeſt I ever made thee, I will never
" importune thee with any other. Ceaſe thy immoderate anger, be re-
" conciled to thy country, this is all I aſk; grant me but this and we
" ſhall both be happy. Freed from thoſe tempeſtuous paſſions which
" now agitate thy ſoul, and from all the torments of ſelf-reproach, thy
" days will flow ſmoothly on in the ſweet ſerenity of conſcious virtue:
" And, as for me, if I carry back with me to *Rome* the hopes of an
" approaching peace, an aſſurance of thy being reconciled to thy
" country, with what tranſports of joy ſhall I be received! In what
" honour, in what delightful repoſe, ſhall I paſs the remainder of my
" life! What immortal glory ſhall I have acquired! And, if it be true,
" that there are different places for our ſouls after death, I ſhall be in
" no danger of deſcending to thoſe ſubterraneous and gloomy caverns
" where the wicked are confined. Nay, the Elyſian fields, that delicious
" abode allotted for the virtuous, will not be the place of my habitation,
" but the pure and ſublime region of the air, which is ſaid to be in-
" habited by the children of the Gods. My ſoul ſhall there publiſh the
" praiſes of thy piety and affection to me, and never ceaſe importuning
" the Gods to grant thee a full recompence of all thy merit.

" But I give myſelf up too much to theſe pleaſing views. What will
" become of me, if thou remain implacable? Doſt thou believe,
" that, covered with the ſhame of a contemptuous denial, I will live
" till thy arms have decided our doom? That I will wait that diſmal day,
" when I ſhall ſee my ſon either led in triumph by his countrymen, or
" erecting trophies on the ruins of that City where he was born? No,
" *Marcius*, be aſſured, that if I cannot move thee to compliance, I will
" here put an end to my life in thy preſence. Thou ſhalt not march to
" *Rome* without treading over the body of her who bore thee. And if
" this has not power to ſtop thy fury, yet conſider at leaſt, that, by
" thy bringing ſlavery on thy country, thy wife and thy children
" muſt inevitably fall under the ſame calamity, or avoid it by a ſpeedy
" death."

Coriolanus made no attempt to interrupt *Volumnia* while ſhe was ſpeaking; and when ſhe had ceaſed, he ſtill continued in a deep ſilence. Anger, hatred, and deſire of revenge balanced in his heart thoſe ſofter paſſions which the ſight and diſcourſe of his mother had awaken'd in his breaſt. She perceiving his irreſolution, and fearing the event, thus renewed her expoſtulation.

" Why doſt thou not anſwer me, my ſon? Is there then ſuch a greatneſs
" of mind in giving *all* to reſentment? Art thou aſhamed to grant any
" thing to a mother who thus intreats thee, thus humbles herſelf to
" thee? If it be ſo, to what purpoſe ſhou'd I longer endure a wretch-

P. of R. 265.
A. U. C. 487.
Conſulſhip.

Y. of R. 265. Bef. J. C. 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

ed life?" As ſhe uttered theſe laſt words, interrupted by ſighs, ſhe threw herſelf proſtrate at his feet, his wife and children did the ſame; and all the other women, with united voices of doleful accent, begg'd and implored his pity.

The *Volſcian* officers, not able unmoved to behold this ſcene, turn'd away their eyes: But *Coriolanus*, almoſt beſide himſelf to ſee *Veturia* at his feet, paſſionately cried out: *Ah! mother, what is it you do?* And, tenderly preſſing her hand in raiſing her up, he added in a low voice, *Rome is ſaved, but your ſon is loſt.*

And now, taking his mother and his wife aſide to a private conference, it was agreed between them, that he ſhould immediately retire with his army out of the *Roman* territory; that nothing ſhould be done by the Senate or People in favour of his return to *Rome* till a peace was concluded; that he ſhould employ all his credit to bring the *Volſci* to reaſonable terms of accommodation; and that in caſe their paſt ſucceſs made them obſtinate, he ſhould then lay down the command of their armies, which would probably be a means to bring them to a better temper. After this the women took their leave of him, and he turned his thoughts wholly to obtain an honourable peace for his country.

Fame carried to *Rome* the news of the Ladies ſucceſs, before they could arrive there themſelves, ſo that crowds of People came out and met them with grateful acclamations. A decree, allowing them to chuſe their own reward, was preſently paſſed with the unanimous conſent of both orders. The Ladies, when they had conſulted together, agreed to aſk nothing but permiſſion to erect, at their own expence, in the place where they had overcome the obſtinacy of *Coriolanus*, a Temple to *Women's Fortune*. The Senate highly applauded their diſintereſted nobleneſs of ſpirit, but would not ſuffer them to pay either for the Temple or the Statue that was to be worſhiped in it. Theſe were erected at the public charge; and *Valeria*, who had counſelled ſo fortunate a deputation, was the firſt Prieſteſs of this ſanctuary.

Early the next morning after *Coriolanus*'s conference with his mother, he broke up his camp, and peaceably marched his army homewards. Nobody had the boldneſs to contradict his orders, though many were exceedingly diſſatisfied with his conduct, while others excuſed it, being more affected with his filial reſpect to his mother than with their own intereſts. As ſoon as he was arrived in the territory of the *Volſci*, he made a preſent to the ſoldiers of all the ſpoil that had fallen to his ſhare during the whole campaign, and then diſmiſſed them. This liberality increaſed their affection to him, ſo that they made his apology wherever they went.

But *Tullus*, who had long been jealous of the eſteem and credit which his rival had gained with the ſoldiery, no ſooner ſaw him return'd to *Antium*, than he laid hold of the fair occaſion which that return afforded to work his deſtruction; accuſing him, in a full aſſembly of the Citizens, of

of having baſely betrayed the *Volſci*; and commanding him to deliver up his commiſſion, and give account of his conduct in the war. V. of R. 265. Bef. J. C. 487. 22 Conſulſhips.

Coriolanus did not refuſe a trial, but inſiſted upon being tried by the General Council of the Nation, and not by the *Antiates* alone, among whom his enemy had too many dependants devoted to his will. This conteſt was a while obſtinately carried on, till at length the *Volſcian*, impatient to compaſs his deſign, and having ſuborned ſome Aſſaſſins, ſent a ſummons to the *Roman* to appear in judgment on a certain day to clear himſelf of treaſon. On the day appointed, *Tullus* mounted his tribunal, and having firſt charged his adverſary with various crimes againſt the State, exhorted the people to employ violence, if the accuſed did not inſtantly abdicate his office. *Coriolanus* would have anſwered to the charge, and many of the aſſembly were diſpoſed to hear him candidly; but when he began to ſpeak, his voice was immediately drown'd by clamours from *Tullus*'s faction; and the moſt audacious of them crying out, Down with him, kill him, kill him, the furious rabble in a few moments ſtoned him to death.

Such was the end of this great man, according to *Dionyſius* and *Plutarch*, who likewiſe agree in telling us, that the nation of the *Volſci* in general were not pleaſed with the murder of the hero, but much regretted the loſs of him, and, after a pompous funeral, erected a ſtately tomb to his memory. *Dionyſius* adds, that the *Romans* themſelves, both men and women, on the firſt news of his death, went into mourning for him; but *Plutarch* will have it, that the men did nothing that expreſſed either honour for his memory, or reſentment againſt him, yet ſuffered the women, at their own requeſt, to wear mourning ten months, the longeſt mourning allowed by the laws of *Numa*.

Livy ſays nothing of the mourning of men or women at *Rome*, for their countryman. He ſeems to give no credit to the ſtory of the murder, but rather to believe the report * of *Fabius* (whom he ſtyles *By*

* *Fabius*'s report is not incredible. *Coriolanus* had rejected all the offers of advantage to himſelf made him by the ſenate, had been deaf to all the ſollicitations of his beſt friends, and had only yielded to his mother; and filial piety, in thoſe days, was a high point of virtue. And accordingly both *Dionyſius* and *Plutarch* tell us, that thoſe of the army who diſliked his retreat from before *Rome*, did not look upon him as treacherous, but thought his action pardonable; he being preſſed to it by ſuch affecting motives. Add to this, that the hearts of the ſoldiers were gained to him by his liberality; and the whole nation indebted to him for extraordinary ſervices. It may therefore eaſily be ſuppoſed, that they did not refuſe him a quiet retreat in their country; and if we conſider his haughty and unforgiving temper, and his inextinguiſhable hatred to the *Roman* tribunes and the popular party, theſe will ſufficiently account for his not ſeeking, or even deſiring to return to *Rome*.

It may be proper here to mention, that though *Dionyſius* and *Plutarch* have been followed in what they ſay of *Coriolanus*'s *Conſent* to be tried by the *Roman* People on the article of treaſon, and of his *Defence* againſt the accuſations of the tribunes, in that aſſembly of the tribes, which condemn'd him to baniſhment; yet from the character of this proud and obſtinate Patrician, *Livy*'s account ſeems more credible. Not a word in the *Latin* Hiſtorian of any ſuch *Conſent* or *Defence*; he affirms that *Coriolanus* did not appear on the day appointed for his trial, and was condemn'd in his abſence for default.

far

Y. of R. 269. Bef. J.C. 483. 23 Conſulſhip.

moſt antient of the Latin Hiſtorians) that Coriolanus *lived to a great age, and in his laſt years was frequently heard to ſay, That exile, always grievous, was much more ſo to an old man.*

Be this as it will, the *Volſci* ſoon experienced a great change in their affairs by the want of *Coriolanus* to command their Troops. In conjunction with the *Æqui* they made a new incurſion into the *Roman* territories, but the latter refuſing to ſubmit to *Attius Tullus* as their General, there enſued between theſe confederates a quarrel that was followed by a bloody engagement, in which, ſays *Livy*, the good fortune of the *Romans* deſtroyed two hoſtile armies. The *Conſuls* had notice of this event, and were poſted but four miles from the field of battle, yet their cowardice was ſuch, that they made no advantage of the accident, but marched back to *Rome*, where they were received by the People with hootings and reproaches.

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *The* Romans *gain ſome victories over the* Volſci *and* Hernici. §. II. Sp. Caſſius *(now a third time Conſul) concludes an alliance with the* Hernici *upon terms which diſpleaſe the Senate.* §. III. *He propoſes the* AGRARIAN LAW. §. IV. *The oppoſition of the Nobles to the paſſing of this law. The Conſul* Virginius *and even the Tribunes oppoſe it.* §. V. *The artful conduct of the Tribune* Rabuleius *to draw an advantage to the People from the diſpute between the Conſuls.* §. VI. Caſſius *to get his law paſſed brings great numbers of* Latines *and* Hernici *to* Rome *to vote for it. His Colleague orders them to leave the City.* §. VII. *The Senate, to quiet the contention, decree a* Partition *of the conquered lands, but defer the execution of their decree.* §. VIII. Caſſius *is arraigned before the People for treaſon.*

§. I. THE People of *Rome* having now experienced the diſadvantage of wanting ſkilful and courageous Captains at their head, Y. of *R.* 266. Bef. *J.C.* 486. 23 Conſulſhip. choſe two Conſuls, for the next year, of known bravery and ability in war, *Aquilius Tuſcus*, and *Sicinnius Sabinus*: *Aquilius* gained a victory over the *Hernici*: and the *Volſci* were totally routed * by *Sicinnius*; their General *Attius Tullus* being ſlain in the battle.

Y. of *R.* 267. Bef. *J.C.* 485. 24 Conſulſhip. §. II. TO theſe Conſuls ſucceeded *Spurius Caſſius* (who had been twice before in the ſame ſtation, and had obtained a triumph) and *Procalus Virginius*, a man of approved courage. It fell to *Virginius*'s lot to make war with the *Æqui*; but theſe, not being prepared for fighting, retired with their effects into their Towns; ſo that the Conſul (who probably was not in a condition to undertake ſieges) when he had a while ravaged the open country returned with his army to *Rome*.

* *Livy* ſays, that in the war with the *Volſci* there was no advantage gain'd on either ſide, *cum Volſcis æquo marte diſceſſum eſt.*

Caſſius

Caſſius marched againſt the *Volſci* and *Hernici*, both which nations took the ſame meaſures as the *Æqui*, to avoid a battle: but growing impatient of the devaſtations made on their lands by the Conſul, they ſucceſſively ſent Ambaſſadors to him to aſk peace. The *Volſci* were the firſt ſuitors. *Dionyſius* tells us, that *Caſſius* readily granted their requeſt on their paying a certain ſum of money and furniſhing his ſoldiers with ſuch cloaths and proviſions as they ſtood in need of. V. of R. 267. Bef. J. C. 484. 24 Confulſhip.

And he adds, that, laying aſide the preſumptuous thought of being on a foot of equality with the *Roman* Republic, they, by the treaty of peace, agreed * to become her ſubjects.

The *Hernici*, thus abandon'd by their allies, ſued to the Conſul not only for peace, but an *alliance* with *Rome*, offering to ſubmit to ſuch *juſt and reaſonable* conditions as he ſhould preſcribe. *Caſſius*, after exacting a month's pay for his troops and ſome proviſions, refer'd the Ambaſſadors to the Senate for the treaty of peace. The Senate decreed to admit the *Hernici* into the friendſhip of the *Roman* People, but left it abſolutely to the Conſul to adjuſt the conditions.

The treaty † made by *Caſſius* with theſe neighbours was, *mutatis mutandis*, a tranſcript of that concluded in his ſecond Conſulſhip with the *Latines*, which, that the reader may better underſtand the paſſage of the Hiſtory we are now upon, it may be proper here to inſert.

"Let there be peace between the *Romans* and all *the Latin* States, "while Heaven and Earth endure. They ſhall neither make war themſelves, nor raiſe foreign enemies againſt each other, nor ſhall either of the "contracting parties ſuffer ſuch enemies to paſs through their territories "to attack the other. Each ſhall with all its forces defend the other "when attack'd from abroad; and when a war is carried on at their "joint expence, they ſhall *equally ſhare* the ſpoils of the enemy be"tween them. All diſputes about private contracts ſhall be judged and "decided in ten days, in the courts of that nation, where the contracts

* This has not the leaſt degree of probability, as will hereafter be ſhewn; it is more likely that the *Volſci* diſdained an alliance with the *Romans*; unleſs by the *Volſci* the Hiſtorian means only two cantons of them which had formerly been in alliance with the Republic.

† The record of this treaty ſeems to have been preſerved to the time of *Auguſtus*. For *Livy*, B. 2. c. 33. ſpeaking of the bravery of *Coriolanus* in the war againſt the *Volſci*, the ſame year that this treaty was made with the *Latines*, ſays, that the glory of the Conſul *Cominius*, who commanded in this war, was ſo much eclipſed by the gallant behaviour of *Coriolanus*, that if the treaty concluded with the *Latines* by *Sp. Caſſius*, in the abſence of his collegue, and engraven on a pillar of braſs, had not been a laſting proof that *Cominius* conducted the war againſt the *Volſci*, his ſhare in that expedition would have been totally forgotten.

As to the treaty of friendſhip and alliance now made with the *Hernici*, (according to *D. Hal.*) in the third Conſulſhip of *Caſſius*, *Livy* ſays nothing of it, but tells us that *Caſſius* took from the *Hernici* two thirds of their lands, and that it was afterwards objected to *Caſſius* as a crime, that he had left them one third, when he might have taken all, which is totally incredible, the *Hernici*, according to his own account, not being reduced to that degree of ſubjection till one hundred and ninety years after this time.

V. of R. 267. Bef. J. C. 485. 24 Conſulſhip.

"ſhall have been made. Nothing ſhall be added to, or reſcinded from "this treaty but with the conſent of all the *Romans* and all the *La-*"*tines*."

Though a treaty in this form did not import an admiſſion of the People with whom ſuch treaty was made, to the right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, yet, that by ſome act this right was granted to the *Latines* and *Hernici*, we learn from *Dionyſius*; but it ought to be obſerved, that the *Jus Civitatis* was little more than an honorary title, except to thoſe who removed to *Rome*, ſettled there, and conform'd to the laws and religion of the *Romans*. Such only had the right of ſuffrage and the other ſubſtantial privileges of the proper Citizens.

Caſſius, at his return to *Rome*, demanded a triumph; and, tho' he had no ſpoils nor priſoners of war to adorn it, had taken no town by aſſault, nor had fought any pitch'd battle, his demand was readily granted by the Senate; who nevertheleſs, *Dionyſius* would have us believe, inwardly accuſed him of arrogance for making the requeſt. And the ſame Hiſtorian repreſents the moſt antient and moſt conſiderable of the Fathers, as ſuſpecting the Conſul of ſome miſchievous deſign when they learnt from him, that by his treaty with the *Hernici* he had put them upon the ſame foot with the *Latines*, though they had not the ſame title to the favour of the Republic. Yet, it ſeems, what piqued them moſt was his pride, in that, after the Senate, declining to ſettle the conditions of the treaty themſelves, (as he deſired they would do) had referr'd that matter wholly to him, he did not ſhew the Senate the like reſpect, by a ſecond application to them, but finiſhed the affair without their farther participation. But all theſe objections to the conduct of *Caſſius*, if they were ever made before *Dionyſius* made them, ſeem to have had no place at the time. The *Greek* Hiſtorian having reſolved to adopt the improbable and ill ſupported tale of *Caſſius*'s aſpiring to be King of *Rome*, prepares his reader to give credit to it, by previouſly blaſting the Conſul's character with the charge of inordinate pride and ambition, diſcovered in the inſtances abovementioned. But, to proceed in our ſtory, (which, in ſubſtance, is thus related by *Dionyſius*).

§. III. THE very next day after his triumph, *Caſſius*, according to cuſtom, convened the People to give them an account of his conduct in the war: and on this occaſion he enumerated the ſervices he had done the Republic in his former Conſulſhips. He reminded the aſſembly that during his *firſt* he had in battle vanquiſhed the *Sabines*, thoſe rivals of *Rome* for Empire, and reduced them to become her ſubjects; that in his *ſecond* he had happily quieted the ſeditions at *Rome*, and had found means to prevail with thoſe of the Citizens who in anger had made a *ſeceſſion*, to return contented to their native city; and in the ſame magiſtracy had brought the *Latines*, who, tho' allied by blood to the *Roman* People, were ever jealous of their glory and power, to a firm and ſincere union with them: that in this, his *third* Conſulſhip, he had forced the *Volſci* to peace, and had engaged the *Hernici*, a great and powerful

nation, near neighbours of *Rome*, and in a condition to do her great hurt and gross good, as they themselves, as it were, entirely to her. He assured them, that no man had the interest of the Republic so much at heart as he had, and should always have; and concluded with promising, that by the many and great benefits he would procure to the *Roman* People, he would furnish all those patriots who had been extoll'd for their popular inclinations and zeal, and with this promise unexplain'd he dismiss'd the assembly. Y. of R. 267. Ant. C. 485. 24 Consulship.

The following day, having convened the Conscript Fathers, whom his harangue to the multitude had fill'd with an anxious impatience to know wherein it tended, he at once declared to them his project. He said, that as not only the liberty of *Rome*, but the empire she had acquired over other States was chiefly owing to the bravery of the *Plebeians*, he thought they well deserved that some regard should be had to their interests; and that it was but just that all the *conquer'd lands*, of which the most audacious and shameless of the *Patricians* had illegally got possession, should be divided among those *Plebeians*, of whose victories they were the fruit. It was then, says he, that the AGRARIAN LAW was proposed for the first time. B. 2. c. 41.

Cassius added farther, that to him it likewise appear'd no more than equitable, that the poor Citizens of *Rome* should be reimbursed † whatever money they had paid for the corn, which *Gelo*, the *Sicilian* King, had made a present of to the Republic, and which ought to have been distributed *gratis* to the People.

§ IV. WHILE the Consul was speaking, a confused noise arose in the assembly, all the senators exclaiming at once against these proposals; and as soon as he had ended, his Colleague *Virginius*, rising up, loudly accused him of purposing to kindle sedition in the Republic; an accusation in which he was supported by the oldest and most considerable of the Fathers; and especially by *Appius Claudius*. The city was presently divided into two factions, each with a Consul at its head. In the frequent assemblies that were held of the People, *Cassius* had for some time a very great majority; but at length, the Tribunes taking part with *Virginius*, the numbers on both sides came nearer to an equality. These *Plebeian* magistrates, tho' they plainly saw how advantageous it would be to the Commons to pass the Law in question, were yet very unwilling that they should be obliged for it to a *Patrician*; and *Cassius* himself, by one part of his project furnish'd the Tribunes with a plausible pretext for opposition. *Dionysius* is of opinion, that had his law imported no more than that the lands should be divided among the native *Romans* only, he would probably have succeeded in his enterprise; but that, to secure to himself creatures and adherents abroad as well as at home, for promoting the

† See p. 147. Whether the avarice and injustice of the nobles, the returns to the public lands, are fully described by *Cassius*, not at this time, but afterwards, when they sentence this proposal as made by the Tribunes

A. R. 367. A. C. 387. 4 Consulship.

of Rome, to a share in the distribution; and that, to make the Roman People relish that part of the scheme, he intended to them, there would be a means more effectuary to secure them in the possession of their portion of the lands, for that those two nations being united with them in one common interest, would be a support to them in case of any after-attempt to dispossess them; and tho' their estates would not then be so considerable, yet it was better to have smaller estates with secure possession, than greater with uncertainty of holding them.

It was this article in favour of the Latins and Hernici which the Tribunes had hold of, to defeat the whole design of Cassius, or rather to get the management of the affair out of his hands.

§. V. ONE day when he and Virginius were disputing before the People, Rabuleius an artful Tribune, stepping forth, told the Assembly he had something to offer which he believed would put an end to the contest. Silence being presently made, he thus addressed himself to the two Consuls. "The law in question, does it not consist of these two ar-
B. 2. c. 41. "ticles, A distribution of the public lands in favour of the Roman Citi-
"zens, and the admission of the Latins and Hernici to share with them
"in that distribution?" The Consuls answered in the affirmative. And you Cassius, continued the Tribune, are for having the People confirm both these articles, is not this your desire? It is, said Cassius. Rabuleius then asked Virginius whether he had any objection to the first article. Virginius answered that he had not, and that he only opposed the second. Hereupon the Tribune turning to the People, "You see, said he, that our "Consuls are agreed as to the main point, which concerns your interests; "let us be content with this, and leave the other article to be considered "of hereafter."

§. VI. THE Assembly highly applauded this motion, so that Cassius not knowing what to say, and being quite ashamed of his ill success, dismissed the Assembly. He went home, and pretending sickness, stirred no more abroad for some days. He spent this time in contriving new expedients to compass his point. Finding that his party grew daily weaker, he, in order to strengthen it, sent privately for a great number of Latines and Hernici to come and give their suffrages for the ratification of the law proposed in their favour. Crowds of those new Citizens immediately flocked to Rome; which Virginius observing published an edict, commanding all persons who were not settled inhabitants to depart from the city without delay. Cassius opposed this edict by another, which required all persons, who were inrolled Citizens, to remain in Rome till the question of the Law was decided.

§. VII. THE Senate apprehensive lest the contention between the two factions should grow into a civil war, and doubting perceiving that the opposition to the Tribune Cassius's proposals was not from any dislike to it, but from their jealousy of his popularity, assembled extraordinarily

ordinarily to command armies, to preside at the publick games, and to act as Judges in the publick courts. To prevent the future attempts of the Tribunes to obtain a division of the publick lands among the people, or to bring any other matter before the assembly, he declared himself openly against the partition proposed. He told them, that if the Patricians were suffered to live in idleness at the expence of the state, they would become not only useless but burthensome to it; that the state would in a short time have neither land nor money; that it would be shameful for the Patricians, after having secured to themselves all the profits of male administration, and of endeavouring to corrupt the people by a pernicious proposal, to give a sanction to that proposal by their consenting to let us do a thing just and beneficial to the Republick, and he begged them to consider, that should they grant the distribution demanded, the People would not hold themselves obliged to the Senate, but to Cæsius only, who would seem to have forced the Senate to such compliance. And he then moved, that some of the most considerable members of the House might be appointed commissioners, to take an exact account of such lands as belong'd to the publick, and that whatever part of them should be found to have been usurped by private persons either by force or fraud should be instantly resumed. That when the commissioners had measured these lands and mark'd them by proper boundaries, one part of them should be sold, and especially those lands about which there was any contest between private men, that the purchasers might have an undeniable title to produce against whoever should thereafter lay claim to them: That of the remainder of those lands lesser should be granted for five years, and the rents employ'd in providing corn and pay for the soldiers in time of war. He added, "It is no wonder, indeed, if the *Plebeians* had rather the "publick lands should be divided among all the Citizens, than possess'd "by a few, and these the most impudent of men. But the regulation "which I have now proposed will hinder the People from thinking any "more of the partition proposed by *Cæsius*, for they will undoubtedly "find it more eligible to receive coin and pay from the public, during "the campaign, than to have the property of a scrip of land, which they "must cultivate with the sweat of their brow, subject at the same time "to pay taxes out of the produce of it, for the support of the war."

Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who spoke next, highly applauded what *Appius* had said, adding however, that the worthy Senator had omitted some things which seem'd very proper to be consider'd. "I perceive "(said *Sempronius*) he omits to say, that the *Latines* and *Hernici* "have no just pretence to a share in those lands which *Rome* had con"quer'd before her alliance with them, and that each nation has an ex"clusive right to dispose of its own proper territory and conquests: "But when this reasonable answer is given to the demand of those new "citizens, it seems, in my opinion, that the same one is owing to them, "that they shall have their just portion of whatever lands shall be hereafter "conquer'd by our joint forces. The appointing of commissioners to "take

Y. of R. 267. Bef. J. C. 485. 24 Conſulſhip.

"take account of the public lands, and fix their boundaries, I much ap-
"prove; and I doubt not but the *Plebeians*, when they ſhall ſee the
"revenue of thoſe lands applied to the neceſſities of the State, will be-
"come more quiet and tractable. Yet I think there is one thing more
"which ought to be put into our decree, in order perfectly to conciliate
"the People to us. You remember, that when the Conſul *Virginius*
"was aſked by *Rabuleius* the Tribune, whether he had any objection
"to a diviſion of the public lands among our native citizens, he an-
"ſwered, *No; that his ſole objection to the propoſed Law was the admiſſion*
"of the allies to a ſhare in the diſtribution. And you know that it was this
"anſwer which drew the Tribunes over entirely to our ſide, and brought
"the People to a temper of more moderation. How then can it ſuit
"with the honour and prudence of the Senate, wholly to recede from
"that conceſſion? Muſt we not ſuppoſe, that the People will be much
"more enraged by our breach of promiſe, than they would have been
"by a flat refuſal at firſt of their requeſt? My opinion therefore is,
"that it ſhould be given in charge to the perſons whom you ſhall ap-
"point to ſurvey the lands, to examine what portion of them it may
"be proper to leaſe out for the uſe of the public, and what portion
"it may be adviſable to diſtribute among the *Plebeians*. When the
"commiſſioners have made their report, you yourſelves will judge,
"whether the lands allotted to the People ſhall be divided among *all*
"the *Plebeians*, or only among thoſe who have at preſent no land or
"very little. But with regard to theſe ſeveral regulations, as the ma-
"giſtracy of the preſent Conſuls is near expiring, I think they ſhould
"all be referred to the care of their Succeſſors, to act therein as they
"ſhall judge beſt for the good of the State. An affair of this impor-
"tance is not to be adjuſted in a ſhort time. Our preſent Conſuls, be-
"ing at variance, cannot be ſuppoſed for proper judges of what is fit to
"be done as thoſe who ſhall come after them will be, provided (ac-
"cording to our hope) they live in concord.

"I might add, that *in many affairs, procraſtination is beneficial, far*
"*from being dangerous; a ſingle day may produce notable changes; nothing*
"*is more conducive to the welfare of a ſtate than a good underſtanding be-*
"*tween its Magiſtrates.* You have my advice; if any one has a better
"to offer, let him ſpeak."

The Senate unanimouſly approving theſe amendments to *Appius*'s mo-
tion, a decree was drawn up to this effect: "That ten of the oldeſt
"*Conſulars* ſhould be named to meaſure the lands, and determine what
"part of them ſhould be let to farm, and what part ſhould be diſtri-
"buted among the People: That with regard to the allies and the
"new Citizens, if any future acquiſition of land ſhould be made in
"war, where they fought in conjunction with the forces of the Re-
"public, they ſhould have their juſt proportion, according to the terms
"of the treaties concluded with them: And that the Conſuls, who
"ſhould be choſen at the next elections, ſhould name the ten Commiſ-
"ſioners,

"sioners, be charged with the care of distributing the lands, and make "all the other necessary regulations."

V. of R. 267. Bef. J. C. 485. 24 Consulship.

It is pretty evident from this *Senatus Consultum*, as well as from the close of *Servilius*'s speech, that the Senators had not the least intention to do any thing in favour of the People, with regard to the lands in question. It served however to still for the present the clamours of the poor, and put a stop to any farther proceedings for passing *Cassius*'s proposal into a law.

§. VIII. AND no sooner had *Quintus Fabius*, and *Servius Cornelius*, the Consuls for the new year, entered upon their magistracy, than *Caso Fabius* (brother of *Quintus*) and *L. Valerius* (nephew of the famous *Poplicola*) two very young men, but both at this time Quæstors, brought an accusation of high crimes and misdemeanours, and even of high treason against *Cassius*, before an assembly of the People.

V. of R. 268. Bef. J. C. 484. 25 Consulship.

1. The first article of their charge was, That in his second Consulship, he had granted to the *Latines*, not only the right of citizenship, which was enough in reason, and what would have been sufficient to content them, but a *third* part of the booty which should be taken in any war where their forces acted in conjunction with those of the Republic.

2. That whereas it would have been a sufficient indulgence to the *Hernici, subdued by the Roman Arms*, to take no part of their Lands from them, he had chose to put them upon the foot of Friends rather than Subjects, Citizens rather than Tributaries; and these too were to have a third of the spoils and land acquired in any military expedition: So that if the *Romans* should be desirous to reward the services of any other of their neighbours, as honourably as they did those of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, they could not possibly do it, without relinquishing to them their own third, reserving nothing for themselves.

3. That, when he had formed a scheme for disposing of the public lands, without the consent of the Senate or his Collegue, he attempted by force to get his *Agrarian Law* passed; a Law mischievous and unjust in a double respect; for, whereas it should have been preceded by a *Senatus Consultum*, so that the Largess (if the Senate approved it) might have been the common act of all the Fathers, he had made it the act of his sole bounty; and, (which was worst of all) his law itself by which he pretended to divide *gratis* the public lands among the Citizens, would in reality deprive the *Romans* of their acquisitions to give them to strangers; who, tho' they had no title to any part of them, were to have *two thirds*.

4. That when the Tribunes would have rescinded this article, he was as deaf to their remonstrances, as he had been to the advice of his Collegue, the Senate, and all the best Citizens of *Rome*.

The Quæstors having appealed to the knowledge of the assembly for the truth of these allegations, proceeded next to their proofs of his secretly aspiring to *the Tyranny*.

THEY set forth, that the *Latines* and *Hernici* had furnished him with money, and prepared arms; and that the most audacious of their youth, flocking

A. of R. 268. Bef. J. C. 484. *Conſulſhip.*

ſtanding to Rome, had put themſelves into his train, aſſiſted at his dark councils; and been his inſtruments and agents in many particulars.

Theſe things being proved by the evidence of a great number not only of *Roman* citizens, but of men well born and of fair characters from the cities of the Allies; and the People being fully convinced that *Caſſius* was guilty, they had no regard to any thing he ſaid in his *Vaſtus Defenſus*. In vain did his three ſons, with his other relations and friends, by the moſt humble ſupplications intercede with the Aſſembly in his behalf: Nor had the remembrance of his noble exploits, for which he had been juſtly raiſed to the higheſt dignities, any effect to procure his pardon.

Nay ſuch a hatred they had to the very name of King, that they obſerved no moderation in their ſentence againſt him, but would have his puniſhment capital. And to this they were likewiſe carried by another motive; for as he was the ableſt General of his time, they feared leſt, if they only baniſhed him, he ſhould prove a ſecond *Coriolanus*.

The Quæſtors, after ſentence pronounced, led him away to execution. This eminent Senator, who had been thrice Conſul, and honoured with two triumphs, was caſt headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian* Rock; and the *Patricians* had the ſatisfaction of deſtroying by the hands of the *Plebeians* a determined champion for the *Plebeian* cauſe.

SUCH is the account which *Dionyſius* has tranſmitted to us of the treaſonable deſign of *Caſſius*, his meaſures to accompliſh that deſign, the defeating of thoſe meaſures by the joint Powers of the Senate and the Tribunes; and the arraignment, trial, condemnation and execution of the delinquent preſently after the expiration of his Magiſtracy. One would hardly expect, that after ſuch a detail of the articles of impeachment, the accuſers, the witneſſes, the matter of their evidence, the irreſiſtible force of it, the impreſſion of *Caſſius*'s relations in his favour, and the manner of his execution, the Hiſtorian ſhould at laſt leave his Reader at liberty to reject the whole of this detail as a mere fiction. Yet this he does. He informs us, that, according to ſome Authors, to whom many gave credit, and *who were worthy of it*, *Caſſius* was neither tryed by the People, nor executed by their order: *That no body knew any thing of his treaſonable deſigns*, till his own father, moved by a ſuſpicion he had entertained of him, made a ſtrict enquiry into his conduct; that the father by his induſtry having diſcovered the whole truth, repaired to the Senate-houſe; that preſently after, when the ſon by his command was come thither, he accuſed him before the Senators; and that when theſe had condemned him, he took him to his own houſe, and there put him to death [a].

This

[a] *Pliny* L. 34. c. 4. and *Florus* L. 1. c. 26. follow the tradition of *Caſſius*'s being condemned and put to death by his own father; and *Livy* L. 2. §. 41. ſpeaks of it as well authoriſed, but thinks it more credible that he was tried and ſentenced by the People. As to what *Dionyſius* ſays of the father's accuſing his ſon to the Senate, the *Latin* hiſtorian is wholly ſilent. Beſides he mention even ſo much as the ſuppoſed trial of *Caſſius* before the People. He ſeems to conſider nothing as certain in this matter, but that

This tradition being as well authorised as the other, and the matter of it, as our Hiſtorian obſerves, ſuiting very well with the manners of the Romans in thoſe days, he thinks it ought not to be rejected as improbable; however he is of opinion, that the other is more credible, and he gives his reaſons. V. of R. 268. Bef. J. C. 484. 25 Conſulſhip.

1. *Caſſius*'s houſe was demoliſhed [preſently after his death]: Which fact the Hiſtorian thinks well ſupported by another fact, namely, that, in his time, there was no houſe ſtanding in the Place, where *Caſſius*'s houſe was ſaid to have ſtood five hundred years before.

2. *Caſſius*'s goods were confiſcated, and ſold for the uſe of the public; and part of the money ſo raiſed was employed to erect ſtatues of braſs to *Ceres*; and theſe facts *Dionyſius* beleives to be true, becauſe by the inſcriptions upon certain ſtatues of *Ceres*, it appeared, out of whoſe eſtate the money came that paid for them.

Now, ſays our Hiſtorian, if *Caſſius*'s father had been living, *Caſſius* would have had no property. The property of the ſon's houſe and goods would have been in the father; and the People would never have confiſcated the eſtate of the Father for the crime of the ſon, eſpecially if the father had been the accuſer and puniſher of his ſon.

"For theſe reaſons, ſays he, I am more inclined to adhere to the "other tradition, but I have related both, that my readers may chuſe "as they like."

NOW with *my* readers' leave, I ſhall conclude this chapter with ſome arguments which perhaps may induce them to think, that *Caſſius* was neither publickly nor privately *convicted* of aiming at the Tyranny, but was murdered by the Nobles either ſecretly, or by a mob which they excited to do it, in revenge for his honeſt attempt to ſtrip them of their uſurpations. And I am the more inclined to examine this matter, becauſe I conceive that many readers muſt naturally carry along with them a prejudice againſt the *Agrarian Law* (ſo often the great ſubject of diſpute between the two orders at *Rome*) if they have firſt been made to believe, that the original author of it contrived it as a means to raiſe himſelf to the Tyranny.

AND firſt I ſhall obſerve, that the two traditions being equally authoriſed, and deſtroying one another, we have no reaſon *from authority alone* to believe either. Nor indeed does either *Dionyſius* or *Livy* ſeem to prefer that which they adhere to before the other, on any account but the greater credibility of the fact.

And it unluckily happens, that the only reaſons which *Dionyſius* produces for thinking the public trial more credible than the private one, are mentioned by *Livy* as arguments uſed in favour of the private trial, by thoſe who adopt this tradition. For the demoliſhion of *Caſſius*'s houſe, the ſale of his goods, and the employing part of the money to erect a ſtatue or ſtatues to *Ceres*, are common to both traditions. And thoſe

that *Caſſius* was condemned by *ſomebody* in the Conſulſhip of *Q. Fabius* and *S. Corne-* *lius*; that is to ſay, that he was then killed. who

Y. of *R.* 268. Bef. *J. C.* 484. 25 Conſulſhip.

who believe *Caſſius* to have been privately put to death by his own father, cite the inſcription on a ſtatue of *Ceres* as a proof, that it was the father himſelf who demoliſhed his ſon's houſe, conſecrated his goods to *Ceres*, and applied a part of the money to erect a ſtatue to that Goddeſs: For, as *Livy* informs us, the inſcription was this, *Given by the Caſſian family**; And indeed a ſtatue with ſuch an inſcription ſeems much leſs abſurdly employed to prove that the father *gave* the ſtatue, than that the *Caſſian* family was *plundered* by the People of the money which paid for it.

* Ex *Caſſia familia datum.*

It is remarkable that *Dionyſius* avoids telling us expreſsly what the inſcription was, and only ſays, that it ſhewed plainly at whoſe expence the ſtatue was erected.

But as to this ſtatue, or theſe ſtatues of *Ceres*, moſt ridiculouſly referred to by both ſides, as proofs of what they contend for, there is a very eaſy way of accounting for the inſcriptions upon them; and it is amazing that it ſhould never come into the mind of *Dionyſius*, that the family of *Caſſius* might probably give theſe ſtatues in his ſecond Conſulſhip, when he performed the ceremony of dedicating the Temple of CERES, *Bacchus*, and *Proſerpine*, which the Dictator *Poſthumius* had vowed, during the *Latine* war; for that *Caſſius* had this honour is related by the *Greek* hiſtorian himſelf in his 6th book.

We ſee then, that the very demolition of *Caſſius*'s houſe, and the ſale of his goods, in conſequence of his being convicted of treaſon, are facts wholly deſtitute of proof: For I preſume that neither the void piece of ground, nor the inſcriptions on the ſtatues of *Ceres* (the only vouchers produced) afford even the ſmalleſt degree of evidence.

COME we now to the *probability* of the trial and condemnation of *Caſſius* by the People, as repreſented by *Dionyſius*. And on this occaſion, I cannot forbear ſaying, that the *Greek* Hiſtorian ſeems to delight in public trials, as giving him an opportunity to make ſpeeches for the parties concerned, and to furniſh evidence in the cauſe. He has related at large the trial of *Coriolanus*, deſcribed *his behaviour* in the aſſembly of the Tribes, and given us the *diſcourſe* he made in his defence, as things certain: Yet *Livy* (as has been before obſerved p. 229.) without any heſitation aſſerts, that *Coriolanus* did not appear upon the ſummons from the Tribunes, and was condemned in his abſence for default. And certainly this ſeems more probable, than that he ſhould ſpeak and act ſo much out of character, as he is repreſented to do by *Dionyſius*: And the whole trial, as he has given it, is but a very lame ſtory. Nor has he diſcovered any great ſkill in forming *Articles of Impeachment* againſt *Caſſius*.

If there be nothing to engage us to believe the facts of his public trial and condemnation but the probability of them; and if theſe facts be no more probable, than that the charge, brought againſt him by the *Quæſtors*, conſiſted of the articles mentioned by *Dionyſius*, the whole is doubtleſs a mere invention to blacken the author of the *Agrarian* Law. For

1. The firſt article of the impeachment is, That in the treaty concluded with the *Latines*, in his ſecond Conſulſhip, he had been too favourable to them,

them, in granting them, beſides the right of citizenſhip, a *Third* of the ſpoils that ſhould be taken in any war made by the joint forces of the two ſtates. Now whatever fault was committed in making this treaty, the Senate were as guilty of it as he; for the treaty was not made by *Caſſius* alone, but by him and the Senate together. He was detained at *Rome* by the Senate, purpoſely to be their miniſter for negotiating the alliance which, at that time, they were very willing to make with the *Latines*, who had lately obliged them by many extraordinary ſervices and marks of affection, as we learn not only from *Livy* but from *Dionyſius* himſelf.

Y. of *R.* 268. Bef. *J. C.* 484. 25 Conſulſhip.

Nor in the treaty * is there any mention of a *Third* of the ſpoils. The *Latines* were to have an *equal* ſhare. Their ſhare did not come to be only a *Third*, till after the treaty of *Rome* with the *Hernici*; and then only in caſe of a war carried on by the united armies of the three nations.

* See p. 231.

2. And this ſhews the impertinence of the argumentation which *Dionyſius* puts into the Mouths of the Quæſtors under the *ſecond article*, which regards the *Hernici*, concerning the future inability of the republic to reward the ſervices of any new friends. For it is evident from the tenor of the two Treaties with the *Latines* and *Hernici*, that in all wars in which *Rome* was aided by her allies, were they more or fewer, the practice then was, that each ſhould have their ſhare of the booty in proportion to the number of troops they furniſhed for the campaign.

And whereas the Quæſtors are repreſented ſpeaking of the *Hernici* as of a people *ſubdued*, it appears by their overtures to the Conſul, as well as by the long wars they afterwards maintained againſt the Republic, that this was far from being their caſe. What they propoſed to *Caſſius* were peace and an alliance with *Rome* upon juſt and reaſonable conditions.

Nor is there the leaſt reaſon to believe that *Caſſius*, who would enter into no treaty of peace or alliance with them, of his own authority, but referred them to the Senate, did preſently after, in virtue of his full powers, grant them the conditions complained of, without the privity and approbation of the Senate. Add to this, that the treaty was in reality a very advantageous one for *Rome*, and by which the Senate thought fit to abide. So that this ſecond article is as ill contrived as the firſt.

3. The third article, which accuſes *Caſſius* of originally deſigning to exclude the other magiſtrates and the Senate from any ſhare in the glory of conferring a benefit on the people, is invented with no more wit than the foregoing. For by the *Greek* Hiſtorian's own account, the Conſul, before he mentioned the matter to the people, moved it in the Senate: So that if the Senate and the magiſtrates would have concurred with him, they might have had their ſhare in that glory.

And it was ſurely a very ill judged accuſation to bring againſt *Caſſius* before *the People*, that he had dared to propoſe, *in their favour*, a law which the Nobles had not approved.

And as to his deſigning to give, by his *Agrarian* law, two thirds of the public lands to the new citizens, it is a ſenſeleſs charge, unleſs we

Y. of R. 268. Bef. J. C. 484. 23 Conſulſhip.

can ſuppoſe that thoſe of the *Latines* and *Hernici* who came to ſettle at *Rome* were twice the number of the old Citizens.

4. And if it were true, that *Caſſius*, againſt the remonſtrances of the Senate and the Tribunes, was ſteady in inſiſting, that the new Citizens ſhould have a ſhare in the diviſion of the public lands; he, in this, did but follow the conſtant policy and practice of *Rome*, from the foundation of the ſtate; and to exclude thoſe new Citizens from a ſhare of the public lands in caſe of a diſtribution, would in effect have been a violation of the treaty of alliance.

CONCERNING the ſecret machinations of *Caſſius* to attain to the Royalty, the reader ſees, that from the facts pretended to be proved, ſuppoſing them true, it will not follow that the *Latines*, the *Hernici* and the *Roman Plebeians* deſired a King, or that the Conſul aſpired to make himſelf a King; and the Hiſtorian himſelf ſeems to think the evidence of the treaſon defective, when he repreſents the People as immoderately ſevere in ſentencing *Caſſius* to death.

But is it not ſurprizing, that *Dionyſius*, or thoſe from whom he took his accounts, ſhould be ſo well informed of the crimes whereof *Caſſius* was accuſed, at his ſuppoſed trial, and yet know nothing, or wholly ſuppreſs what they knew of his *elaborate Defence*? The total ſilence of the antient writers upon this head, when, from what has been obſerved concerning the weakneſs of the pretended charge, it is plain that *Caſſius* had much to ſay, and much to the purpoſe, furniſhes an additional argument to thoſe that have been offered, for believing that the whole proceſs is a meer invention, a legend, a fable, (compoſed by ſome ariſtocratical writer) of which the moral intended to be inculcated on the *Roman* readers is obvious.

AS to the other tradition of *Caſſius*'s *treaſon being diſcovered by his own father, when no body elſe ſuſpected any thing of the matter, and his being executed privately by his father at home*, we have already obſerved that, in the time of *Dionyſius* and *Livy* it was a tale which (like that of the public trial) wanted the neceſſary ſupport from Hiſtory or Monuments, to give it a claim to credit: But as neither the *Greek* nor the *Latin* Hiſtorian have mentioned any *particulars* of the diſcovery, ſaid to be made by the father, of his ſon's treaſonable practices, we cannot, as in the other caſe, draw arguments from the pretended proceſs itſelf to diſprove its reality. However I ſhall finiſh this digreſſion, with offering ſome reaſons, why, ſuppoſing *Caſſius* to have been *formally accuſed* before the People or before his father, of the treaſon in queſtion (which there is no ground to believe he was) it is utterly incredible that he was guilty.

The character of *Caſſius* may, alone, ſuffice for his defence againſt all that is mention'd by *Dionyſius*, as given in proof of the charge. Till he propoſed his *Agrarian* Law, he was more eſteemed and honoured in *Rome* than any other Citizen. This is ſaid by *Dionyſius* himſelf; and if he had not ſaid it, the Hiſtory of *Caſſius*, from the time that we ſee him firſt

first on the stage of public life, to the day that he proposed his new law, would have exposed the superior wealth and reputation of the man. Passing over his abilities, as a General, display'd in his first Consulship in the year 251, let us only consider the opinion which the public and the wisest men held of him as a Citizen. In 256, that critical conjuncture, when the *Romans*, by the distress of their affairs, were constrained, for the first time, to have recourse to the dangerous expedient of a Dictator, and had named *Larcius* one of the then Consuls to that sovereign power on account of his known prudence and moderation, *Larcius* appointed *Cassius* to be his *General of the Horse*, the second dignity in the Republic.

A. of R. 268. Bef. J. C. 484. 29 Consulship.

At the time of the *secession*, when every body declined the office of Consul, the Senate constrained *Cassius* to accept it, because he was highly and equally esteemed by the *Nobles* and the *Plebeians*, and therefore well qualified to manage the business of a reconciliation; a sure mark that he had not behaved himself as a party man, or a proud man.

And tho' he had been a favourer of the *Plebeians* with regard to their demand of Tribunes and other securities from oppression, yet we find that this did not hinder his promotion to a third Consulship by the Centuries, whose the *Patricians* had the chief influence. And the Senate's referring wholly to his prudence, the conditions of peace and friendship with the *Hernici*, (which, by the way, shews the unlikelyhood of his having conducted himself unworthily, or to the dissatisfaction of the Senate, in the treaty he before made with the *Latines*) and their decreeing him a triumph for his success in a war, wherein he had obtained no bloody victory, (supposing these facts, related by *Dionysius*, to be true) are cogent proofs of the great esteem and favour in which he stood with them to the very day of his proposing the *Agrarian Law*.

There is very good reason therefore to believe that this *Proposal* was *the only reason* that *Cassius* was guilty of.

And it is quite unimaginable, that he should make this proposal with a view to the Royalty. Could *Cassius* be ignorant of the temper of the *Roman* People? Could a man of sense ever hope to become a King by the means of those men, who needed but to be made believe, that his ambition look'd that way, to destroy him? For such was the temper of the *Romans*, as *Dionysius* himself sets forth on the present occasion.

Nor

* For the same reason we may well reject what *Livy* reports of the plots formed by *Manlius* ‖ the *Roman* Knight, in the year 313, and afterwards by *Maelius* † (who saved the Capitol) to raise themselves to the Tyranny. These impressions seem to have been invented meerly to destroy two men, who by their compassion for the poor, and their great liberality to them, had made themselves, more popular, than perhaps wise politicians thought it convenient that any man should be in a free State. It is not pretended that *Manlius* was tryed and convicted in a Dictator was created on purpose to destroy him by a stroke of power. The plenty of corn which he had provided, and with which he fed the hungry Citizens *gratis*, during a famine, was a reproach on the

‖ B. 4. c. 13.
† B. 6.

A. of R. 262. Bef. J.C. 484. 25 Conſulſhip.

Nor indeed does it appear that any one *Roman* ever aimed at being (under any name or title whatſoever) ſovereign and perpetual Lord over his fellow Citizens, before the times of *Marius* and *Sylla*, when luxury, avarice, and corruption, having got the aſcendant in *Rome*, opened the way for inordinate ambition to execute the moſt deteſtable ſchemes againſt the public liberty.

the fathers, and on *Minucius* their ſuperintendant of proviſions, for neglect of duty: and by cutting him off as a traitor, they made to themſelves a pretext for ſeizing his ſtores, and thereby ſhunning the trouble and expence of purchaſing corn from abroad. And the People were ſo little perſuaded of *Manlius*'s treaſon, that they afterwards baniſh'd *Ahala*, the *Dictator*'s *General of the Horſe*, as guilty of murder in ſlaying their benefactor.

As to *Manlius*, *Livy* tells us, that he could not from any writings ſatisfactorily learn who were his accomplices, nor how far his ſchemes went; nor could find, that, at his trial before the People, his accuſers objected to him any thing that indicated a deſign to raiſe himſelf to the Royalty, except ſome ſeditious words, his largeſſes, and his falſe charge againſt the Senate of ſecreting the gold, which they had collected to redeem the Capitol, when *Brennus* beſieged it. Nay, *Livy* is not ſure that *Manlius* was try'd and condemn'd by the People. Some Authors, he ſays, report that *Duumvirs* were appointed to judge him. And perhaps neither of theſe accounts deſerve credit. *Manlius* was zealous to have the debts remitted to the inſolvent poor; and that was ſufficient to engage the ſenatorian *Patricians* to contrive his murder. I conclude theſe obſervations with remarking, that the Tribunes are repreſented as conſenting and inſtrumental to the deſtruction of *Caſſius* and *Manlius*, both eminent *Patricians*, but not to that of *Manlius*, who was a *Plebeian*.

CHAP. XV.

§. I. The People regret the death of Caſſius. *The Senate find means to divert them a while from the purſuit of the* Agrarian Law. §. II. *The war with the* Volſci *breaking out afreſh, the Tribune* Mænius *proteſts againſt any levies for the ſervice, till ſomething eſſential be done in that affair. The Conſuls by a ſtratagem get the better of his oppoſition.* §. III. *The Senate endeavour to obtain the Conſulſhip for* Appius Claudius. *The Tribunes, to hinder it, excite ſuch a tumult, that there is no poſſibility of proceeding in the election. The Republic falls into an* Interregnum. Sp. Lartius, *being* Interrex, *quiets the contention between the two parties.* §. IV. Icilius, *one of the Tribunes, oppoſes the neceſſary levies for a war with the* Æqui *and* Veientes. Appius Claudius *ſuggeſts a ſtratagem to the Senate, by which they carry their point againſt* Icilius.

§. I. BY whatever means the deſtruction of *Caſſius* was effected, certain it is, that the People very ſoon regretted the loſs of him, and not without ſufficient reaſon. For notwithſtanding the late Decree of the Senate for the nomination of Decemvirs, to take account of the lands belonging to the public, and make a diſtribution of one part of them in favour of the Commons, the preſent Conſuls took no more notice of that affair, than if no ſuch Decree had been paſſed; ſo that the People

People plainly perceived, they had been cheated by the Senate; and they accused the late Tribunes of having connived in the deceit, basely betraying the cause of the *Plebeians*. The present Tribunes held frequent assemblies upon this business, and earnestly pressed the Conscript Fathers to execute their promises. To rid the Senate and themselves from these importunities at home, the Consuls had recourse to the old expedient of a foreign war, and began to inlist soldiers for the service: but the poorer Citizens refused to give their names to be inrolled, and the Tribunes supported them in this refusal. Hereupon, the Consuls caused a rumour to be spread, that they were going to create a Dictator, and that *Appius Claudius* would be the man. This fruitful report made such an impression upon the People, that they listed themselves without delay. *Cornelius* entered the Country of the *Volsci*, and *Q. Fabius* marched against the *Volsci*. Both Consuls had fortunate expeditions. *Fabius*, as if he meant to shew an utter contempt of the *Plebeians* and their complaints, sold all the spoils taken from the enemy, and put the money into the hands of the *Quæstors*, not giving the least part of it to his soldiers. Y. of *R.* 268. Bef. *J. C.* 484. 25 Consulship.

§. II. THO' the *Fabian* family was at this time odious to the Commons, on account of the late behaviour of the Consul *Quintus* and his brother *Cæso*, who when *Quæstor* had been very instrumental in the destruction of *Cassius*; yet the Senate had influence enough, at the new elections, to get that same *Cæso* chosen to the Consulship, with *Lucius Æmilius*, a man entirely devoted to their faction. During the year of these Magistrates the attention of the public was wholly employ'd on the war with the *Volsci* of *Antium*, from whom *Æmilius* suffered a terrible defeat with great slaughter of his men. Strengthen'd afterwards by a chosen body of troops which his Collegue sent to his assistance, he gain'd some advantage over the enemy; but as in the former action he had lost the better part of his army, he was ashamed to return to the city at the end of the Campaign; and therefore staid in his Camp till the expiration of his Magistracy. *Cæso*, who had been employed to defend the territories of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, came to *Rome* and held the assembly for the new elections, where his younger brother *M. Fabius*, with *Lucius Valerius* (late Collegue of *Cæso* in the Quæstorship, and deeply concern'd in the murder of *Cassius*) were raised to the Consulship by the influence of the Senate, who had engaged them to stand for it. The People would have named to that Magistracy certain Consulars who did not seek it; but the President refused to receive suffrages for any but candidates. Y. of *R.* 269. Bef. *J. C.* 483. 26 Consulship.

The new Consuls having asked some recruits to supply the place of those which had been slain, the last year, in the battle against the *Volsci* of *Antium*, the Senate passed a decree for it: nevertheless the poor *Plebeians*, refused obedience, complained of the cheat put upon them in relation to the *Agrarian Law*, and implored the protection of their Tribunes against the oppression of the Nobles. Four of the *Plebeian* Magistrates, either gain'd by the Senate, or, for prudential reasons, unwilling to foment contention at home, while the State was distressed by the present Y. of *R.* 270. Bef. *J. C.* 482. 27 Consulship.

A. of R. 278. Bef. J. C. 474. Tribunes.

present war, gave no heed to the clamours of the multitude; but the fifth, named *Caius Menius*, loudly protested, that he would never betray the *Plebeians*, nor suffer the Consuls to levy troops, till they had first brought the Senate's decree for the partition of the lands into an assembly of the People, and had named commissioners for putting it in execution. The Consuls, to surmount this difficulty, erected their tribunal without the City in the *Campus Martius*, where the Tribune, whose power and functions were confined within the walls of *Rome*, could give them no opposition. From thence they summoned those of the Citizens whom they judged fit for the service, to come and inlist themselves. If any *Plebeian* to summons refused to appear, orders were immediately given to demolish his farm-houses and cut down his trees.

This unexpected exertion of the consular power had the designed effect upon the People. They now eagerly ran and presented themselves before the Consuls to receive their commands. Two armies were presently formed, one to march against the *Æquians*, the other against the *Volsci*. The Consuls, diffident of the good will of their troops, agreed to act only upon the defensive; and *Manlius*, who had to do with the *Æquians*, observed the agreement: but *Publius* had a severe and bloody battle with the *Volsci*, without much advantage on either side. The friends of *Valerius* at *Rome* gave out, that it was through want of affection in the soldiers to their General, that he had not gained a compleat victory; the soldiers in all their letters laid the fault upon the cowardice of their Leader.

In the mean time *Rome* was alarmed with spectres and prodigies of all sorts, and these, together with the late success of the *Roman* arms, were found by the *Pontifices* to be owing to the anger of the Gods, who had been served by impure hands. *Oppia*, an unfortunate Vestal, was buried alive for incontinence, and the Gods made propitious by expiatory sacrifices.

§. III. WHEN, after the return of the Consuls to *Rome*, the Comitia were held for electing new Magistrates, a warm contest arose between the two orders. The *Patricians* were for placing at the helm certain brisk active young men, who were the most unpopular, and particularly they engaged *Appius Claudius*, (the son of that *Appius* who was looked upon as the bitterest enemy of the People) a man bold and arrogant, and very powerful by means of his numerous friends and clients, to stand one of the candidates. On the other hand the *Plebeians* called out for some of the elder Senators, whose probity the public had experienced, and who they believed would have no views, but the welfare of the state. Each party remained obstinate in its purpose. Whenever the Consuls convened the centuries for the election, the Tribunes, in virtue of their prerogative, by the word *Veto* dissolved the assembly; and when the Tribunes called the People together for the same end (the first instance of their assuming this power) the Consuls, as having the sole right to preside at the election of Magistrates, withstood and hinder'd the proceeding. The *Patrician* and *Plebeian*

Latin Magistrates annually resided, each in that; and being surrounded with throngs of headstrong fellows, they gave frequent in their disputes as not an absolute freeborn ; any they sought to be just upon the point of having recourse to arms, and beginning a civil war.

A The Senate, who had learned the will to yield to the People, not the power to force them to submission, put long debates about the proper measures to be taken. Some Senators declared for naming a Dictator who vested with sovereign and absolute authority, should expell the factious from the City, and, in case the Consuls had taken any wrong step, correct the errors, and, that having restored order in the commonwealth, he should hold the Comitia, and propose the worthiest man for the Magistracy ; but others (fearing perhaps that the People in their present temper would not submit even to the dictatorial authority, but rather run into open rebellion) thought a gentler course the more advisable, namely, to create Inter-Kings, as was practised during the regal State upon any vacancy of the Throne. The greater number of the Fathers coming into this opinion, the short-lived Magistracy was given to *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, and the powers of all the other Magistrates ceased. *Sp. Lartius*, who succeeded *Sempronius*, held the Comitia for the appointment of Consuls. It would seem that the two parties had compromised their differences, agreed upon the men who should have the fasces, and proceeded to an election, only for form sake ; for they unanimously concurred in naming to the consular dignity, *C. Julius Iulus*, a known favourer of the *Plebeians*, and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, a warm partisan of the Nobles. *Fabius* had been Consul three years before, and had * defrauded his soldiers of the spoil taken from the enemy ; yet the People acquiesced in this his second promotion, through the extreme joy they had in keeping *Appius Claudius* out of the magistracy.

Y. of R. 271. Bef. J. C. 481. 28 Consulship.

The new Consuls, after surmounting some opposition, from the discontented *Plebeians*, to the Levies, marched against the *Veientes* who had pillaged the territory of *Rome* ; and this expedition, which terminated in making reprisals, was the sole exploit of their year.

These petty wars were the ordinary expedients used by the Consuls, to divert the People from their complaints, and to give them, at the enemy's cost, a subsistence that might make them forget their old claims. But this same People, by thus living almost continually in arms, became still more fierce and untractable, and the first interval of peace abroad was sure to revive discord at home.

§. IV. THE civil feuds broke out afresh at the next election of chief Magistrates. After much struggling the two parties came to an

Y. of R. 270. Bef. J. C. 482. 27 Consulship.

* *Dionysius* says, that *Fabius* had not by any act disobliged the Commons in his former Consulship ; but in this he makes a blunder : for he himself had told us, that *Fabius* sold the spoils, the Prisoners, every thing that he took from the *Volsci*, and put all the money into the hands of the Questor, to be sent to *Rome*. And *Livy* is very express upon this part of *Fabius*'s conduct, as what made him extremely odious to the People. B. 2. c. 42.

accommodation

A. of R. 272. Ref. J. C. 480. 29 Conſulſhip. * 2d time.

accommodation upon the ſame foot as the year before it had named its Conſul. The People choſe *Sp. Furius*, and the Senate *Cæſo Fabius*, * the man who when Queſtor is ſaid to have deſtroy'd *Coſſus*.

The *Æqui* and *Veientes* having renewed their incurſions on the lands of the Republic, the Conſuls ſummon'd the People to take arms; a Tribune, named *Sp. Icilius*, warmly oppoſed the enrollments; and he loudly declared that he would make the like oppoſition to all the decrees that ſhould iſſue from the Senate, let the matter of them be what it would, till the *Senatus-conſultum*, relating to the public lands, was put in execution; that it was juſt the ſame thing to him whether the Country was poſſeſſed by foreign enemies, or by domeſtic uſurpers. In the mean while the *Veientes* and *Æqui* continued with impunity to ravage the territory of *Rome*. In this perplexity, *Appius Claudius* repreſented to the Fathers, that the Tribunician power was formidable only by the union of the Tribunes; that as the oppoſition of a ſingle Tribune, which could ſuſpend the execution of the Senate's decrees, had the ſame force with regard to the reſolutions of his Colleguës, endeavours ſhould be uſed to create a diviſion among the Tribunes, and privately to engage ſome one of them to enter into the Senate's intereſt. This advice was approved and followed; the Senators applied themſelves to gain the friendſhip of *Icilius*'s Collegues, and they ſucceeded with all the four. Theſe, when they had firſt attempted in vain to *diſſuade* him from purſuing the affair of the *Agrarian Law*, interpoſed their *Veto*; and by their aſſiſtance the Conſuls compleated the Levies.

* We muſt ſuppoſe that *Icilius* ſeaſed Colleguës betray'd the prerogative of their his *oppoſition to the Levies*; otherwiſe his own office.

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. *The Troops commanded by* Cæſo Fabius, *not liking their General, will not ſuffer him to gain any honour in the campaign.* §. II. M. Fabius (*a ſecond time*) *and* Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus *are elected to the Conſulate. They obtain a ſignal victory over the* Hetrurians, *chiefly by the bravery of the* Fabii, *who from this time become popular.* §. III. Cæſo Fabius (*a third time*) *and* T. Virginius *are choſen Conſuls.* Cæſo *defeats the* Æqui *and* Veientes. §. IV. *The* Fabian *family undertake alone to guard the frontiers againſt the* Veientes. Cæſo *as ſoon as he has reſigned the Faſces* (*to* L. Æmilius *and* C. Servilius) *joins the reſt of his family in quality of* PROCONSUL, *a new invented dignity.* §. V. *The* Romans *carry on the war againſt the* Æqui, Volſci *and* Veientes. Æmilius *after a ſucceſsful campaign againſt the laſt is refuſed a triumph. He ſeeks to revenge himſelf on the Senate.* §. VI. *In the ſucceeding Conſulſhip* (*of* C. Horatius *and* T. Menenius) *all* Hetruria *declares war againſt* Rome. *The miſerable fate of the* Fabii. *The* Hetrurian *Arms prevail. But the next year's Conſuls* (A. Virginius *and* P. Servilius) *give the enemy an entire overthrow.*

§. I.

§. I. FURIUS, who conducted the war against the *Æqui*, as he had the good will of his ſoldiers, made a ſucceſsful Campaign. But the troops of *Fabius*, who warr'd againſt the *Veientes*, (ſtrengthened by great numbers of volunteers from the other *Hetrurian* States) choſe rather to loſe their own honour, than gain him any glory. After a battle in which they behaved themſelves bravely (ſo long as their lives were in danger) and even routed the enemy, they refuſed to purſue them and take their camp, leſt by making the victory compleat they ſhould procure *Fabius* a triumph at his return to *Rome*; and, not content with this, they ſtruck their tents the following night, and began their march towards the City. The Conſul finding it impoſſible to govern them, put the beſt face he could upon the matter, founded a retreat, and returned with them. *D. Hal.* B. 9.

§. II. NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme hatred which the ſoldiers had thus ſhew'd to *Caſo Fabius*, the Senators had influence enough to continue the Conſulſhip in the *Fabian* family. *Marcus Fabius*, brother of *Caſo*, was elected to that dignity * with *Cn. Manlius*. Much depended on the wiſdom and unanimity of theſe two Magiſtrates; for the Republic was now threatened by a prodigious army of *Hetrurians*, who were encouraged to the war by the diviſions in *Rome*, and the ſpirit of mutiny that had appeared among the *Roman* ſoldiers in the Field. Y. of *R.* 273. Bef. *J.C.* 479. 30 Conſulſhip. * A 2d time.

Pontificius, one of the Tribunes, would on this occaſion have renew'd the old complaint, and hindered the neceſſary Levies. But the *Fathers* ſucceſsfully repeated the artifice of *Claudius*; and forces were raiſed to the number of 20000, which were equally divided between the two Conſuls. They both paſſed the *Tiber*, and encamped near *Veii*, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, keeping quiet within their entrenchments. This inaction was owing to their diſtruſt of their own ſoldiers, whoſe behaviour, the laſt year, was not forgotten.

At this time happened an accident which employ'd the divination of the Augurs who attended the Conſul *Manlius*. Lightning fell upon his tent, overturn'd the ſacred *Hearth*, damaged his arms, killed his war horſe, and ſome of his ſervants. Thoſe Diviners declared that his camp would be taken by the enemy; upon which prediction he quitted it the ſame night, and joined his army to that of *Fabius*. The *Hetrurians* ſeized the deſerted camp, and, concluding that *Manlius* had carried ill fortune along with him, did not doubt but they ſhould ſoon be maſters of the other. They came confidently therefore and inſulted the united armies in their intrenchments, calling them women and cowards, and daring them to come out and fight. Hereupon, thoſe very ſoldiers who but a little before had plotted together not to fight upon any account, now gathering in crowds about their Generals tents, murmur'd, clamour'd, and almoſt mutiny'd, becauſe they were not inſtantly led to battle. *Fabius* laid hold of this opportunity to reproach them with their former behaviour, and to increaſe their ardour, by expreſſing a diffidence of *D. Hal.* B. 9. *Liv.* B. 2.

Y. of R. 273. Bef. J.C. 479. 30 Consulship.

their courage and honour. He added, "I am determined, not to give "the signal for battle before you have all sworn that you will return "Conquerors to *Rome*: you once deceived your Generals, but you will "never be able to deceive the Gods." He had hardly ended, when a certain *Plebeian* named *Flavolus*, upon Tribune of a legion, and in great esteem among the Troops, stepping forth, *Do you suppose us, Consuls? Hear then the oath which I am going to take. And you, fellow-soldiers, do you follow my example!* Then, lifting up his sword, he swore by his *Faith* (the most solemn oath then used by the *Romans*) that he would never return to *Rome* till the enemy was vanquish'd. Officers and soldiers, every man in the army took the same oath, after which the Generals, no longer distrusting them, gave the signal for marching, and led them out of the Camp.

The *Hetrurians* did not decline a battle: it was fought with great obstinacy on both sides. *Manlius*, who led the right wing of the *Roman* army, and his Collegue's brother, *Quintus Fabius*, who commanded the left, were both killed; nevertheless the victory fell to the *Romans*. And it was chiefly owing to the signal bravery of the Consul *Marcus Fabius*, and his brother *Caeso*.

Marcus, at his return to *Rome*, declined the honours of a triumph, which had been decreed him by the Senate; so deeply he was affected with the death of his brother *Quintus*, and his Collegue *Manlius*. He solemnised their obsequies, made funeral orations on both, and, by giving to them the great praises which they deserved, secured to himself much greater; and in pursuance of the resolution he had formed, from the beginning of his Consulship, to conciliate to his family the affections of the People, he divided the wounded soldiers among the Senators to be taken care of, assigning the greater number of them to the *Fabii*, who did not fail, on this occasion, to distinguish themselves by their humanity. From this time (says *Livy*) the *Fabii* became popular, yet not by any arts but what tended to the good of the Republic.

Y. of R. 274. Bef. J.C. 478. 31 Consulship.

As the Consul *Caeso Fabius* (that very General who the year before last had been so grossly affronted) being now, with the hearty good will of the Commons as well as of the Nobles, raised to the Consulship (with *T. Virginius*) postponed all other business, to attempt a speedy and perfect restoration of concord between the Nobles and the *Plebeians*, towards which there seemed already to be some advances. He was hardly entred on this magistracy, when in that view, he declared it to be his opinion, that the conquer'd lands rightfully belonged to those men of whose sweat and blood they were the purchase, and earnestly exhorted the Senate to prevent any new endeavours of the Tribunes to obtain the passing of the *Agrarian Law*, by freely making an equal distribution themselves of those lands, among the poor *Plebeians*. But the *Conscript*

This was the third Consulship, nevertheless out of the hands of one or other for six years past, the consular fasces had been

Fabius rejected his motion with ſcorn; and ſome of them went even ſo far as to ſay, that intoxicated with too much praiſe, that active genius, and thoſe quick parts, which had once diſtinguiſh'd him, were dull'd and impair'd.

He had better ſucceſs in his military expeditions. He marched an army againſt the *Æqui*, and by the terror of his preſence diſperſed them without fighting. After this he haſtened to the relief of the Conſul *Virginius*, who, with the troops under his command, was ſurrounded by the *Veientes*, and without timely aſſiſtance muſt have ſurrendered at diſcretion. He delivered his Colleague out of danger, and made the enemy retire.

§. IV. NOR was this the only remarkable ſervice that *Cæſo Fabius* did the Republic in his third Conſulſhip. The *Romans* being infeſted by the *Veientes* and other *Hetrurians*, who made frequent and miſchievous incurſions into the territory of *Rome*; and the Senate being greatly at a loſs how to put a ſtop to them, *Cæſo*, to remedy this evil, formed a project worthy of his affection for his Country. He aſſembled all the men of his own name and family, and propoſed to them, that the *Fabii* ſhould alone, at their proper expence and hazard, take upon them to ſecure the frontiers againſt the *Veientes*. Thoſe generous *Patricians* gladly conſented to the motion, and the affair being communicated to the Senate, was there approved and applauded. Early the next morning all the *Fabii* appeared under arms before *Cæſo Fabius*'s door. They were 306 in number, of different branches, but all originally ſprung from the ſame ſtock. The whole City, men, women and children, ran in crowds to ſee them, and made vows to Heaven for their preſervation. *Marcus Fabius*, who had laſt year gained the battle of *Veii*, put himſelf at the head of the band, which was followed by about 4000 clients and vaſſals of the family; and he led them all to the banks of the *Cremera*, a little river which runs into the *Tiber*. There they built a fort in a ſteep place, ſurrounded it with a double ditch, and erected towers at certain diſtances. Their manner of making war was this: they divided their forces into four parts, of which one ſtaid to guard the fort, while the other three marched into three ſeveral parts of the enemy's Country, and pillaged it; and nothing could be more ſucceſsful than their firſt expeditions.

In the mean time *L. Æmilius* * and *C. Servilius* were choſen Conſuls at *Rome*. *Cæſo Fabius* had no ſooner reſigned the Faſces to them, but he deſired permiſſion of the Senate to join his family. The *Conſcript Fathers* readily conſented; and to gain him the more reſpect created for him a new office. He was made PRO-CONSUL, a title which gave the perſon honoured with it a power over the troops he commanded, equal to that of a Conſul; but no other authority.

§. V. THE Republic being threatened with a war on the ſide of *Hetruria*, and the *Æqui* and *Volſci* beginning to ravage the Country of the *Latines*, the Conſuls raiſed three armies. *Æmilius* led one againſt the

Y. of *R.* 275. Bef. *J. C.* 477.
* A 2d time.

the *Veientes*, who were ſtrengthened by other *Hetrurians*; *Servilius* another againſt the *Volſci*; and *S. Furius* (with the title of Pro-conſul) the third, againſt the *Æqui*. The *Æqui* fled at the approach of *Furius*. The *Volſci* repulſed *Servilius*, and forced him to keep within his camp. The *Veientes* were defeated by *Æmilius*, and ſent a deputation to him to beg peace. *Æmilius* referred the Deputies to the Senate, and the Senate in return left it to him to ſettle the conditions of the treaty. Hereupon the Conſul ſhewed the *Veientes* great indulgence. He granted them peace, without taking any part of their lands from them, or exacting any money, or even demanding hoſtages. This proceeding highly offended the Senate, inſomuch that they rejected his requeſt for a triumph. Nevertheleſs as he was a man of merit, he was invited to employ his troops and ſkill in ſuccouring his Collegue, who was embarraſſed with the *Volſcian* war; and upon this condition the *Fathers* promiſed to receive him again into favour. But *Æmilius*, exceedingly piqued at the refuſal he had met with, inſtead of marching to aſſiſt *Servilius*, returned to *Rome*, diſbanded his own army, and recalled that which *Furius* conducted againſt the *Æqui*. He then complained to the People of the proceedings of the Senate, who, he ſaid, were diſſatisfied with his having expedited the peace, for no other reaſon, but their deſire to ſtave off the execution of the *Caſſian* law. Thus the angry Conſul convey'd his own reſentments into the minds of the People; and from that time the Tribunes renewed their invectives againſt the Senate, and their demand of the partition of the *conquered lands*.

Y. of *R.* 276. Bef. *J. C.* 476. 33 Conſulſhip.

§. VI. SUCH was the ſituation of affairs at *Rome*, when *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* entered upon the Conſulſhip. The *Fabii* ſtill kept their poſt upon the *Cremera*, tho' after the peace with the *Veientes* they had for ſome time but little opportunity of exerciſing their courage. But at length it was put to a fatal trial. It has been already obſerved, that *Veii* was one of the 12 Lucumonies or petty States of *Hetruria*. All the other Lucumonies being much diſſatisfied with that treaty which the *Veientes* had made with *Rome*, gave them to underſtand, that they muſt either break with the Republic, or ſuſtain a war againſt the reſt of the *Hetrurian* powers united. The *Veientes* in this dilemma choſe the former, and in purſuance of that reſolution, ſent to the *Fabii* to require them to demoliſh their fort and quit the frontiers. Hereupon hoſtilities were immediately renewed, and all *Hetruria* took arms againſt the *Romans*.

D. Hal. B. 9. *Livy*, B. 2.

The *Fabii* had their uſual ſucceſs in every expedition and in every engagement, till one day they were unfortunately ſurprized in an ambuſh, out of which the moſt intrepid courage could not ſecure them a ſafe retreat. The *Veientes* lodged a whole army of *Hetrurians* in a wood, and poſted ſentinels on all the eminencies, to give notice to the men lying in ambuſh, when they ſhould ſally out. Then they drove ſome herds of cattle into a plain at a good diſtance from the *Cremera*, as it were to feed them, under a guard that appeared to be inconſiderable. This was enough

enough to tempt the *Fabii*; who marched out of their fort in a great body, and left no more men in it, than were neceſſary to defend it from a ſurprize. They advanced in good order; and upon their approach, the herdſmen and their guard fled. Whilſt ſome of the *Fabii* purſued the runaways, to take them priſoners, others ſeized the booty; and a ſmall number of them continued drawn up in order of battle. Immediately the *Hetrurians* came out of their ambuſh, ſurrounded and cut in pieces all thoſe who were buſied in driving together the cattle, diſperſed about the plain. As for thoſe of the *Romans* who kept their ranks, and formed a regular body, they uſed all their efforts to gain ſome eminence, where having the advantage of the ground they might at leaſt ſell their lives dear. But in this attempt they fell into another ambuſh, and were quite encompaſſed with enemies. Nevertheleſs they did not loſe their courage. Drawing themſelves up into a cloſe compact body which faced every way, they renewed the fight with more vigour than ever, ſtill bearing forward towards a hill which they had in view. They ſlew many of the *Hetrurians*, diſengaged themſelves from the reſt, and gained the top of the hill. Here they paſſed the night without any proviſions, and ſtill beſet by an army of enemies. The next morning, thoſe of the *Fabii* who had been left to guard the fort, being informed of the danger their relations were in, flew to their relief, leaving but a very ſmall number behind them. As ſoon as the *Hetrurians* perceived them advancing in the plain, they detached againſt them ſome ſtrong parties, which cut them all off to a man. Not long after, thoſe who were on the top of the hill, being more preſſed by hunger and thirſt, than by any thing elſe, came down with the rapidity of a torrent, to break their way through the enemy, of whom they made a dreadful ſlaughter. The *Hetrurians*, aſtoniſhed at their loſſes, ceaſed the fight for ſome hours, and offered theſe braves men to let them paſs, if they would throw down their arms, and give their words, that they would abandon the fort. But theſe conditions were deemed ſhameful by the *Fabii*; they choſe rather to run the hazard of dying all together with glory, than to ſecure their lives by an action which they thought would reflect diſhonour on their family. The *Hetrurians* finding them obſtinate, avoided a cloſe engagement; and, for ſome time, only ſhowered darts and ſtones upon them. But at length perceiving that their ſwords were moſt of them broken, and their bucklers ſplit, they then, and not till then, ventured to attack them, man to man. The *Fabii* now deſperate, threw themſelves with fury into the midſt of the *Hetrurian* battalions, and, to arm themſelves anew, ſnatched away the weapons of their enemies. Nay ſome, who lay upon the ground half dead, roſe up, and came to yield their laſt breath in the midſt of the battle. In concluſion they were all ſlain. The *Hetrurians* cut off their heads, and carrying them in triumph upon the tops of their lances, ſhewed them to thoſe few of the *Fabii* who had ſtaid in the fort. The latter at this ſad ſight gave themſelves up to deſpair.

V. of R. 276.
Bef. J. C. 476.
33 Conſulſhip.

Y. of R. 276 despair. They did not stay to fight from the ramparts, but aiming
Bef. J. C. 476 only to sell their lives dear, sallied out upon the enemy, without ob-
serving any order. Thus likewise were all cut to pieces, so that of the
300 *Fabii*, not one escaped. The *Romans* gave the name of *Porta*
Scelerata, or, the *Accursed Gate*, to the *Porta Carmentalis*, through which
the *Fabii* had passed when they went out of the City; and the day of
their defeat was ever after reckoned among the unlucky days, whereon
it was forbidden to begin any important enterprize.

D. Hal. B. 9. The Consul *Manlius*, who had received orders to march against the
Hetrurians, might, if he had used dispatch, have delivered the *Fabii* in
their distress. He was but thirty furlongs from the field of battle when
they were cut in pieces. But perhaps, (as it was believed by many at
Rome) he designedly, and out of envy and jealousy, gave them up to
destruction. He had encamped his army on the side of a hill without
securing the top of it. The victorious *Hetrurians*, seizing the favour-
able opportunity, which his want of skill afforded them, got above him,
attacked him from the higher ground, gave him an entire defeat, and
took his camp. Thence they advanced as far as the *Janiculum*, which
overlooked *Rome*, and pitched their camp on the top of it. They even
passed the *Tyber*, and in a manner blocked up the City. But then the
Consul *Horatius*, who had been commissioned to act against the *Veyi*,
being called home, came to a battle with the *Hetrurians* near the Tem-
ple of *Hope*, about a mile from *Rome*. The success of this action was
pretty equal on both sides; but in a second, near the gate *Collina*, the
Consul gained some small advantage, which revived the *Roman* cour-
age. Nevertheless the enemy did not decamp from the *Janiculum*, and
the lands having been left unsown the last year on account of the enemies
irruptions, a famine began to be felt in the City. The meaner sort got
together in companies, threatening to plunder the granaries of the rich;
and the Tribunes encouraged their clamours and mutinies, by laying the
present scarcity to the chief of the Senate. The *Conscript Fathers* did
every thing possible for the relief of the poor; but the case was such,
that the People must either starve, or drive the enemy farther off.

Y. of *R.* 277. They marched out therefore under the conduct of their new Consuls,
Bef. *J. C.* 475. *A. Virginius* and *P. Servilius*, and gave the *Hetrurians* an entire over-
34 Consulship. throw; nevertheless, when by the dead bodies which were brought to
D. Hal. B. 9. *Rome*, to be burnt, the Senate saw what numbers of *Romans* had pe-
rished in the action, they refused the Consuls the honour of a triumph.

[a] *Liv.* following some more ancient Historians, says, that only one of the name was left at *Rome*, a youth not fourteen years of age, who afterwards repaired the family, and perpetuated it; a mere fiction, according to *Dionysius*, and without any shadow of probability: for is is not to be imagined that of so considerable a number of men one only had children; and we shall find, ten years after this time, that is, in 286 of *Rome*, a *Fabius* in the Consulship.

N. B. According to *Dionysius* there was a different account of the destruction of the *Fabii*, but he rejects it with contempt as wholly incredible.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. Menenius, *one of the late year's Conſuls, is cited by the Tribunes to appear before the People*, aſſembled by Tribes, *and anſwer for his conduct in relation to the* Fabii. *He is condemned in a fine.* §. II. *His ſucceſſor,* Servilius *is proſecuted as ſoon as he has reſigned the faſces, but is honourably acquitted. War is carried on with ſucceſs againſt ſeveral of the neighbouring States.* §. III. *The Conſuls,* L. Æmilius *and* Vopiſcus Julius, *are publickly called upon by the Tribune* Genucius, *to name the Commiſſioners for the* Partition of the Lands. *Finding that the Conſuls ſhun meddling in that affair, he begins a criminal proceſs againſt their predeceſſors* Manlius *and* Furius, *for having neglected the naming of thoſe Commiſſioners. The trial is prevented by the ſudden death of* Genucius.

§. I. PEACE abroad, and plenty in the City being reſtored, the civil feuds, in relation to the *Agrarian Law*, preſently revived. The Tribunes not able to carry their point againſt the body of the Senate, turn'd their rage againſt ſome particular Senators, who had oppoſed their pretenſions. Thus *Menenius*, (the ſon of *Menenius Agrippa*) was accuſed before the People, by the Tribunes, *Q. Conſidius* and *T. Genucius*, of having connived at the deſtruction of the *Fabii* when he might have prevented it. He was tried for his life; and neither the earneſt ſollicitations of the Nobles, nor his own, nor the remembrance of his Father's merit, could ſave him from being condemn'd by the Tribes almoſt unanimous. The Tribunes however changed the penalty to a fine of 2000 Aſſes in money, [about ſix pounds ſterling] a very exorbitant ſum (ſays *Dionyſius*) if we conſider, that in thoſe times men [of the firſt rank] earn'd the neceſſaries of life by the labour of their hands; and that *Menenius*'s ſole patrimony was his Father's poverty. His friends would have paid the fine for him, but he would not ſuffer it. Unable to ſupport his diſgrace, he ſhut himſelf up in his houſe, where grief and vexation threw him into a diſtemper that ſoon put an end to his life.

§. II. THE Tribunes fell next upon *Spurius Servilius*, who had ſucceeded *Menenius* in the Conſulſhip, and had gained the late victory over the *Hetrurians*. Scarce had he reſigned the faſces to *P. Valerius* and *C. Nautius*, when a criminal proceſs was commenced againſt him by the Tribunes *Cedicius* and *Siccius*, for having loſt the flower of his army in that action, by purſuing the enemy too far, and *raſhly* attacking their intrenchments; and they produced both officers and common ſoldiers to witneſs the temerity of the General and the fatal conſequences of it. This was the crime pretended by the Tribunes. Perhaps the real and only crime both of him and of *Menenius* was the having omitted, during their

Y. of R. 278. Bef. J.C. 474. Conſulſhip. 35

Y. of R. 278. Bef. J. C. 474. 35 Conſulſhip.

their Conſulſhips, to name Commiſſioners for making the deſired partition of the lands.

Servilius did not endeavour, like *Menenius*, to ward the ſtroke by deprecations, or by employing the interceſſion of the *Fathers*, but, when he came to his trial, relying on his innocence and the good-will of the People, he thus addreſs'd them: "If, *Romans*, I am ſummon'd to "this tribunal, to give an account of my conduct in the late war, I am "willing and prepared to do it. But if you have already pronounced "Sentence againſt me, and I am brought hither only to be deliver'd "up to the executioner, to what purpoſe ſhould I ſay any thing in "defence of my actions? Here is my body; do with it what you "pleaſe." He ſaid no more; and for a few moments there reign'd a perfect ſilence in the aſſembly: but the multitude calling out to him, to take courage and ſay what he pleaſed, he then proceeded to a juſtification of his conduct in all its parts, expoſed the unreaſonableneſs of expecting great and important victories over powerful enemies without conſiderable loſs of men to the Conquerors; and in concluſion bitterly reproach'd both the Tribunes and the People with their condemnation of *Menenius*, and with his death, the deſtruction of a man, whoſe father had procured them thoſe very magiſtracies and laws by which they were enabled to be ſo wantonly cruel.

The noble confidence of the accuſed, together with the teſtimony of his Collegue *Virginius*, who highly extolled his conduct in the battle, and aſcribed to him all the glory of the ſucceſs, diſperſed the ſtorm that threatened him; and this the more eaſily, as the People were now heartily aſhamed of the ſentence they had paſſed againſt *Menenius*. *Servilius* was unanimouſly acquitted; and he ſoon after not only cleared his character from all blemiſh, but added a new luſtre to it. A notable victory which the Conſul *Valerius* in this ſame year obtained over the *Hetrurians*, was imputed chiefly to the bravery and conduct of *Servilius*, who had ſerved in quality of his Lieutenant.

Livy, B. 2. *D. Hal.* B. 9.

Y. of R. 279. Bef. J. C. 473. 36 Conſulſhip.

A. Manlius who, with *L. Furius*, was raiſed to the Conſulate for the new year, led the victorious army againſt the *Veientes*. But theſe enemies durſt no longer appear in the field. They ſhut themſelves up in *Veii*, where being ſoon ſtraitened for proviſions, they ſued for peace. The Senate, to whom the Conſuls referred their Deputies, granted them a truce of forty years, and in reward of *Manlius*'s ſucceſsful, but unbloody expedition, they decreed him the honour of an ovation.

And now the Tribunes with much warmth renew'd their purſuit of the great affair; nor did the condemnation of *Menenius*, nor the danger of *Servilius* deter *Manlius* and *Furius* from oppoſing with all their might the meaſures of the *Plebeian* magiſtrates; for which oppoſition they were impeached very ſoon after they had reſigned the faſces to *L. Æmilius* *, and *Papiſcus Julius*.

*A 3d time Conſ.

§. III. *CN. GENUCIUS*, one of the Tribunes, a daring enterprising Man, and no bad Speaker, called upon the new Consuls to name Commissioners for executing the Senate's decree, in relation to the public lands. *Æmilius* and *Julius*, to elude this demand, alledged, that the *Senatus Consultum* in question did not regard them; that they had not been charged with the distribution of the lands; that the decree regarded those Consuls only to whom it was address'd, the immediate successors of *Cassus* and *Virginius*; that the *Senatus Consulta* were not permanent laws, nor of force any longer than during the magistracy of those to whom their execution was committed. A. of R. 280. Bef. J.C. 472. 37 Consulship. D. Hal. B. 9.

The Tribune, enraged at this evasive answer, would gladly have attacked the Consuls directly; but as he foresaw it would be no easy matter to ruin them, while actually invested with the Sovereign Power, he turned his resentment upon *Manlius* and *Furius*, whose offices were but just expired. He cited them before the assembly of the People, to answer for their injustice in having neglected to name Commissioners for distributing the conquered lands pursuant to the Senate's decree: he said, the only way to engage the present Consuls to execute that decree, was the letting them foresee, by the punishment of their predecessors, what would be their own fate if they neglected their duty: and having swore by all that was most sacred, that he would not desist from the prosecution, he named a day for the trial.

Manlius and *Furius*, tho' they went about humbly soliciting the favour of the *Plebeians*, yet, by artful discourses to the younger Senators, endeavoured to engage these to defend them against the *Plebeians* by ways of violence. They exhorted the young men "never to aspire to "the Consular Fasces, the Robe of Magistracy, or the Curule Chair; "which, they said, would be only the decorations of their funeral: That "a Consul was now but a Serjeant of the Tribunes to execute their will; "and in case any Consul found himself inclined to exercise his proper "authority, or to assert that of the Senate, he would do well to set before "his eyes the banishment of *Coriolanus*, and the death of *Minucius*." *Livy*. B. 2. c. 54.

The Senators, inflamed by these speeches, no longer held public but private Councils; in which it was determined absolutely to rescue the accused; and, of many wicked expedients proposed, the most audacious and most wicked was the most approved.

When the day for the trial came, *Genucius* did not appear in the Assembly. It was imagined at first, that the *Patricians* had found means to deter him from his purpose, and that he had deserted the cause: but presently some, who had been waiting at his door, brought word that he was found dead in his bed. The *Plebeians* on this report, like soldiers whose General is slain, immediately dispersed themselves; and the Tribunes were of all the most terrified; finding by the example of their Colleague, that the law, which made their persons sacred, gave them no security. On the other hand the *Patricians* exulted in a most extravagant manner. None of them seem'd sorry for what had happen'd. Nay,

those who had not been even accomplices in the murder, affected to be thought principals; and it was openly said, that the Tribunician Power ought by such methods to be kept down *.

* This is *Livy*'s account. *Dionysius* makes the death of *Genucius* to have happen'd the day before that which was appointed for the trial. He adds, that the Tribune's body being exposed to public view in the forum, and there being on it no marks of poison or other violence, a notion prevail'd universally, that his death was a stroke from the Gods, who disapproved his enterprise: whereupon the prosecution was dropp'd, and the Tribunes became quiet with regard to the *Agrarian Law*.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the Consuls after the Death of* Genucius, *in relation to* P. Volero. *The People rise; and the Consuls hide themselves.* §. II. Volero *is chosen a Tribune of the People. He proposes a Law for electing the* Tribunes *in* Comitia *by* Tribes. *The Disputes on this Head are interrupted by a Plague.* §. III. *The Senate get the Consulship for* Appius Claudius *and* T. Quinctius. *These differ about the means to defeat* Volero's *project.* §. IV. Volero *renews the proposal of his Law in an Assembly of the People. Quinctius by soft words disposes the People to reject it: But* Appius *by a Speech, full of pride and heat, ruins the effect of what his Collegue had said. The Tribune* Lætorius *orders* Appius *to be led to prison. A scuffle ensues. Night puts an end to the Disorder.* §. V. *The Tumult is renewed the next morning.* Quinctius *by prudent management quiets it, and prevails with the Senate to let* Volero's *Law pass.*

A. of R. 280. Bef. J.C. 472. 37 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 9. *Livy.* B. 2. c. 55.

§. I. THE Conſuls flush'd with this ill gotten victory, and reſolving to make the People feel their power, began now to uſe an extreme and (at this time) moſt imprudent rigour in raiſing ſoldiers for the war. Whatever Citizen did not appear upon the ſummons to give in his name, was ſure to be ſeverely puniſh'd, right or wrong, and ſome they even cauſed to be whipp'd by the lictors. Not in all theſe proceedings did they meet with any Oppoſition from the Tribunes, confounded and ſtruck mute by what had happen'd to *Genucius*. Wrathful murmurings, (the prelude to revolt,) preſently aroſe among the *Plebeians*, more provoked by the ſilence of their own magiſtrates, than the tyranny exerciſed by the Conſuls, "That their liberty was "gone: That the Tribunician authority had expired and been buried "with *Genucius*: That the Commons, deprived of all aſſiſtance, muſt "now themſelves provide for their defence againſt the Nobles; and that "this was not very difficult to do: That tho' the Conſuls were attended "by 24 Lictors, theſe Lictors were all *Plebeians*: That imagination only "made the conſular Power formidable: That nothing was in reality "weaker or more contemptible, if men would but learn to deſpiſe it."

While

While with ſuch ſpeeches the People were exciting one another to reſiſtance, the Conſuls ſummon'd a certain *Plebeian* named *Publius Volero*, who had been a Centurion, and was eſteemed a good officer, to liſt himſelf for a common ſoldier. The young man full of ſpirit boldly refuſed. Inſtantly the Conſuls ſent a Lictor to ſeize him.—*Help me*, TRIBUNES! cried out *Volero*.—The Conſuls ſeeing no body come to his aid, bid the Lictor diſpatch, tear off his cloaths and ſcourge him. *Volero* check'd the haſte of this officer by a blow on his face that knock'd him down: and then, turning to the Conſuls, he ſaid, *Since our Tribunes had rather ſee a Roman Citizen ſcourged in their preſence, than be themſelves murder'd in their beds by you*, I APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE. All the Lictors were now commanded to fall upon him at once; but, he getting into the thickeſt of the crowd, and calling out aloud, *I appeal to the People; I implore your aid; aſſiſt me Citizens! aſſiſt me fellow ſoldiers! no protection is to be expected from the Tribunes; they themſelves have need of your protection*; the multitude with a deſperate fury attack'd the Lictors, beat them, broke the faſces, and made the Conſuls experience, that authority without ſtrength is a vain thing: They were forced to fly for refuge to the Senate houſe. Hither they ſummon'd the *Fathers*, and complained to them of the audacioufneſs of *Volero*, and the inſolent violence of the People. On the other hand the Tribunes, who had hitherto been quiet, began now to make a mighty noiſe; they demanded juſtice upon the Conſuls, for that, in contempt of the *Lex Valeria* and of an appeal to the People, they had offered to ſcourge a Citizen, a *Roman* of free condition, as if he had been the vileſt ſlave: A new ſubject of fierce diſpute between the two orders in the Republic: But the elder and wiſer men of the Senate not thinking it prudent to contend with the head-ſtrong raſhneſs of the Commons, prevailed with the reſt of the *Fathers* to drop their reſentments; and ſo the tempeſt ſubſided for the preſent.

Y. of R. 280. Bef. J.C. 472. 37 Conſulſhip.

Valerio fearing the Power of the Conſuls, and knowing that the Tribuneſhip, if he could get it, would be his beſt Security againſt their fury, ſtood for the Office of Tribune, vacant by the death of *Genucius*. To engage the voices of the People in his favour, he boaſted publickly, that if ever he were inveſted with that magiſtracy, he would take ſuch methods, that the *Plebeians* ſhould never more be oppreſſed by the Nobles. The multitude readily granted him their Votes; and he entered upon the exerciſe of his office in the Conſulſhip of *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius*. It was univerſally expected, that, to revenge himſelf on the laſt year's Conſuls, who had treated him ſo harſhly, he would immediately commence a proſecution againſt them before the People; but he ſoon diſcovered, that though a man of mean birth and education, he was capable of views far more extenſive and important to the intereſt of his Party, than a mere perſonal revenge. Without letting fall ſo much as one diſreſpectful word againſt the late magiſtrates, he turned his force againſt the whole body of the *Patricians*, and undertook to deprive them

Y. of R. 281. Bef. J.C. 471. 38 Conſulſhip.

Y. of *R.* 281. Bef. *C.* 471. 38 Conſulſhip.

them of the influence they had in the election of the Tribunes of the People.

The Tribunes had hitherto been choſen in *Comitia* by * *Curiæ*, where though the *Patrician* faction had not ſo great a ſway as in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, yet they had a much greater than *Volero* thought to be conſiſtent with the People's entire liberty of chuſing their own Protectors. As theſe Aſſemblies conſiſted only of ſuch Citizens as reſided in *Rome*, the Senators by the great number of their friends, clients, and immediate dependents, who had a right of voting, frequently carried all before them. It was alſo the prerogative of the Senate to give a previous conſent, before thoſe Aſſemblies could be held, and none but *Patricians* could preſide in them. Nor was this all; for the Augurs too, before any thing could be validly done, were to declare that the Auſpices were favourable. Now it often happened, that theſe miniſters of religion, *Patricians* by birth, did, to ſerve the intereſt of their order, either put off the holding of the *Comitia*, or annul the election of ſuch Tribunes as were moſt obnoxious to the Nobility, under pretence that the omens were inauſpicious.

Volero repreſented all this to the People, and that the *Patricians* by the ſeveral privileges and advantages of which they had got poſſeſſion were in effect abſolute Maſters of the Government. He moved therefore, that for the future the election of the Tribunes ſhould be always made in *Comitia* by *Tribes*, an Aſſembly where the People's own magiſtrates might preſide; where all the Citizens of the country Tribes, as well as the inhabitants of *Rome*, would have a right of voting, and which would not be ſubject to any decrees of the Senate, or the influence of the Augurs.

The *Plebeians* in general were highly pleaſed with this propoſal, and

* In what Mr. *Vertot* ſays on this occaſion, and on ſome others, *of the difference* between the ſeveral ſorts of *Comitia*, he ſeems to be defective in the manner of expreſſing himſelf. He commonly tells us, that in the *Comitia* by *Tribes* and by *Curiæ*, *every man's vote was taken ſingly (qu'on recueilloit les voix par tête)* but that in the *Centuriate Comitia* the voices were counted by Centuries. From which way of ſpeaking one would be apt to imagine, that in the two firſt named ſorts of *Comitia* all affairs were decided by the majority of the Citizens aſſembled. But this was not the caſe. No queſtion whatſoever was decided in any of the three ſorts of Aſſembly by the plurality of ſingle votes. The opinion of the plurality of the Citizens in each *Curia*, *Tribe* and *Century*, determined the ſenſe of that *Curia*, *Tribe* and *Century*. But it was the majority of the *Centuries*, of the *Tribes*, or of the *Curiæ*, that decided the queſtion in debate. And though perhaps it never happened, it was very poſſible to happen, that in the *Comitia* by *Tribes* and by *Curiæ*, as well as in thoſe by *Centuries*, a great majority of ſingle voices ſhould loſe their point. For example; in the affair of *Coriolanus*, nine Tribes only voted for him, and twelve againſt him; he was therefore caſt. Nevertheleſs it does not hence follow, that the majority of the *Roman* Citizens were againſt him. For if in each of thoſe nine Tribes which voted for him, the Citizens were unanimous, and if in each of thoſe twelve which voted againſt him, the Citizens were divided, and only a bare majority againſt him, it will hence follow, that he muſt have had a very great majority of ſingle voices in his favour, notwithſtanding his being condemned.

warmly declared for paſſing it into a Law. The Conſuls on the other hand, the Senate, and the whole order of *Patricians*, oppoſed it with all their might. It became the common and the only ſubject of diſpute between the two parties; ſo that the affair of the *Agrarian Law* was for a while intirely dropt.

A dreadful peſtilence which raged both in the city and in the country interrupted the courſe of this furious conteſt. Each man being taken up with his particular loſſes and his own preſervation, leſs attention was given to the buſineſs of the public. But this calamity proving as ſhort as it was violent, the Tribunes quickly reſumed the proſecution of the law propoſed by *Volero*; and the People believing they could not ſucceed without his aſſiſtance, continued him in the Tribuneſhip for the following year, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Senate and of the whole *Patrician* party.

Y. of R. 281. Bef. J. C. 471. 38 Conſulſhip.

§. III. THE Senate finding how ſtrongly bent the *Plebeians* were upon carrying their point, and how neceſſary it would be to ſet up againſt *Volero*, ſome man of intrepid reſolution, and who was not to be terrified by the clamours and menaces of the multitude, pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, and raiſed him to the Conſulate without his participation. He had been ſo far from making intereſt for that high poſt, that he had not ſo much as appeared in the Aſſembly on the day of election; he was naturally proud, but without ambition, not leſs zealous than his father had been for the intereſt of the Senate, and more obſtinate and inflexible. The Senate gave him for a Collegue *T. Quinctius*, a man naturally mild and inſinuating, and who had found means to get the love of the People, though he was looked upon to be one of the principal Leaders of the other party.

Liv. B. 2. c. 56. *D. H.* B. 9. c. 42.

The new Conſuls, as they were of different characters, ſo were they of different opinions. *Appius* hoping for no peace in the City, but by leading the *Plebeians* into the field, adviſed, that upon ſome pretence (not difficult to find while *Rome* was ſo hated by her neighbours) a new war ſhould be immediately undertaken.

Y. of R. 282. Bef. J. C. 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

Quinctius was againſt commencing any war without neceſſity. He ſaid, it was to be fear'd, that the force which muſt be employ'd to compel thoſe *Plebeians* who refuſed to ſerve, would exaſperate the multitude to a deſperate fury (as in the preceding Conſulſhips:) in which caſe, either the fire muſt be extinguiſhed by the blood of *Roman* Citizens, or the Conſuls muſt debaſe themſelves to the ignominious taſk of courting, and ſoothing the very loweſt of the People. As *Quinctius* was this month in poſſeſſion of the chief authority, his Collegue could do nothing without him.

In the mean time *Volero* propoſed his Law anew, and, in concert with his Collegues, added theſe articles to it: *That the Ædiles ſhould likewiſe be choſen in* Comitia *by* Tribes, *and that* theſe Aſſemblies *ſhould have cognizance of* all affairs *which* the People *had a right to determine*; an addition (ſays *Dionyſius*) which tended directly to deſtroy the authority of the Senate, and

to

Y. of R. 265. Bef. J. C. 478 39 Curulship.

to establish that of the People upon its ruins. The Consuls, upon this new alarm, convened the *Fathers*. *Appius* declared for arming all those Citizens, who with'd the preservation of the antient form of Government, and for treating as enemies to the state all opponents. *Quinctius* advised the gentler methods of reasoning and perſuaſion to bring the People to a ſenſe of their true intereſt. The majority of the Senate coming into his opinion, the Conſuls repaired to the *Comitium*, and deſired of the Tribunes, that they would permit them to ſpeak to *the Plebeians aſſembled*, and would hatte a day. With ſome difficulty they obtain'd both requeſts. When the day came, and the Forum was fill'd with a promiſcuous crowd of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, whom the magiſtrates of the different orders had brought thither to ſupport them reſpectively, *Quinctius* (leave to ſpeak firſt aſked and granted) made ſo artful, ſo pleaſing, ſo engaging an harangue to the multitude, againſt the propoſed law, that it is probable they would have rejected it, if *Appius* had not ſpoken after him.

But this Conſul, who underſtood no way of treating men but with a high hand, inſtead of taking advantage of the impreſſion which his Colleague's diſcourſe had made in the minds of his audience, fell into invectives, which had the very ſame effect as the harangues of the Tribunes. He upbraided the People in the moſt harſh and offenſive terms with their *ſeceſſion* upon the *Mons Sacer*, and the erection of the Tribuneſhip, which he ſaid was extorted from the Senate by an open revolt, and by threatning a civil war. He added, that it was no wonder a Tribunal ſet up by rebels ſhould produce nothing but tumults and diſcords, which would never end but with the entire ſubverſion of the Republic; that already few or no traces were left of the antient form of the Government: That the moſt ſacred Laws were infringed, the Conſular power deſpiſed, and the dignity of the Senate deſtroyed, by the daring practices of an inſolent rabble, and that no remedy to theſe evils could be hoped for long as the Tribuneſhip, the root of all, ſubſiſted.

And he concluded with telling them, that as to the preſent affair, it was his firm determination, forever to withſtand the promulgation of ſo inſidious a Law as was then propoſed, and of any Law whatſoever which had not firſt paſſed the examination and the approbation of the Senate; and that he hoped to make them know during his magiſtracy, if they were yet ignorant of it, what was the extent of the power of a Conſul.

Volero, notwithſtanding this provocation, ſtill confined his diſcourſe to the matter and merits of the Law in queſtion, forbearing all perſonal attacks. But *Laterius*, another of the Tribunes, fell * at once to railing againſt the *Claudian* family, which he term'd the moſt haughty and moſt

* *Diogenes* reproached *Laterius* for having written againſt *Appius* and his family, and wiſhed Orators, who anſwers what *Appius* then ſpoke, all with Swearing that he will carry his point or die.

cruel

cruel enemies the *Plebeians* had; and he added, that the *Patricians* had given them, in *Appius*, not a Conſul, but an executioner to rend and tear them. Words failing the rough ſoldier to keep pace with his angry and impetuous thoughts, he laid, "Romans, I am not ſo ready at "ſpeaking as I know. Come hither to me now, I will get the Law "paſſed, or die upon this ſpot before you."

The next day the Tribunes poſſeſſed themſelves of the Temple of *Vulcan*.] The Conſuls and *Patricians* repaired to the Aſſembly to hinder the paſſing of the Law. *Icilius* bids his *Viator* clear the place of all who have not the rights of voting. The young Nobles keep their ground. He gives orders to lay hold of ſome of them. *Appius* cries out, "A "Tribune has no authority but over the *Plebeians*: He is not a magiſtrate of the *People*, but of the *Commons*. I myſelf, the Conſul, have "no power, by the cuſtom of our anceſtors, to remove any Citizen "from a public Aſſembly; the form of diſmiſſing it having always "been, *Depart, Romans, if you pleaſe.*"

The Tribune, no match for the Conſul at points of Law, inſtead of anſwering, ſends a *Viator* to arreſt him; *Appius* ſends a Lictor to ſeize the Tribune, crying aloud, to him at the ſame time, that *he is but a private man, without any authority, or real magiſtracy*. The ſacroſanct perſon of the Tribune was juſt going to be inſulted, when the enraged *Plebeians* all united at once againſt the Conſul. *Appius* nevertheleſs ſtood the ſtorm; and as freſh crowds of Citizens flock'd to the forum from all quarters, the commotion would probably not have ended without bloodſhed, if *Quinctius*, the other Conſul, had not exerted all his ſoothing arts to quiet the tumult. Requeſting ſome conſulars to force *Appius* out of the Aſſembly (if they could not perſuade him to go) he endeavour'd by intreaties to aſſwage the fury of the *Plebeians*, and begg'd of the Tribunes to diſmiſs the Aſſembly, and allow their own anger ſome leiſure to cool. Time (he ſaid) would not diminiſh their ſtrength, but add wiſdom to it. That the Senate would certainly yield to the People, and the Conſul to the Senate.

Quinctius found it difficult to appeaſe the multitude; the conſulars much more difficult to appeaſe *Appius*. At length the Aſſembly of the Commons was diſmiſſed; and the Conſuls convened the Senate. Anger and fear, for a while, alternately dictated different counſels; but in proportion as thoſe paſſions ſubſiding gave place to reflection and reaſon, the *Fathers* became more and more averſe from all further ſtrife; and *Quinctius* had the thanks of the Houſe for having quieted the tumultuary conteſt. They intreated *Appius* not to inſiſt on retaining to the conſular dignity any higher prerogatives than were compatible with concord in the State. He, unconvinced by all their remonſtrances, "call'd Gods "and Men to witneſs, that the Republic was betray'd through cowar-"dice; that a Conſul was not wanting to the Senate, but a Senate to "the Conſul. That they were going to ſubmit to Laws more deſtruc-"tive than even thoſe enacted on the *Mons Sacer*." Overcome however

by

Y. of R. 282. Bef. J. C. 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

by the unanimity of the *Fathers*, he acquieſced. The Law was quietly paſſed. *Lex ſilentio perfertur*. *

And now the Tribunes were choſen, for the firſt time, in *Comitia by Tribes*; and, according to *Piſo* the Hiſtorian (quoted by *Livy*) the Commons, from the ſame time, *began* † to have *five* Tribunes, and not before. The names of the five now elected were *C. Sicinnius*, *L. Numitorius*, *M. Duilius*, *Sp. Icilius*, and *L. Mecilius*.

* This is *Livy*'s account. I know not whether by *Lex ſilentio perfertur*, he means to ſay, that the Law was paſſed with the *tacit* conſent of the Senate. If he does, he differs from *Dionyſius*.

The *Greek* Hiſtorian is ſomewhat more circumſtantial than the *Latin*, with regard to the commotion. He repreſents it as laſting many days. He ſays, that after the fray between *Appius* and *Lucretius*, in which the latter received a hurt, the Tribunes and People poſſeſſed themſelves of the Capitol, and kept guard there night and day to the great terror of the *Fathers*. And he adds, that *Quinctius* at length prevailed with the Tribunes to refer the matter in diſpute wholly to the judgment of the Senate. That there (the Tribunes preſent) *Valerius*, being call'd upon the firſt to declare his opinion, began with adviſing a mutual forgiveneſs and oblivion of all injuries done in the late ſcuffle; and then ſaid, That ſince the Conſul *Appius* would not permit the Law in queſtion to be propoſed to the People, without a previous decree of the Senate, he thought the Senate ſhould take it into conſideration, and make a decree thereupon. This advice was approved. *Quinctius* put the queſtion: *Appius* ſpake warmly againſt it: The Tribunes anſwer'd him: the majority of the Senate declared for the Law; and a decree was made conformable to the ſenſe of the Houſe; which decree the People joyfully confirm'd.

† If this be true, many particulars related by *Dionyſius* and *Livy* concerning the Tribunes, muſt be fabulous. It may be obſerved that *Pighius* has in no year, preceding this, inſerted more than *two* in his Calendars.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *The Conſuls lead two armies into the field againſt the* Æqui *and* Volſci. Appius's *Troops, that he may have no claim to a* Triumph, *refuſe to fight the enemy. He puniſhes them with the utmoſt ſeverity, and returns to* Rome. §. II. *The affair of the* Agrarian Law *being revived the next year, he oppoſes the Tribunes with more heat than ever. They cite him before the People as an enemy to the public liberty. He kills himſelf.* §. III. *The Tribunes reſumed the affair of the* Conquered Lands, *but drop it again till the* cloſe *of the next Conſulſhip, when no* Plebeian *appears in the Comitia, where* T. Quinctius *and* Q. Servilius *are choſen to that dignity. Theſe Conſuls, to keep things quiet at home, buſy the People in various wars.* §. IV. *The domeſtic diſſentions begin afreſh in the Conſulſhip of* T. Æmilius *and* Q. Fabius. Æmilius *favours the People in relation to the* Agrarian Law. Fabius, *without promoting that affair, falls upon an expedient to ſtop their complaints.* §. V. *He then takes the field, and reduces the* Æqui *to aſk peace. The war is renew'd to the advantage of the* Romans. §. VI. *A moſt dreadful Plague rages in the City. The* Æqui *and* Volſci *appear before* Rome, *but ſoon retire; and the* Romans, *the next year, give them an entire overthrow.*

§. I.

§. I. THE *Æqui* and *Volſci*, during theſe diviſions at *Rome*, had, according to their old cuſtom, made inroads upon the territories of the Republic. The Legions raiſed to take revenge upon thoſe enemies were divided between the two Conſuls. Y. of *R.* 282. Bef. *J.C.* 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

Appius marched againſt the *Volſci*, and carried with him into the field the ſame cruel and tyrannical ſpirit which had actuated him in the City, and to which he now abandon'd himſelf the more abſolutely as he had no Tribunes to controll him. The victory which the Commons had gain'd over him made his hatred to them exceed even that of his father. Tho' ſingled out by the *Patricians*, as the only man qualified to withſtand the Tribunes, yet in his Conſulſhip they had paſſed their Law, which his predeceſſors, with leſs vigorous efforts than his, had obſtructed. Stung with theſe reflections, anger and indignation incited him to exerciſe towards the ſoldiers a rigour that had more the appearance of revenge, than of neceſſary diſcipline. Yet ſo obſtinate a ſpirit of oppoſition to him had they imbibed, that no acts of ſeverity could make them ſubmiſſive. They did every thing ſlowly, lazily, negligently, contumaciouſly. Neither fear nor ſhame had any power with them. If he bade them march faſter, inſtantly they took care to ſlacken their pace; if, when they were employ'd in any work, he urged them to diſpatch, they preſently became languid, tho' of their own accord they had been active before; their arms grew ſtiff. Whenever he was near, they kept their eyes on the ground, muttering curſes as he paſſed by: inſomuch, that tho' unconquer'd by the hatred of the *Plebeians*, it ſometimes ſtaggered him. Finding that no examples of puniſhment had any influence on the ſoldiers, he forbore ſpeaking to them any more; but charged the centurions with having corrupted his army, and ſcoffingly called them *Tribunes of the Commons*, and ſometimes *Volſcos*.

The *Volſci*, having intelligence of all this, preſſed the cloſer upon the *Romans*, in hopes of their acting the ſame part towards *Appius*, as formerly towards *Ceſo Fabius*. And in truth they were diſpoſed to act a worſe, as they hated *Appius* much more, than they had done the other. They did not only reſolve, like *Fabius*'s army, not to conquer, but they reſolved to be conquer'd. The Conſul had no ſooner drawn them up for battle, than they turn'd their backs to the enemy, fled ſhamefully to their intrenchments, nor made any reſiſtance till they beheld the ſlaughter of their rear, and the *Volſci* approaching to break into their Camp. Then exerting their ſtrength couragiouſly they repulſed the victorious *Volſci*; yet would do no more. They would only ſave the Camp, and ſhew their General, that they could have conquer'd if they had pleaſed. Some even exulted in the loſs and diſgrace they had ſuffer'd. The haughty and fierce ſpirit of *Appius*, not broken by all this, but eagerly bent to puniſh it with rigour, he gave orders for the ſoldiers to aſſemble before his tribunal. His Lieutenants and military Tribunes, who dreaded the conſequence, ran to him, begg'd of him not to

Y. of *R.* 282. Bef. *J. C.* 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

hazard his authority by putting it to ſuch a trial, ſince its whole force lay in the conſent of thoſe who were to obey; they repreſented to him, that the ſoldiers in general declared, they would not aſſemble; that many called out aloud to decamp and quit the territory of the *Volſci*; and that certain appearances gave great reaſon to apprehend ſome dreadful blow from the victorious enemy, who had already been once at the foot of the rampart. *Appius*, yielding at length to their remonſtrances, (tho' the guilty got nothing by it but a delay of puniſhment) put off the Aſſembly, and iſſued orders to decamp the next morning. At break of day the ſignal for marching was given by ſound of trumpet. The *Volſci*, as if rouzed by the ſame ſignal, fell upon the hindmoſt ranks of the army, as ſoon as it was in march: the terror and confuſion, hereby cauſed, ſpread to the foremoſt; no orders could be heard, no Troops form'd for fighting; ſoldiers threw away their arms, Enſigns their colours; the only thought of every one was to eſcape by flight; the *Volſci* ceaſed to purſue, before the *Romans* ceaſed to run; nor did theſe rally till they came upon the lands of the Republic.

Then *Appius*, who during the rout had in vain call'd upon his men to face about, pitching his Camp where he could not be moleſted by the enemy, once more ſummon'd the army to attend him. Seated in his Tribunal he upbraided them (and not without reaſon) with their breach of diſcipline and ſhameful behaviour; aſked the Enſigns, who appeared without their colours, what they had done with them? the unarmed ſoldiers, what they had done with their arms? Giving full ſcope to his natural ſeverity, he cauſed the guilty Centurions, Enſigns, and thoſe of the private ſoldiers who had double allowance of proviſions, to be firſt ſcourged and then beheaded; and the reſt of the ſoldiers he *decimated*, that is, put every tenth man of them to death, lots determining, who ſhould be the ſufferers.

The time for electing new Conſuls drawing near, *Appius*, univerſally hated by the multitude, and inwardly vexed, becauſe he had acquired no glory, led back the wreck of his army to *Rome*.

In the other army, commanded by *Quinctius* againſt the *Æqui*, the ſcene had been far different; an amiable competition between the General and his ſoldiers, the ſtrife, which ſhould give the other the greater proofs of good will and affection? *Quinctius*, naturally mild and gentle, had yielded to his diſpoſition with the more pleaſure, as he obſerved the bad effects of his Colleague's cruel ſeverity. The *Æqui* appriſed of this concord between the Conſul and his troops, durſt not ſhew themſelves. Without oppoſition they ſuffer'd their lands to be plunder'd and ravaged. A richer booty had never been brought from that country; and *Quinctius* gave all to his men. To this liberality he added praiſes, not leſs pleaſing to ſoldiers, than rewards. They returned home in perfect good humour with their General, and, on his account, even ſoften'd toward the *Patricians*: the Senate (they ſaid) had to them given a Father, to the other army a Maſter.

"Thus,

"Thus with various fortune in war, and furious diſcord both at home and abroad, paſſed this year, chiefly memorable for [what happened in relation to] the *Comitia by Tribes*. The affair (ſays *Livy*) was more conſiderable on account of the victory gain'd by the *Plebeians*, than any real benefit got by the victory. For neither the *Plebeians* acquired, nor the *Patricians* loſt ſo much ſtrength, as thoſe *Comitia* themſelves loſt of their dignity, *by the exclusion of the Patricians* from them." Y. of R. 282. Bef. J.C. 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

§. II. *L. VALERIUS* and *Tib. Æmilius* (choſen to ſucceed *Quinctius* and *Appius* in the Conſulſhip) had ſcarce enter'd upon their office when the *Tribunes of the Commons* revived the affair of the *conquered lands*. Addreſſing themſelves to both the new magiſtrates, they conjured them to make good the promiſes given by the Senate in the Conſulſhip of *Caſſius* and *Virginius*; and they ſucceeded with both. *Æmilius* favour'd them (ſays *Dionyſius*) from a ſpirit of revenge againſt the Senate, who had formerly refuſed a *triumph* to his father, when he return'd victorious from a war with the *Æqui*. And, as for *Valerius*, he was glad of the preſent opportunity to ſooth the People, who could not eaſily forgive him the part he had acted, when Quæſtor, in the deſtruction of *Caſſius*, the ableſt Stateſman, and greateſt Captain † of his time, and the firſt author of the *Agrarian Law*. Y. of R. 283. Bef. J.C. 469. 40 Conſulſhip.

Secure

* *Verùm fortunæ belli, atrox diſcordia domi foriſque annum ſignatum, inſignem memoriâ Comitiis Tributis efficiunt. Res major quàm ſperato ſuſcepti certaminis gratia ejus. Plus enim dignitatis Comitiis ipſis detractum eſt, Patribus ex Concilio ſubmotis, quàm cruoris aut Plebi additum, aut ademptum Patribus.* Whether *Livy*'s judgment on this matter be juſt, ſhall be left to the reader's conſideration. But it may be proper to obſerve, that what is ſaid here of the *Excluſion of the Patricians* from the *Aſſemblies by Tribes*, is not to be underſtood generally of *all* ſuch Aſſemblies; for the *Patrician* magiſtrates held *Aſſemblies by Tribes* as well as the *Plebeian*. However it appears by this paſſage of *Livy*, that to the *aſſemblies by Tribes* for the *election of Tribunes*, the *Patricians* were not to be admitted. *Manutius* cites the paſſage as deciſive for this.

† Perhaps the reader, when he calls to mind *Coriolanus*, will wonder why the Hiſtorian makes *Caſſius* the *greateſt General of his time*; and I cannot reſolve the difficulty, otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing, that he ſpeaks only of the time *when Caſſius* was kill'd; that he was *then* the ableſt General in the Republic. By the way, it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that when the *Romans* were ſo grievouſly diſtreſſed by *Coriolanus*, they made no uſe of the *abilities of Caſſius*: we hear nothing of him during all that war. Why did not they raiſe him to the Conſulſhip when they moſt wanted ſuch a General?

And this naturally leads me to mention another difficulty which frequently occurs in the *Roman* ſtory. The Conſuls were always choſen in *Comitia by Centuries*; and the *Patricians* are repreſented as having, by the nature of theſe Aſſemblies, all power there; yet in theſe Aſſemblies, we find that the *Plebeians* often prevail to have ſuch magiſtrates choſen as they deſire. This muſt be accounted for by ſuppoſing that the Tribunes, by their *Veto*, frequently hinder'd the proceeding to any election of Conſuls, till the Nobles preſented Candidates agreeable to the Commons. Doubtleſs this muſt have been the caſe in the year 263. (See p. 212.) and was probably the caſe when the Conſuls of the preſent year were elected. For I apprehend they were both known to be favourers of the People before their election to the magiſtracy; and that the reaſons aſſigned by *Dionyſius*, why they acted with the Tribunes in relation to the *Agrarian Law*, are mere conjectures of his own. To believe that *Valerius* took part with the People from the motive mentioned in the text, we muſt firſt believe the

Y. of R. 283. Bef. J.C. 469 40 Conſulſhip.

Secure of the two Conſuls, the Tribunes brought the affair before the Senate, and in gentle, but preſſing terms, urged the *Conſcript Fathers* to ſuffer the nomination of Decemvirs for regulating the partition of the lands. The Conſuls ſaid nothing upon the ſubject, but aſk'd the opinions of the reſt of the Senate, beginning with *Æmilius*'s Father. This antient Conſular declared, he thought nothing could be more unjuſt, than that a few private men ſhould poſſeſs the public eſtate; that thoſe uſurpers ought to be very well content with having held the lands ſeveral years without moleſtation. That not to ſpeak of the natural right which all the Citizens of a ſtate have to ſhare in what belongs to the public, the Senate was particularly engaged by their own decree, made 17 years ago, to divide the conquer'd lands among the People. He added, That the poor *Plebeians* dreaded the thoughts of having children, to whom they could leave nothing but their own wretchedneſs for an inheritance; that inſtead of cultivating each the portion of land that belonged to him, they were obliged to work for ſubſiſtence, like ſlaves, on the eſtates of the *Patricians*; and that this ſervile way of life was not very proper to form the courage of a *Roman*. "My opinion "therefore is, that our Conſuls do now execute the Senate's decree, "the execution of which has been hitherto delay'd on account of the "unquietneſs of the times, and that they name Decemvirs, to make "the partition of the conquer'd lands."

Appius oppoſed this advice. He ſaid, that the People could lay the blame of their miſery upon nothing but their own intemperance and prodigality; that the Conſuls had frequently divided among them the booty got in the territories of their enemies, and, upon a thorough enquiry, it would appear, that thoſe who had received the greateſt ſhare of it were the pooreſt. That till their manners were mended no largeſſes could free them from poverty. That it would be very monſtrous if the Senate ſhould grant rewards to men who had behaved themſelves ſo

ſtory of *Caſſius*'s being impeach'd before the People by *Valerius* and his brother *Quæſtor*, which, I think, has been ſhewn to be a groundleſs tale. It does not appear that *Valerius* had any hand in the death of *Caſſius*.

And as to *Æmilius*'s reſenting the *refuſal*, his father had received eight years before, (in his ſecond Conſulſhip 275) from the Senate, *of a Triumph*, I conceive the refuſal itſelf to be fabulous, as likewiſe all that *Dionyſius* ſays of the petitioner's anger, and his immediately revenging himſelf by declaring for the *Agrarian Law*: I conclude, I ſay, the whole to be fabulous, not only becauſe *Livy* ſays nothing of theſe things, but becauſe we find *Æmilius* the father raiſed a third time to the Conſulſhip in 280, and as warm againſt the preſumptions of the People, as the Senate could wiſh him. And it ſeems very probable that both father and ſon (in imitation of the *Fabii* See p. 250.) now ſided with the Tribunes in order to recover to the family the good will of the *Plebeians*, which they muſt have loſt in the former part of the Father's third Conſulſhip; during which the Tribune *Genucius* was murder'd, and the *Plebeians* inſulted in the perſon of *Volero*. That *Æmilius* the father preſently repented of what he had done in relation to *Volero* and made his peace with the Tribunes, there ſeems good ground to believe, ſince we find that ſtormy affair hush'd at once, each party dropping their complaints.

† I. e. The year 267, when the decree was made, and the preſent year 283, inclu-ſive.

ſhamefully

shamefully in the field, as they had done the last year when under his command. That it never was the intention of the Senate to divide the lands among the People; that their sole view in granting the *Senatus Consultum*, which *Æmilius* spoke of, was to put off the affair, in order more easily to quiet the commotion, raised by the Consul *Cassius*: That his immediate successors in the magistracy, to whom the decree was directed, had taken no notice of it, as thinking the partition in question would be mischievous to the Republic. That afterwards, during * fifteen years successive, the Consuls of none of those years, tho' in continual danger from the resentment of the People, had thought themselves authorized to name Decemvirs in virtue of a decree directed only to the immediate successors of *Cassius* and *Virginius*. He added, "Nor "have *you* therefore, *Valerius*, nor *you*, *Æmilius*, any authority to name "Decemvirs for the partition in question, the Senate having given you "no commission to do it. As to those who have usurp'd the public "lands, whether by force or fraud, if such men there be, let them be "summon'd to appear before the Consuls, and let their titles be legally "tried and determined. There is no want of new Laws for this, we "have Laws already written; and they are not obsolete, time has formed "no † prescription against them."

Y. of R. 283. Bef. J. C. 469. 40 Consulship.

The majority of the Senate came into the opinion of *Appius*; so that the

* It should be 14 years, the year of *Cassius*, the year of his immediate successors, and the present year being excluded by the contest.

† Mr. *Vertot*, I know not why, always speaks of the *resumption* of the lands either as a thing *impracticable*; or as not to be executed without ruining the Senate and all the great men; objections never made by those who opposed the AGRARIAN LAW. *Appius Claudius* himself, tho' against the partition, declares for the *resumption*; and so did *his Father* in *Cassius*'s time, as likewise *Sempronius*, who are the only persons mention'd by *Dionysius* as then speaking on the subject in the Senate.

Tho' the younger *Appius* now declares for the *resumption*, as Mr. *Vertot* himself (following *Dionysius*) relates, yet Mr. *Vertot* represents this *Appius* saying, that the *Senatus Consultum* was granted only to give the People time to see the injustice, and even *impossibility* of what they demanded, *pour donner le tems au peuple de reconnoître, l'injustice & même* l'impossibilité *de leurs prétentions*. This *impossibility* can relate only to the *resumption*; the partition admitted of no difficulty. And what made the *resumption* so difficult? We have the Abbot's reasons, where he speaks of this affair in the time of *Cassius*. *Quelque apparence d'equité qu'eut la proposition de* Cassius, *on ne pouvoit en faire une loi, sans ruiner tout d'un coup le Senat & la principale Noblesse, & sans exciter une infinité de procès en garantie parmi toutes les familles de* Rome. Why? *Les Patriciens qui s'en étoient emparez [des terres conquises] les avoient enfermées de murailles: on avoit élevé dessus des bâtimens: des troupes d'esclaves faits des prisonniers de guerre les cultivoient pour le compte des Grands de* Rome, *& déjà une longue Prescription couvroit ces Usurpations. Les Senateurs & les Patriciens n'avoient guéres d'autres biens que ces terres du public, qui étoient passées successivement en differentes familles par succession, par partage, ou par ventes.* Tome 1. p. 268. 3d Ed.

I cannot find any authority Mr. *Vertot* has for saying that the Senators and *Patricians* had hardly any estates but what they had got by usurping the lands belonging to the public. But when he speaks of their usurpations being cover'd by *long prescription*, he seems totally to forget the time of which he is writing, the year 267 of *Rome*. By his own account (p. 64.) these usurpations did not begin till after the Reviving (in 244 of *Rome*) 23 years before *Cassius* proposed the *Agrarian*

Y. of R. 313. Bef. C. 439. 40 Conſulſhip.

the requeſt of the Tribunes was rejected; who thereupon, enraged at their diſappointment, turned their thoughts wholly to revenge themſelves on the author of it; and they agreed to bring him to trial for his life before the People. They named a day for it, and exhorted all the Citizens to be preſent. The articles of the impeachment, according to *Dionyſius*, were to be, That he had given pernicious advice againſt the People; raiſed ſedition in the State; offer'd violence to the ſacred perſons of the Tribunes; and, when commander of the army, had ſuffer'd an ignominious defeat and a terrible ſlaughter of his ſoldiers. Never, ſays *Livy*, was a man, ſo hated by the *Commons*, brought into judgment before the People: nor did ever the *Patricians* exert themſelves ſo much in behalf of any man as of *Appius*, the defender of the Senate, the aſſerter of its dignity, its ſupport, its bulwark againſt all Tribunician and *Plebeian* tumults, and now expoſed to the rage of the Commons, only for having been too warm in the contention.

Livy, B. 2. c. 61.

Appius himſelf was, of all the *Patricians*, the only man who deſpiſed the Tribunes, and the Commons, and the impeachment. Neither the menaces of the *Plebeians*, nor the intreaties of the Nobles could move him to depart from his accuſtomed manner of ſpeaking, and ſoften the aſperity of his ſtile. Once he pleaded his cauſe, but more like an accuſer, than a perſon accuſed; the ſame reſolute, haughty, diſdainful look he was wont to have; the ſame ſpirit in his diſcourſe, full of reproaches and invectives: inſomuch that many of the *Plebeians* feared him no leſs now when arraign'd at the Bar, than they had done when he was Conſul. His intrepidity and conſtancy ſo aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted the Tribunes, that, of their own accord, they deferr'd giving ſentence to another day; and then to a third. Before this came *Appius* * put an end to his own life. When his ſon, who brought the dead body into the Forum, was beginning to pronounce a funeral oration on the deceaſed, the Tribunes endeavour'd to ſilence him; but the People more moderate and equitable interpoſed, and would not ſuffer that ſo great a man ſhould be hinder'd from receiving that cuſtomary honour; and *Livy* adds, that they heard him praiſed, when dead, with as willing an ear, as they had heard him accuſed, when living; and that a numerous crowd of them attended his obſequies.

vian Laws. And there is no reaſon to believe that theſe uſurpations began till after the year 257, when *Tarquin* died; which *Livy* makes the date whence the Agrarian diſtribution commenced, and which was full ten years before Caſſius propoſed the *Agrarian Laws*. The Republic was reduced to a very low condition after the baniſhment of *Tarquin*, by the ſeditions of all her Conſuls; nor till the paſſing of the Laws in 257, had the quiet poſſeſſion of land enough for the Patricians to form out of it ſuch conſiderable eſtates for themſelves, as *Mr. Verlot* ſuppoſes them to have. So that his difficulties ariſing from ſales, and conveyances, and inheritances, and *long preſcription* are all a dream.

* *Livy* reports that he died of ſome diſtemper, and *Dionyſius* ſays, that it was ſo given out by his friends, but that in truth he kill'd himſelf.

The *Greek* Hiſtorian does not admit that *Appius* ever pleaded his cauſe before the People.

§. III.

§. III. THE *Romans*, during the remainder of this year, were employ'd in revenging themſelves on the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, who taking advantage of the civil feuds at *Rome*, had made inſurſions on the territory of the Republic.

In the following Conſulſhip of *Aulus Virginius* and *T. Numicius*, the buſineſs of the *Agrarian Law* was reſumed. An alarm from the *Volſci* ſuſpended the proſecution of it, but in the end of the year, it was again ſet on foot. And the multitude, who looked upon themſelves as oppreſſed by the great, to ſhew their reſentment, abſented themſelves from the Aſſembly, where *T. Quinctius* * and *Q. Servilius* were choſen Conſuls for the next year. They were raiſed to that dignity by the ſole voices of the *Patricians* and their clients, who, notwithſtanding all theſe diviſions, conſtantly adhered to the party of their Patrons.

To prevent the breach from growing wider, the new Conſuls, during all their year, buſied the people in various wars. *Servilius* had great ſucceſs againſt the *Sabines*; yet his glory was not equal to what *Quinctius* gained by his victories over the united forces of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. In the heat of a battle, and when he was like to be worſted through the enemies ſuperiority in numbers, to encourage his left wing to exert themſelves, he told them that his right wing was victorious, and by that means he made his left really ſo. He then haſted to the right wing, and informed them of the advantages which his left had gained, and, by this artful conduct, he put the enemy entirely to the rout. He defeated them a ſecond time, and then took from the *Volſci* the City of *Antium*, with its whole Territory.

Y. of *R.* 284. Bef. *J. C.* 468. 41 Conſulſhip.

Y. of *R.* 285. Bef. *J. C.* 467. 42 Conſulſhip. * At a like time Conſ.

§. IV. THE complaints of the Commons and the diſſentions at *Rome* began afreſh in the Conſulſhip of *Tib.* * *Æmilius* and *Q. Fabius*. (The latter was ſon of one of thoſe three famous brothers who had commanded in the Fort upon the *Cremera*.) We have already ſeen that *Æmilius* in his firſt Conſulſhip had declared for the Partition of the Lands: the affair was debated in the Senate: *Æmilius* perſiſted in his former opinion. But the majority of the Senators, and eſpecially thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the public lands, complained much of the liberality of *Æmilius*, whom they reproached with making his Court to the People at the expence of others. His Collegue *Fabius*, to quiet the diſpute, propoſed an expedient which at firſt diſpleaſed neither Party. It was to ſend a conſiderable number of the pooreſt *Plebeians*, to people the City of *Antium*, which had been almoſt depopulated by the laſt war; and to divide among them ſome adjacent lands, taken from the *Volſci*. This advice being received with applauſe, *T. Quinctius*, *A. Virginius*, and *P. Furius*, were without delay commiſſion'd to ſettle the new colony. But when the poor Citizens were to give in their names to thoſe Triumvirs to be enrolled, few of them appear'd. To ſend them to ſuch diſtant habitations, (they ſaid) was baniſhing them from their country. And they choſe rather to live at *Rome* in indigence, with the hopes of one day getting a ſhare of the public lands, than to be actually in poſſeſſion

Y. of *R.* 286. Bef. *J. C.* 466. 43 Conſulſhip. * At a like time Conſ.

session of land elsewhere; so that the Triumvirs, to make up the number appointed for the colony, were forced to receive a mixed crowd of *Latines*, *Hernici* and *Volsci*.

Livy, B. 3. & *D. Hal.* B. 9.

§. V. AND now *Fabius* marched an army against the *Æqui*, and *Æmilius* another against the *Sabines*. The expedition of the latter had nothing remarkable in it; but the *Æqui* submitted to *Fabius*, first bought a truce very dear, and then obtained a peace, on the condition of being subject to the Republic.

Y. of *R.* 287. Bef. *J. C.* 465. 44 Consulship. *A 2d time Cons.

Nevertheless in the following Consulship of *Sp. Postumius*, and *Q. Servilius* *, some of the *Æqui* joined the old inhabitants of *Antium* (who being deprived of their lands had taken refuge among them) and ravaged the Territory of the *Latines*. These faithful Allies of *Rome* were not allowed to arm in their own defence, nor would the *Romans* send their troops to defend them. The Senate chose rather to appoint a deputation to the Council of the *Æqui*; and *Fabius*, who had made the peace with them, was at the head of the embassy. He perceived by the indirect answers they made to his demands, that they had no intention to give the Republic satisfaction, but only to amuse him. Under pretence therefore of visiting their temples and public buildings, he examined their magazines of arms and provisions, some of which he found full, and others filling. The report he made at his return of the preparations for war, which the *Æqui* in conjunction with the fugitive *Antiates* were carrying on, induced the Republic to chuse two Consuls for the next year, whose names were formidable to those two Nations, *T. Quinctius*, * who had conquered *Antium* in his second Consulate, and *Q. Fabius*, who had forced the *Æqui* to sue for peace, in his first. *Fabius*, who was ordered to march against the *Æqui*, tried first in vain to reduce them by negotiation. The two Consuls then joined their forces, and came to a bloody battle with the enemy, near *Algidum*, fifteen miles from *Rome*, but with little advantage to either side.

Y. of *R.* 288. Bef. *J. C.* 464. 45 Consulship. *A 3d time Cons.

Y. of *R.* 289. Bef. *J. C.* 463. 46 Consulship.

In the following Consulship of *A. Posthumius* and *Sp. Furius*, men little skilled in the business of war, the latter commanded the army against the *Æqui*, while the former stay'd behind to cover the Country. *Furius* encamped imprudently, engaged rashly with the enemy, and was defeated; after which he was so closely besieged by them in his camp, that not a man could go out to give notice at *Rome* of his danger. However the Senate had advice of it, and, in so great a distress, resolved upon an expedient, never used but in cases of extreme peril. They gave up the *Roman* Government absolutely into the other Consul's hands, by these words: *Videret Consul nequid Respublica detrimenti caperet*; i. e. *Let the Consul take care that the Republic suffer no detriment.* *Posthumius*, who received this commission, made all take arms, who were able, and gave *T. Quinctius* the command of the army, with the title of Pro-consul. As soon as *Quinctius* came within sight of the invested camp, the *Æqui* left the attack, and retired in haste; but *Furius* had before made a sally, in which his brother *L. Furius* and two Cohorts, consisting of

a thousand men, and be surrounded by the enemy, and all slain, having chosen rather to die fighting, than surrender their arms. The Consul being not equal in number to the enemy, acted upon the offensive, and obliged them to retire into their own Country. *Fabius* likewise attacked a considerable body of their pillagers loaded with spoil, and made a great slaughter of them. And by these successes Rome was again in tranquillity.

Y. of R. 290. Bef. J. C. 462. 47 Consulship.

§. VI. The next year, when *P. Servilius Priscus* and *L. Æmilius Mamercus* held the Consulship, a dreadful Plague swept away a multitude of the Roman Citizens of both orders. The dead were so numerous, that the living threw them into the Tiber without burial. Upon the news of this mortality, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* entered into a league against Rome, which they proposed to besiege. They began the war with committing hostilities in the territories of the *Latines* and *Hernici*. These Allies applied to the Roman Senate for succour, but their deputies found *Servius* breathing his last, and *Servilius* not far from death. However the latter made himself be carried to the Senate-House, whither some of the Senators likewise, half dead, were carried in litters: but all they could do, was to give leave to the Allies to arm and defend themselves, and to promise them assistance in better times. The *Latines* and *Hernici*, not in a condition to take the field, shut themselves up in their towns, and left their country open to the ravages of the enemy, who at length appeared before *Rome*. Both the Consuls were now dead, and the greater part of the Tribunes; the Plague had carried off one fourth part of the Senators, and the rest with the other Nobles were most of them sick. The care of the Republic had devolved upon the *Ædiles*.

Notwithstanding so many calamities, the *Romans* seemed to have lost nothing of their wonted steadiness. They crept to the ramparts, and put a good face upon their affairs. Those of the Senators who were able, mounted the guard and stood Centinels; and the City was strong on every side. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* at length abandoned their † project of a siege, and marched their forces towards *Tusculum*.

In the mean time, the Plague still raging, the People turned their thoughts to divine assistance; all made their vows upon the altars; the women swept the Temples with their hair, and continued prostrate in the presence of the Gods. From this time (says *Livy*) the pestilence gradually abated; and the Citizens recovering health and strength,

* It is not absolutely certain in what month of the year the Consuls entered upon their Office, from *Brutus* to this time. *Livy* tells us that *Servilius* and *Æbutius* entered upon the Consulship the first of *August*. It will appear in the sequel of this History, that down to the 600th year of *Rome*, the Consular years began in different months, sometimes in *July*, sometimes in *December*, and sometimes in *March*. Afterwards they began the first of *January*, and continued so to do as long as the Republic lasted. *Rosilli*.

† *Livy* represents the enemy as quitting the enterprise through fear of the infection; *D. Hal.* as repulsed by the *Romans*.

begin to apply themselves to affairs. Several inter-Kings were successively appointed to govern the State. *Valerius* the third day of his administration in Quirites, named *Lucretius Tricipitinus* and *T. Virginius* Geminus Consuls. They entered on their Magistracy before the middle of August.

V. of R. 291. Bef. J. C. 461. 48 Consulship.

Dionysius reports, that one of the Tribunes would have immediately revived the affair of the *conquered lands*; but that the People chose to defer it to a more convenient season, being now entirely bent to revenge the insults they had suffered from the *Æqui* and *Volsci* the last year. Even those Citizens, whom the Laws exempted from going to war, neglected their privileges, and voluntarily inlisted themselves for the service; so that the Consular Armies were presently formed. It was *Lucretius*'s fortune to engage with the confederates, and give them a dreadful overthrow; they lost 13460 men in the battle and in their flight after it; and they were soon after defeated again by the forces of the two Consuls united. And thus the Republic was restored to her former flourishing condition.

CHAP. XX.

§. I. *During the absence of the Consuls from* Rome, Terentius Arsa, *one of the Tribunes, proposes to the People, that there should be an establishment of* FIXED LAWS *to be the* RULE *to the Magistrates in deciding causes between man and man.* §. II. *Q. Fabius, Governor of the City, warmly opposes it.* Terentius *suspends the pursuit of his design, and, after the arrival of the Consuls at* Rome *drops it entirely.* §. III. *But the affair is revived in the succeeding Consulate of P. Volumnius and C. Sulpitius. Great contests about it. It is put to the dispute by prodigies and ill omens.* §. IV. *The Law is again proposed. The contending parties come to blows.* Quinctius Cæso, *the son of* Quinctius Cincinnatus, *is cited before the Comitia for the violent part he had acted in those scuffles.* §. V. *His uncle* T. Quinctius, *and his father* L. Quinctius *plead for him. He is falsely accused of murder. The decision of the cause is deferred to another day; before the coming of which,* Cæso *banishes himself.*

§. I. WHILE *Veturius* and *Lucretius* were in the field, pursuing the advantages they had gained over the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, a certain *Tribune of the Commons*, named C. *Terentius* * *Arsa*, took the favourable opportunity of the absence of those Magistrates to propose a new Law of great importance to the People, and tending much to diminish the power of the Nobles.

During the Regal State of *Rome* the sole will of the King had been instead of Law in all private causes. As the Consuls succeeded to the regal power, they likewise succeeded to the prerogative of distributing justice,

* *Livy* calls him *Terentillus.*

justice, by themselves or their Ruling Substitutes. A few, and but few Rules of Law were written; and these were in the sacred books to which Patricians only had access. The People in general, wholly occupy'd in cultivating the lands, and rarely coming to town but on market days about their domestic concerns, or to be present at the *Comitia* and other public Assemblies, holden only on stated days, were entirely Ignorant of the Science of Law. Y. of R. 291. Bef. J.C. 461. 48 Consulship.

Terentius, in his harangue to the People, urged with great vehemence that the Consular Authority was executive, and unappealable in a free City. That the Consuls, independent and uncontroll'd themselves, turned all the terror and penalties of the Laws against the *Plebeians*. That the State, by the erection of the *Consular* Magistracy in the place of the *Regal*, had only got two Kings instead of one. But, (he added) to put "an end to this despotic sway of the Consuls, he would prefer a bill for "empowering five of the best men in the Republic to form a body of "Laws, whereby those Magistrates should themselves be govern'd, so "that for the future they should not give their will for Law, nor exert "any authority over their fellow Citizens, but what those very Ci"tizens should entrust them with."

§. H. THE Nobles (says *Dionysius*) were terribly alarm'd with the danger of being constrain'd to have regard to Laws in their administration of the public affairs. *Q. Fabius*,* who had been twice Consul, was at this time Governor of the City. He convened the Senate, and inveighed in such terms against both the bill and its Author, that the Consuls themselves, had they been present, could not have fallen upon the Tribune with greater fury, or employ'd more dreadful menaces. He charged *Terentius* with taking advantage of the absence of the Consuls to strike at the very being of the Republic; *adding*, "That if, the year before, while the Plague made such havock in the "City, and foreign enemies laid waste the territory of *Rome*, the Gods, "in their wrath, had permitted a man, like him, to be in the Tribune"ship, the commonwealth must have sunk under her heavy calamities: "That doubtless, after the death of the Consuls he would have preferr'd "bills for abolishing the Consular Government, and, in case of failure in "that enterprise, have come at the head of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* to be"siege and assault the City.——" Then, addressing himself to the other Tribunes, and softening his style, he earnestly intreated them to engage their Collegue to suspend the prosecution of his design, till the arrival of the Consuls. The Tribunes comply'd, and even did more than was ask'd; for they prevailed with *Terentius* (as we shall presently see) to drop the business in reality, tho' in appearance it was only defer'd. The Consuls were sent for home. *D. Hal.* B. 10. c. 2. *T. Liv.* B. 3.

Lucretius brought with him to *Rome* a prodigious booty; and the

* Mr. *Vertot* calls this *Fabius*, "a man invincibly attached to the Laws and Constitution of the Republic." We shall find him by and by, one of the Decemvirs who attempt to establish themselves in a *perpetual Tyranny*.

whole was expoſed, during three days, in the Comitium, that every man who had been plunder'd by the enemy might take back his own. This proceedure gain'd the Conſul univerſal good-will, and all agreed that he deſerved a triumph for his ſucceſsful Campaign. The triumph was however poſtponed by himſelf judging the affair of *Terentius*'s bill (then depending) to be of more importance. Several days was this debated in the Senate and before the People. At length (ſays *Livy*) the Tribune yielded to the Majeſty of the Conſul and deſiſted; and then *Lucretius* and his army received their due honours. (*Livy* has only an evaſion.)

Y. of *R.* 292. Bef. *J.C.* 460. 49 Conſulſhip.

§. III. TRANQUILITY continued not long, for no ſooner were the Conſuls elect, *P. Volumnius* and *S. Sulpicius*, entered upon their office, than all the five new Tribunes (of whom *Virginius* was the warmeſt) exerted their utmoſt efforts to get *Terentius*'s * bill paſſed. Superſtition put ſome ſtop to the progreſs of this important affair. Earthquakes gave the alarm, and then fiery meteors, and other phænomena, purely natural, the vulgar conſider'd as forerunners of greater calamities. And when fear had once taken poſſeſſion of their minds, ſpectres were ſeen by ſome, ſupernatural voices heard by others. That a Cow had ſpoke, was a tale which had found no credit the laſt year, but now it was believed; and the more eaſily on account of a new prodigy (which no body queſtion'd, and which had no example on record) *a ſhower of raw fleſh*, of which, as it fell, ſome greedy flocks of birds catch'd a part, and the reſt lay long on the ground without corrupting, or having any ill ſmell.

Recourſe was preſently had to the Sybilline books; and the Duumvirs (two *Patricians*) who had the care of them, and perfectly underſtood them, diſcover'd there, that *Rome* was by theſe prodigies threatned with an invaſion from ſtrangers, and that the *Romans* would do well to avoid civil diſcord. To ſupport the prediction, haſty tidings came from the *Hernici*, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* in concert with the new colony of *Antium*, were preparing to attack the Republic. The Tribunes laugh'd both at the prediction, and at the important news; and accuſed the Senators (not without reaſon) of inventing both, to ſtave off the affair of *Terentius*'s bill. And when the Senate had order'd † Levies to be made for the war, and the Conſuls, erecting their Tribunal in the Forum, would have

Livy, B. 3. c. 10.

* Mr. *Vertot* underſtands *Terentius*'s bill to have conſiſted of two diſtinct articles, the *firſt* for a *limitation of the Conſular Authority*, which article he ſuppoſes to have been dropp'd entirely; the *ſecond*, for *introducing and eſtabliſhing a body of written Laws*. I cannot perceive that any other *limitation* of the Conſular Prerogatives was intended by *Terentius*, than what that body of fix'd Laws, propoſed by him, would neceſſarily put to it, and what the Decemviral Laws of the 12 Tables did actually put to it a few years after.

† *Dionyſius* ſays nothing of the intelligence from the *Hernici*, or the conſequent order for Levies of ſoldiers. He repreſents the Senate and Tribunes as gravely conferring about the meaſures proper to be taken for guarding the State againſt the unknown dangers threatned by the bad omens. He adds,

have perform'd their Commiſſion, the Tribunes interpoſed. If the Lictors laid hold of any Citizen, who refuſed to give his name, the Tribunes, aided by the multitude, let him go. V. of R. 292. Bef. J.C. 460. 49 Conſulſhip.

§. IV. NOR did theſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates uſe more violence to hinder the Levies, than the Nobles did to hinder the paſſing of the Law, which was conſtantly propoſed every *comitial* day, and was now couched in words to this effect, "That the People, in lawful Comitia, ſhould "depute ten perſons venerable for their age and prudence, and whoſe "ſole ambition was true glory, to form a body of Laws for regulating "both public and private affairs; that theſe Laws, when compiled, "ſhould be propoſed to an aſſembly of the People; and, when approved "and enacted by the People, ſhould be fix'd up in the Forum, to the "end that every man might know what were his own rights, and what "the rights of the annual Magiſtrates." *D. Hal.* B. 10.

As, in theſe aſſemblies, headſtrong temerity and violence prevail'd, and there was no room for ſober and deliberate counſel, the elder Senators ſeldom appear'd there; and the Conſuls for the moſt part kept away for fear of expoſing the dignity of their office to affronts. The conduct of the oppoſition to the Tribunes, they generally left to the *Livy*, B. 3. c. 11.

adds, that the aſſembly agreed upon the expediency of concord in the adminiſtration of the public affairs; but could not agree upon the means to effect that concord. Muſt the Nobles yield to the Tribunes, or the Tribunes to the Nobles? The Conſuls and the chief Senators alledged that the Tribunes, by attempting innovations in the Government, ought to be deem'd the authors of all the civil feuds. On the other hand the Tribunes charged the Conſuls and the *Patricians* with being the ſole cauſes of the diſturbances, by their unreaſonable oppoſition to a wholeſom bill, which tended only to eſtabliſh a juſt equality among the Citizens. Finding their remonſtrances ineffectual they had recourſe to the People.

The ſame Hiſtorian reports, that in the aſſembly to which the Tribunes propoſed the Law, there were many of the elder Senators as well as of the younger, who delivered ſtudied ſpeeches againſt it, and that the debate laſted ſeveral days; till the Tribunes, vexed at the loſs of ſo much time, refuſed to hear any more remonſtrances, and appointed a day for coming to a final determination upon the queſtion. That when this day came the Conſuls, and moſt conſiderable men of the *Patricians* proteſted, in the aſſembly, that they would never ſuffer the introduction of new Laws, which had not firſt paſſed the approbation of the Senate. They ſaid, "that Laws were a ſort of compact be-"tween all the members of a State, and "not rules dictated by one part of it only. "That when a part, the ignoble and worſe "part, took upon them to preſcribe Laws "to the noble and better, deſtruction muſt "inevitably be the conſequence. What "right (ſaid they) have you Tribunes, to "enact Laws or to abrogate Laws? your "authority is but an emanation from that "of the Senate. The purpoſe of your inſtitu-"tion was only to ſuccour the poor Citi-"zens when oppreſſed; and this privilege "was granted conditionally that you ſhould "attempt nothing farther, and you have "forfeited this privilege by changing the "rules, which had ever been obſerved in "the Comitia. You no longer hold any "authority from the Senate; you are not "confirm'd in your offices by a Decree of "the † *Curiæ*. Your elections are not pre-"ceded by ſacrifices to the Gods, or any "Religious Ceremonies. Why then, after "your elections, do you pretend to meddle "with Religion, of which Laws are a "branch?" The Hiſtorian adds, that after theſe expoſtulations they had recourſe to violence, and that *Caſo* was their chief inſtrument, *&c.*

† *Curiæ* and *Curiæ*, read *Centuriæ*.

V. of R. 291. Bef. J.C. 460. 49 Conſulſhip.

young, raſh, audacious Nobles. Conſpicuous among theſe was *Caſo*, a perſon of high birth (being the ſon of *Quintius Cincinnatus*) approved courage in war, and of an extraordinary ſize and ſtrength of body. With theſe advantages he had the talent of oratory. The Republic could not boaſt of a braver ſoldier, or a readier ſpeaker. This youth, when encircled with his band of Nobles, as if his ſtrength and eloquence had inveſted him with all conſular, and even dictatorial power, ſtood forth the bulwark of the Senate; and not only ſuſtained the moſt ſtormy efforts of the Tribunes, but frequently drove them and all their *Plebeians* out of the Forum. Whoever offer'd to reſiſt did not fail to be ſeverely treated, ſtripp'd of his cloaths and ſent away naked: ſo that the Tribunes plainly ſaw their bill was loſt, if *Caſo* were ſuffer'd to go on at this rate. Four of them he had quite diſheartened by his overbearing violences; but *Virginius*, who had a ſpirit not eaſy to be daunted, cited him to trial before the People, on a capital accuſation. *Caſo*, rather enraged than terrified by this affront, became more inſolent and audacious than ever in the war he made upon the *Plebeians* and their Tribunes. His accuſer, during the interval between the ſummons and the day for trial, gave him free ſcope to ſhew himſelf, and frequently propoſed the Bill, not in hopes of paſſing it, but to provoke the young man to furniſh, by new miſdemeanors, more matter for his impeachment, which he fail'd not to do; and every odious thing done or ſaid by any of the other young *Patricians*, was imputed to *Caſo*; who, nevertheleſs, continued forcibly to hinder the paſſing of the Bill into a Law. At length *Virginius*, addreſſing himſelf to the *Plebeians* aſſembled, "You ſee, *Romans*, that it is impoſſible for you to obtain the Law you "ſo much deſire, while *Caſo* continues a Citizen of *Rome*. But why "do I ſpeak of that Law? He ſtands in the way of your *liberty*; and, "in pride, ſurpaſſes all the *Tarquins* that ever lived. This youth, ſo "audacious and violent while only a private Citizen, muſt doubtleſs "make an excellent Magiſtrate. What think you? ſhall we patiently "wait till we ſee him Conſul or Dictator?"

At theſe words, many from among the multitude, and eſpecially thoſe who had been roughly treated by *Caſo*, vehemently call'd out to the Tribune to perſiſt in the proſecution of the delinquent, and to do his utmoſt to bring him to condign puniſhment.

§. V. THE day for the trial came; and the *Plebeians* in general, by their warmth and earneſtneſs, ſeem'd to think that their liberty depended on the condemnation of *Caſo*. Urged therefore by neceſſity he, with much inward indignation, went about ſoliciting the favour even of the

* This is *Livy*'s account.

Dionyſius ſays nothing of the timorous and ſubmiſſive behaviour of *Caſo*; but, on the contrary, that when he was called upon to plead, he refuſed to own the juriſdiction of the Aſſembly, offering at the ſame time to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of the Conſuls, whom he regarded as his only lawful Judges.

And this Hiſtorian introduces no other advocate pleading for *Caſo*, but his own father *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, into whoſe mouth he puts the ſubſtance of all that *Livy* imputes to other ſpeakers.

meaneſt

V. of R. 292. Ant. J. C. 460. 19 Consulship.

manner among them. His relations and friends exhaust themselves in advocates to the assembly, yet they did not attempt to clear him of the violences laid to his charge, but answer'd the invectives of the Tribunes against him by expatiating on his real merit. His uncle *T. Quinctius*, after recounting the honours which he himself and others of the *Quinctian* name had acquired by their exploits, affirm'd, that neither his family nor even the Roman State had ever produced a finer genius, or a warrior of more consummate bravery than *Cæso*, whom, when he served under him, he had often seen believe himself so gallantly in fight, that he had mark'd him for the prime soldier of the army. *Sp. Furius* (who had been Consul in 269) bore testimony to the successful valour which *Cæso* had exerted, when sent by his uncle *Titus* to rescue him and his army out of imminent danger. *Lucretius* one of the last year's Consuls, cover'd with fresh laurels, shared his glory with *Cæso*, enumerating his many valiant deeds both in expeditions and in pitch'd battles; and he admonish'd the assembly to make it their choice, that a young man of so excellent natural endowments, and who could not but be a valuable possession to any State to which he should belong, might rather be a Citizen of *Rome* than of any other City. He added, that increase of years would gradually diminish in him that indiscreet ardor and too forward boldness which gave offence, and that experience would teach him the only thing he wanted, prudence. And he prefled them therefore that they would suffer to grow old among them so great a genius, whose faults were decaying and virtues ripening.

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus pleaded likewise for his son, not by extolling his merit (for he fear'd left that would serve only to exasperate his enemies) but by humbly intreating the assembly to impute his errors to his youth, and to forgive them for the sake of his father, whom no man could accuse of having injured them in any instance by word or deed.

Virginius, perceiving that the multitude were soften'd towards the accused by these intercessions, and the merit of the intercessors, and fearing that if *Cæso* escaped with impunity the young Nobles would become more insolent than ever, answer'd *Cincinnatus*, "That his son was the "more inexcusable, for his having had the example of so good a father, "whereby to regulate his conduct, and having totally neglected to follow "it." He added, "You, *Lucius Quinctius*, are doubtless in a great "measure ignorant of the crimes and misdemeanours of this unworthy "son, who is no less a reproach to you, than a plague to his Country; "but that you may be better acquainted with his character, please "to hear a relation of one of his noble deeds, and compare it with those "his exploits in war that have gain'd him so much glory: and let the "assembly judge whether it be advisable to shew indulgence to such a "Citizen."

Then calling upon one *Volscius* (who stood prepared to act a part which had been concerted between them) he bid him recount what he

Y. of R. 292. Bef. J. C. 460. 49 Conſulſhip.

knew of *Caeſo*'s behaviour. *Volſcius*, * directing his ſpeech to the People, ſaid, "I could have wiſh'd it had been in my power ſooner to bring "my complaints for the death of a moſt dear brother whom *Caeſo* mur- "thered. It was in the Conſulſhip of *L. Æbutius* and *P. Servilius*, "when *Rome* was afflicted with the Plague. Returning home one even- "ing, my brother and I, from a friend's houſe where we had ſupped, "we met *Caeſo* with ſome of his libertine companions who together had "been making a debauch. They at firſt attacked us with abuſive lan- "guage, ſuch as young men full of wine are wont to employ when "they would inſult poor Citizens whom they deſpiſe. My brother "anſwering one of them as a man of ſpirit would do, *Caeſo* inſtantly "knock'd him down, and with his fiſts and his feet ſo bruiſed him, "that he (not perfectly recover'd of the epidemic ſickneſs with which "he had been ſeized) remain'd half dead upon the ground. I had him "convey'd home in mens arms, he died preſently after, and it was "judged that he died of the blows he had received. I could not "carry my complaints to the Conſuls, they dying the ſame year of "the Plague. Their ſucceſſors *L. Lucretius* and *T. Veturius* were a "long time in the field. At their return I cited *Caeſo* ſeveral times to "appear before them; but inſtead of juſtice I got nothing from him but "blows."

This ſtory blew the People up to ſuch a rage, that ſome of them ſeem'd diſpoſed, without examining into the truth of the fact, to kill *Caeſo* upon the ſpot. The Conſuls and even the Tribunes themſelves gave a check to this extravagance. But *Virginius* commanded to lay hold on *Caeſo* and carry him to priſon, there to be detain'd, till he ſhould be brought to trial for his life on *Volſcius*'s accuſation. The *Patricians* forcibly oppoſed the execution of this order, and *Tit. Quinctius* remonſtrated to the aſſembly, that it was utterly illegal to do violence to the perſon of any Citizen unheard and uncondemn'd, tho' he were accuſed of a capital crime. *Virginius* anſwer'd, that he had no intention to puniſh *Caeſo* before condemnation, but that his perſon ought to be ſecured in priſon to the day of trial, that the *Roman* People might have it in their power to inflict due puniſhment on a murderer. The other Tribunes, being appealed to, took a middle way; they agreed that *Caeſo* ſhould not be impriſon'd, but ſhould give ſecurity to appear in judgment on the day appointed. It was referr'd to the Senate to name the ſum in which each ſurety ſhould be bound; and *Caeſo* was held in arreſt in the Forum, during the deliberation of the fathers on this matter; they fix'd the ſum at 3000 † Aſſes. It being left to the Tribunes to determine the number of the ſureties, they demanded ten; and accordingly ten were bound for

* *Dionyſius* makes this *Volſcius* to be one of the preſent Tribunes. *Livy* ſays he had ſome years before been Tribune. According to *Pighius* there was a *Volſcius* among the Tribunes in the Conſulſhip of *Æbutius* and *Servilius*, when the pretended quarrel is ſaid to have happen'd.

† About 97 l. 13 s. 9 d. *Arbuthnot.*

Caeſo's

Y. of R. 292. Bef. J.C. 460. 49 Conſulſhip.

Caſo's appearance; and he releaſed him. This was the firſt inſtance of ſecurity given to the *Public* for the appearance of a Citizen: that very night he left *Rome* and retired into *Hetruria*.

D. *Hal.* B 10. *Liv.* B. 3.

When the day for the ſhow-trial came, it was argued, that, *Caſo* having baniſh'd himſelf, all proceedings ought to be ſtopped; *Valerius* nevertheleſs held the Aſſembly, and the other Tribunes, being appeal'd to, permiſs'd the aſſembling. The fifty-mina was however rigorouſly exacted. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* would not permit the other ſureties to be ſufferers; and, to ſatisfy the whole demand, ſold the better part of his eſtate, retiring to a poor cottage on the farther ſide of the *Tyber*, where with his own hands he cultivated a few acres of land; which from this name were afterwards call'd the *Quinctian Meadows*.

"Since the Commons, (ſays Machiavel) have ſo much power, that to the Republic "no longer to ſuppreſs the Tribunician Power, than to the Republic "might be reſtored to the ſame form of Government in which it was "before the Sacred Law."

CHAP. XXI.

This is *Livy*'s account (and it is all that the laws) of the management of the Patricians [illegible] oppoſition to the Bill, and [illegible] injurious to the Senate and the whole body of the Nobles.

I. THE Tribunes, elated by their new victory, believed themſelves ſure of getting the *Terentian* Bill paſſed. They imagined that the Patricians, intimidated by the baniſhment of *Caſo*, would infallibly ſtoop to them; and they flatter'd themſelves the more readily with that hope, becauſe the elder Senators (who kept pretty much out of ſight) ſeem'd to yield to them the poſſeſſion of the Government. Vain was their hope; they were totally diſappointed. For the younger Nobles, and eſpecially the late companions of *Caſo*, had loſt nothing of their boldneſs; their anger againſt the Commons was augmented, and they had learnt to guide its fury more artfully than before. Whenever the Law was propoſed, and the Tribunes, by attempting to remove them from the Aſſembly, had furniſh'd them with a pretext for violence, they attack'd thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates in ſuch a manner, that no one of the aſſailants could be ſingled out as more guilty than any other. The People complain'd, that, inſtead of one *Caſo*, they had now to do with a thouſand. In the intermediate days, when the Law was not in queſtion, no men more peaceable and gracious than theſe young Nobles; they courteouſly ſaluted the *Plebeians*, accoſted them familiarly, invited them to their houſes, frequented the Forum to aſſiſt them in their cauſes, and even permitted the Tribunes unmoleſted to hold Councils of the Commons, and do any buſineſs they pleaſed, that of the Law only excepted: nay, without ſo much as throwing out a word of contradiction, they ſuffer'd thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates to be rechoſen for the coming year, to the ſame office; condeſcenſions and compliances by which they gradually ſoften'd the multitude and blunted the edge of their zeal for

the Law: and by this various management they effectually defeated every attempt to get it paſſed, throughout the whole year of *Publius* and *Sulpicius*.

Y. of R. 293. Def. J. C. 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

Theſe Conſuls gave place to P. *Valerius* and C. *Claudius Appius* who kill'd himſelf, but the firſt continued to be the ſole object of the public attention. He made the young Patricians his aſſiduous court, inſinuated himſelf into the affections of the *Plebeians*, the more eaſily as the Tribunes endeavour to inſpire into the minds of the ſame *Plebeians* ſuſpicions of thoſe Nobles, by loading them with calumnies. They gave out, "That "there was a conſpiracy on foot; that *Caſſius* was actually in "*Rome*; that the elder Patricians were concerned to enſlave the Tribunes and maſ-"ſacre the Commons. That the elder Nobles had commanded the "younger to ſuppreſs the Tribunician Power, that ſo the Republic "might be reſtored to the ſame form of Government in which it was "before the *Secceſſion*."

This is *Livy*'s account (and it is all that he ſays) of the management of the Tribunes to render ineffectual the artifices of the young Patricians with regard to the *Plebeians*; and there is nothing unuſual or extraordinary in this account. Wilful diſcord prevails, and ſuſpicion runs high in a City or a State, ſuch clandeſtine reports, like *Caſſius*'s, are common. But *Dionyſius* (incited perhaps by his paſſion for ſpeech-making, or a deſire to pleaſe the *Claudian* family) has enlarged on this ſubject, and given us a long tale, the moſt material circumſtance of which ſeems equally incredible and ridiculous; and the introduction to it is very well ſuited to it. *Rome*, ſays he, was threatened with a moſt terrible war from the neighbouring powers, that it had ever yet ſuſtained. And this danger it was brought into by its interior divinations, *conformably to the predictions of the Sibylline oracles, and the forewarnings of heaven by the laſt year's prodigies*. [The ſudden, miraculous voices, likewiſe of this kind, &c. What the Conſul ſaid, was ſpoken the year before.]

The Tribunes, perceiving that the Conſul *Claudius* had inherited the implacable hatred of his family to the Commons, and was prepared to oppoſe their demands with all his power; and finding the factions of the young Nobles too ſtrong to be quell'd by force, eſpecially ſince theſe, by their careſſing and ſoothing arts, had conciliated to their intereſt many of the *Plebeians*, and cool'd their ardour for paſſing the Law, they, in order to ſtrike a terror into the *Plebeians* [ſo *Dion.*] and to get the better of *Claudius*, impudently contrived the following ſtratagem. Having firſt alarm'd the multitude, by ſpreading abroad various rumours, all importing miſchief that hung over the State, the five Tribunes fixing in the Forum from morning to night, and ſeeming full of anxious care,

* Mr. *Rollin* thinks it not improbable that the Tribunes had received ſome imperfect information of the conſpiracy which preſently after broke out, and of which *Herdonius* the *Sabine* was the ſuppoſed head; and that, by their hatred to the *Patricians*, they were carried to ſuſpect them, their domeſtic adverſaries, of the miſchievous deſigns formed by a foreign enemy.

held

hold consultations, on which they administred to every person. This part
after for some days, they compos'd a story, and caused it to be deliver'd
to them in the sight of all the People, by a person unknown. On read-
ing the contents they found, they should strike their Swords with
their hands, and go out of the Temple, and should not speak by
all this story there appear'd a conspiracy carried on between
what the Senate consisted of, Commissioners, Kingdoms, the Commons of
Rome and the Senate. In this Letter, procedures of innocence,
had not interpreted, we have more manifestly endeavoured. Be pleased to
remain here till we have examined the Senate, and our intelligence,
that so all may appear relating to the Conspiracy of the Re-
publick. This said, every man went to their Consultations. Then the God-
fole assembled the Senate, [illegible] and imaginations
of the People in the Senate concerning the Conspiracy of the Letter. The
Emissaries of the Dictator, following their instructions, put about re-
ports carefully contrived for the occasion. The rich believed and spoke
each man according to his fancy. [illegible] Impo-
sed [illegible] Captain General of the Army and
Nobles, and was [illegible] to make Peace. Others
knew for certain, that Cæsar's business was plain to create the Commons
of Rome, despair [illegible] of their greatness, and abolish the Nobility;
and that with the unequal conten[illegible] of their Grandeur he had undertaken
to do this by the assistance of the People. Now others knew not all the
Particulars, but the Commons, [illegible] only; and
many affirmed that they had not [illegible] but [illegible]
think [illegible] was [illegible] with the Allobroges to [illegible]
the Senators and all the advantageous points.

V. of R. 293.
Dat. 7.C. 49.
30 Conſulſhip.

This Senate, being assembled, Varro, in the name of the whole Col-
lege of Tribunes, delivered himself in manner as follows.

"Many rumours, Conscript Fathers, have of late been spread in the City
"concerning some great evil which was [illegible] but as they
"were uncertain and obscure in [illegible] we thought fit to keep them to our
"selves, for fear our doing should cause a commotion, and you should think us
"more hasty and rash than prudent. We did not however neglect these
"rumours, but used our best endeavours to discover the ground of
"them. At length the Divine Providence, supreme Guardian of this
"Republick, has brought to light the hidden counsels of impious men.
"We have just received a letter from strangers, who have shew'd, that
"they have a true affection for us, and whom we shall hereafter name
"to you. Our foreign intelligence agrees exactly with the rumours
"at home. The danger [illegible] measures to ward it must be immedi-
"ately taken; but we resolved (as was fitting) to lay the matter open
"to you, before we inform'd the People of it.
"Know, then, that there is a conspiracy form'd against the Commons
"of Rome, by persons of distinction; among whom, it is said, there are
"some, not many, of the elder Senators; that the greater number of

Y. of R. 293. Bef. J. C. 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

"the conſpirators are Knights, not yet received into the Senate, and "whom it is not yet time to mention by name. They have reſolved "(ſo we are informed) to take the opportunity of ſome dark night to "attack us in our ſleep. In breaking into our houſes, they are to cut the "throats of the Tribunes, and of all thoſe *Plebeians* who have diſtin-"guiſh'd themſelves by a zeal for the liberty of the People. And when "we are once taken off, they think they ſhall eaſily prevail with you "to revoke, by an unanimous decree, all the conceſſions you have made "to the Commons. And, as they ſaw, that a conſiderable number of fo-"reign ſoldiers would be neceſſary for the execution of this deſign, they "have aſſociated in their enterpriſe one of your exiles, *Cæſo Quinctius*, "and have made him the chief conductor of it; a man whom, tho' "convicted of ſedition and murder, ſome, here preſent, refcued from "puniſhment by contriving his eſcape from *Rome*. To him the con-"ſpirators have promiſed magiſtracies and honours, and other rewards "of his noble exploits. He, on his part, has engaged to bring to their "aſſiſtance, of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, ſuch a force as they want. In a "ſhort time he is to be here with ſome of the moſt daring of them, "whom he is to introduce into the City, not all together, but ſecretly "one by one, or in ſmall numbers ſucceſſively. The reſt are ſoon to "follow, and, when we the Tribunes are ſlain, fall without mercy upon "every poor *Plebeian*, who ſhall offer to defend his liberty.

"In this extremity of danger we have recourſe to you, *Conſcript Fa-"thers*, and conjure you by all that is moſt ſacred, not to abandon us "to the rage and cruelty of theſe our wicked enemies; but to aid us "in taking due vengeance on the authors of ſo deteſtable an enterpriſe. "The firſt thing we humbly intreat of you is (and nothing can be more "reaſonable) that by a Decree, you authorize us Tribunes to take in-"formations againſt the conſpirators. It is ſurely fitting, that, in ſuch "an inquiſition, the perſons whoſe lives are threatned by the plot, ſhould "be the inquiſitors. If there be any man here, who ſhall oppoſe this "demand, he muſt either be out of his wits, or deeply engaged in the "conſpiracy."

The Senators were greatly aſtoniſh'd at this relation, and no leſs perplex'd by the Tribune's requeſt: They laid their heads together, but could not reſolve what anſwer to make. They fear'd to grant what the Tribunes demanded, and they fear'd to refuſe it. *Claudius*, the Conſul, ſuſpecting ſome deceit, delivered them out of their Dilemma. Riſing up, he thus anſwer'd, "You are extremely miſtaken, *Virginius*, if you "imagine that any member of this houſe is ſo fooliſh, or ſuch an ene-"my to the People, as to be againſt an enquiry into the Plot you ſpeak "of (if any ſuch plot there be) or againſt admitting the Tribunes into "the number of the inquiſitors. But, to tell you my mind freely (and "I have no apprehenſion of being thought one of the conſpirators) I look "upon this whole matter as a pure invention and ſtratagem of your "own, to revenge yourſelves on us for our oppoſition to your Bill. If

" there be any plot on foot, you are the plotters. The result of those
" long and close consultations you held in the Forum, was this notable
" scheme. You were first to alarm the People with rumours of im-
" pending danger, and by this prepare their minds to receive implicitly
" any dreadful story you should afterwards please to give out. Then a
" person instructed was to deliver to you (public) letters, containing
" intelligence of a conspiracy against the Commons of *Rome*. Thus fur-
" nish'd with matter of complaint, you were to come to Senate, be
" very angry, and demand a Decree empowering you to sit inquisitors
" on this important affair. Thought you, *if the Patricians reject our*
" *request, we can take occasion from thence to make them very criminal in*
" *the eyes of the People, who, enflamed to the pitch of fury, will be ready*
" *to execute whatever we shall prompt them to. On the other hand, if the*
" Patricians *grant our request, we will then charge with treason all those*
" *of them, old and young, who have shewn the most resolution in opposing our*
" *measures. The fear of a condemnation will either make them promise ne-*
" *ver more to oppose us, or compel them to leave the City. And thus we*
" *shall reduce our adversaries to a very inconsiderable number.* Such, *Conscript Fathers*, was the stratagem form'd against the most
" worthy of our Senators, such the snares laid for the innocent Knights.
" And that what I say is true a few words will evince. Tell us, *Vir-*
" *ginius*, and you, the rest of the Tribunes, all in such imminent peril,
" Who are those strangers from whom you received your intelligence?
" Where do they dwell? How came you acquainted with them? And
" how came they to be so well acquainted with our councils and de-
" signs? Why delay to tell us who they are? Why promise to name
" them hereafter? You ought to have done it already. And where is
" that man, who brought you the letter you talk of? Why don't you
" produce him, that we may examine him, and thereby know whether
" what you say have any foundation of truth, or be only (as I suspect)
" a tale of your own forging? And then as to your *domestic* intelligence,
" which agrees so perfectly well with your *foreign*, what was it? Who
" gave it you? What makes you conceal your proofs, and not rather
" display them before us? But in truth, it is not easy to prove what
" never was, nor is, nor will be.

" *Conscript Fathers*, the thing speaks itself. The Tribunes have form'd
" a plot against us, and they would cover their fraud, by pretending that
" we have formed one against them. You may thank yourselves
" for this. You encouraged them to it, by arming those frantic Magi-
" strates with such power, as you suffer'd them to assume, when they
" condemn'd *Cæso Quinctius*, the brave defender of the Nobles, upon a
" false accusation. Since that time they keep no measures. They no
" longer point their wrath at this or that particular Senator, but at the
" whole body of the *Patricians*; they are for driving every honest man
" out of *Rome*. My advice is, that you keep a very watchful eye upon
" these Tribunes, as upon seditious men, the contrivers of mischief. And

" I

A. of R. 293.
Bef. C. 459.
Consulship.

I shall make no difficulty to warn the People as I were you. I shall freely tell them, that they have nothing to fear, but from the malicious devices of their own deceitful Magistrates, who under the cloak of friendship are their greatest enemies."

The whole Senate highly approved this discourse of Virginius; they would by no means have the Tribunes and the assembly of the People dismissed with the Law unpassed. Virginius with his Colleagues hasten'd back to the People (whom the Forum could not contain) and inveighed most bitterly against the Consuls and Senators. Claudius gladly appeased, and by repealing what he had passed in the Senate-house, possessed all the Plebeians with a sensible sense of his kindness: that the unbounded power was never forgiven. The Patricians first however continued to believe it a very hard law, that for the profligate and ill-disposed part of the multitude, more ready at novelties, than desirous of peace, their Magistrates were not allowed, as they wished, to punish for seditious practices. But when Dionysius gave us, out of the deepest counsels, the wonderful contrivance of the Tribunes to prevent any further opposition to their Bill, That generally and particularly request of the Senate deserved them universal commendation for endeavouring from the unfortunate practices, and disposing all the liberties and lives of the Roman Senators and Knights. And the ground of this notable proposal is a hint which they pretended to have received from some strangers, advising them of a plot formed by the Nobles against the Commons. The Patricians, whether they by their hands (against Law unheard) shall much evil and loss for all answer. Upon the Consuls Claudius, being a man of deep penetration, and a ready wit, to counsel, since his malice to the Tribunes, (who *Verginius* and who *Icilius* and who *Duronius* and who *Numitorius* and so above an end of the names

2 CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Valerius the Consul is surprised by a strange accident. The Plebeians refuse to serve against the Veientes. Valerius the Consul reconciles them to the service, and the Consul is victor.

§. 1. IN the midst of these intestine quarrels and contentions, the Capitol and the Fortress adjoining to it were once night surprised and seized by some stout soldiers and thieves under the conduct of a certain Sabine named *Herdonius*. He purged the sword all the Romans he could find there, when entered in, but him in the citadel. Those who escaped ran down into the Forum with the most frightful fear, crying out, *To arms! To arms! The enemy is in the City!* The Consuls not knowing whether this sudden evil came from foreign or domestic foes, from the discontent and enmity of the Commons, or a plot of the slaves, were both afraid to arm the Plebeians, and afraid to leave them unarmed: nor could they bring the multitude, struck with consternation, and affright, under any Government, sometimes their endeavours to appease the tumult made it more frantic. They gave their orders, but not in all indifferently, to such only as they could most confide in, to number sufficient for defence, till it could be known what enemies they had to deal with; and, full of anxiety, they past the remainder of the night in posting guards at all the proper places. Day light discovered both whence the war came, and who was the conductor of it. *Herdonius* from the Capitol, cry'd out, *Liberty to all slaves! I have undertaken the cause of the miserable, to restore the exiles to their country, and to remove the heavy yoke of servitude from the necks of those who bear it. It would be my choice, that the Roman People should themselves do this. But if they refuse, I will bring hither the Æqui and Volsci, and leave nothing unattempted to accomplish my purpose.* The mystery being now somewhat explain'd, the Consuls and Senators became very uneasy with the apprehension lest the enterprise should have been concerted with the *Sabines* and *Veientes*, whose forces would presently appear to support it; and lest the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, eternal enemies of *Rome*, should now come, not to plunder the frontiers as formerly, but to assault the City. But their greatest dread was of their slaves at home, no man knowing but he had an enemy in his own house. It was dangerous to trust them, and dangerous to shew a distrust of their fidelity. Affairs seem'd in so desperate a condition, that even concord among the Citizens would scarce be sufficient to preserve the State; and while such heavy calamities hung over it, no body fear'd any thing from the Tribunes or the *Plebeians*. The evils of which these were wont to be the authors were of a gentle kind, and ever occasion'd by the absence of all other evils; and the terror of a foreign enemy seem'd now to have laid asleep the animosity of the

Livy, B. 3. c. 15.

Commons.

Commons. Nevertheleſs it was this that bore heavieſt upon the Republic when thus inclining to a fall. For, as the Conſuls had at firſt doubted whether the alarm from the Capitol were not ſome ſtratagem of the Tribunes in favour of their Bill, ſo the Tribunes ſuſpected the ſame thing to be a contrivance of the Nobles to defeat the Bill. They bawled out, *Nothing ſtirs in the Capitol! Arrive to-day for the Bill! The Bill once paſſed, thoſe clients and gueſts of the Patricians will ſteal away more ſilently than they came!* Inſtantly they ſend to the People to quit their arms and aſſemble upon the paſſing of the Law. In the mean time the Conſuls convene the Senate, and [illegible] are now struck with more fear by the Tribunes than they had been by the mighty invaſion of the Enemy. Word is brought that the ſoldiers have laid down their arms and quitted their poſts. The Conſuls leave the Senate-houſe, haſten to the Forum, expoſtulate with the Tribunes "on their mad-"neſs in calling the People from their arms to attend to Law-making "while the enemy is over their heads. *Are you then the only men who* "*ſhould not have wings to fly with?* Then, turning to the People, he urges "them with motives from religion, their revenges for *Fidenæ*, *Fame*, "*Minucius*, all the Gods and Goddeſſes now priſoners to a foreign ene-"my, pay in captivity to the Manes of *Romulus*, to inſpire the People "with the ſame ſpirit which animated their brave forefathers to drive "the Gauls from the Sabines. Where is the ſame "*Publius Valerius* which then diſcomfited the enemy? Where is he "now? Let him follow me, I only as the firſt to follow him, and I will "*ſhy ſhame*." He concluded with declaring, "that he then called every "Roman to arms; and that, without regard to the bounds of the Con-"ſular Authority, or the extent of the Tribunician, or the *Leges ſacra-"tæ*, he would treat every Citizen who diſobey'd his orders, as an open "enemy to his country. That the Tribunes, who had forbid them to "fight againſt *Hernicians*, might, if they pleaſed, command them to "take arms againſt *Valerius* the Conſul: but that he ſhould make no "ſcruple to do by thoſe Magiſtrates as the founder of his family had "done by the *Tarquins*."

All this was of no effect. The Bill! The Bill! Let us paſs the Bill! Yet the Tribunes were not able to proceed in this affair; nor could the Conſuls prevail with the People to march to the Capitol. Night put a ſtop to the contention. During the night, fear of the arm'd Citizens, whom the Conſuls had at their devotion, kept the Tribunes quiet. Theſe out of the way, the Senators went diligently about among the *Plebeians*, admoniſhing and intreating them to conſider, "into what extremity of "danger they brought the Republic. That the conteſt was not now "between the Nobles and the Commons; that both Nobles and Com-"mons, the Citadel, the Temples of the Gods, the tutelary Gods of "the State, the domeſtic Gods of every private Citizen were juſt upon "the point of being yielded into the power of foreign enemies." While

the

the Senators were employ'd in theſe attempts to bring the multitude to reaſon, the Conſuls, leſt the *Sabines* and *Veientes* ſhould come ſuddenly and attack the City, poſted themſelves in ſtrong guards to defend the gates and walls. At day break a body of men appear'd in the field advancing towards *Rome*. Theſe at firſt could be no other than enemies, they muſt be the *Æqui* and *Volſci*: However, to the great joy of the City, they were diſcover'd to be *Tuſculans*, coming to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* their allies.

Y. of R. 293. Ant. J. C. 459. 5 Conſulſhip.

The news of the Capitol's being ſurprized, and of the diſſentions in *Rome*, having the night before reached *Tuſculum*, *Mamilius*, the chief Magiſtrate of the place, had repreſented to the Council, that they could never hope from the Gods for ſo fair an opportunity of obliging a powerful, and neighbouring State, and had preſſed them to prevent all application from the *Roman* Senate for ſuccour. Theſe forces, admitted within the walls, march'd ſtrait to the forum, where *Valerius* (having left his Colleague to defend the gates) was drawing up his men in order, for battle. He had prevail'd with the *Plebeians*, (in ſpite of all the clamours and remonſtrances of their Tribunes) to inliſt themſelves, and take the military oath, by giving them his ſolemn promiſe, "that the "Capitol once recover'd, and the City reſtored to quiet, if they would "then ſuffer themſelves to be inform'd of the deceitfulneſs of the Tri"bunes, and the miſchiefs conceal'd under their ſpecious Law, he, for "his part, calling to mind his anceſtors, and that *surname*, † together † *Poplicola.* "with which they had tranſmitted to him an hereditary concern, for "the intereſts of the People, would give no diſturbance to the Councils "held by the Commons."

And now the *Romans* and their auxiliaries, rivals for the glory of retaking the Capitol, briſkly advanced, and forced their way up the hill, notwithſtanding the enemy's advantage of the ground. They had reached the Portico of the Temple, when *Valerius*, fighting in the foremoſt rank, received a mortal wound. *Volumnius*, a conſular perſon, who ſaw him fall, inſtantly cover'd his body, took his place and his charge, and kept the men ſo warmly and intenſively engaged in the attack, that they gain'd the victory before they perceived, that they had loſt their General. Great was the ſlaughter of the invaders, the Temple polluted with their blood, *Herdonius* * himſelf ſlain, the priſoners puniſh'd ſuitably

* *Livy*'s relation (brief as it is) of this adventure has been follow'd in the text. He calls *Herdonius* a *Sabine*, but ſays nothing of his character, his rank, or the ſituation of life he was in, when he undertook to ſeize the Capitol; or of the ultimate end he propoſed to himſelf in that enterpriſe: nor does he inform us how, or from whence *Herdonius* collected ſuch a number of exiles and ſlaves, or what made it ſo eaſy for him to poſſeſs himſelf in the night of the Temple and Citadel. Probably the *Latine* Hiſtorian had not ſufficient light into theſe particulars. But *Dionyſius*, who is rarely ignorant of any thing knowable or unknowable, tells us, that the *Sabine*, *Herdonius*, was a man of diſtinction in his own country for his birth and riches, that thoſe who follow'd him in his undertaking were his own clients and domeſtics, to the number of

suitably to their respective ranks of freemen or slaves. The *Plebeians* received the public thanks. The Temple was purified; and the People are said to have cast farthings into the house of *Valerius*, in order to his more pompous funeral.

Y. of R. 294. Bef. J. C. 459. 5o Consulship.

of about 4000, and that he purposed to destroy the *Roman* Power. However, the Historian cannot say, whether by this destruction *Herdonius* meant to make himself tyrant of *Rome*, or to subject *Rome* to the *Sabines*, or only to acquire a great name by his exploits. When he had prepared a sufficient number of arms, provisions, and all things necessary for the expedition, he embark'd his 4000 men on some river-boats, which gliding down the *Stream* of the *Tiber*, he arrived at *Rome* about midnight when all was quiet, landed on the bank of the river near the Capitol, and not above a furlong from it. That the gate *Carmentalis*, at the foot of the hill, being always, by the express command of an oracle, left open, he there enter'd, and silently mounting the steep ascent, seized the Temple and Fortress. That he hoped, when possessed of this strong place, to be join'd by the exiles, the slaves, the insolvent debtors, and all the worst part of the *Roman* populace, whose wretchedness, he thought, held them ready for any change that could be proposed: He placed great confidence in the discord reigning at *Rome*, imagining that the *Plebeians* would not unite with the *Patricians* to oppose him. And in case these hopes fail'd, he resolved to invite to his assistance a numerous army of *Sabines* and *Volsci*, and other neighbouring nations, who would be glad of an opportunity to make off the insupportable yoke of the *Roman* Government. *Herdonius* was disappointed in every expectation. Neither the exiles, nor the slaves, nor the debtors, nor the indigent populace of *Rome* repair'd to him. Nor had the strangers, on whose aid he so much depended, the time necessary to prepare for the war; for the whole affair was over in three or four days.

Upon this relation, given by *Dionysius*, I shall only observe, that his well born, wealthy and powerful *Sabine*, so much at his ease at home, must have been somewhat mad to embark in such an enterprise without a previous approbation of it by the Governors of his own nation; any preparation on their part to assist him in it, or even any promise of assistance from them, or from any other of the neighbouring States; and without having any intelligence with the discontented in *Rome*. And then, for his collecting so many boats on the *Tiber* as would hold 4000 men, with the provisions necessary for their subsistence, and his floating down the stream with his fleet, from *Sabinia* into the middle of *Rome*, without being discover'd in his passage, or till he reached the Capitol, these things are absolutely wonderful.

As to what passed in *Rome*, while *Herdonius* possessed the Capitol, the *Greek* Historians report, that when the *Plebeians*, at the indignation of their Tribunes, refused to arm, unless the *Terentian* Law were first enacted, the Consul *Claudius* declared, there was no need of their assistance; and exhorted the *Patricians* to march with their clients against the enemy; and if more strength were wanted, to call to their aid the *Latins* and *Hernici*, or even promise liberty to the slaves and employ them, rather than sollicit succour from unworthy Citizens, who when the State was in such calamitous circumstances, revived old quarrels. But that his advice was not approved by his Colleague or the Senators, who thought it expedient to yield to the times.

That *Valerius*, to gain the multitude, *swore* to them, that if they behaved themselves well in the present exigence, so as to restore quiet to the City, he would suffer the Tribunes to propose the Law, and would take care, that what the People determined should be put in execution before his Consulship expired.

The *Plebeians* hereupon inlist themselves readily for the war, and march with alacrity under *Valerius* to the attack of the Citadel; in describing which attack the Historian is as particular and circumstantial as if he had been there, but by his detail makes that appear impracticable, which he says was effected.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Tribunes little regard the promise given by Valerius to the Plebeians. §. II. *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, elected to succeed Valerius, by various arts makes the Tribunes desist from the pursuit of their Bill.* §. III. *Virginius and his Colleagues are recalled to the Tribunal. The Senate are for continuing Quinctius in the Consulship; but he refuses to act in opposition to the Tribunes.*

§. I. THE enterprise of *Herdonius* thus defeated, and peace restored, the Tribunes without delay call'd upon the Senators to perform what *Valerius* had promised; and they pressed *Claudius* to free the minds of his Colleague from the guilt of treachery, by suffering the People without molestation to proceed on the affair of the Law. *Claudius*, to gain time, insisted on the necessity of a new Consul in the place of *Valerius*, before their business could regularly be brought into debate. The time passed in disputes on this head till the month of *December*, when the *Comitia Consularia* being held for the election, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, through the indefatigable industry of the Nobles, was appointed to the consular fasces. It was a thunderstroke to the *Plebeians* to see themselves fallen under the government of a Magistrate of great personal merit, great credit, and highly provoked against them by their banishment of his son *Caeso*, and who had three other sons in manhood not inferior to *Caeso*, in prudence surpassing him.

Cincinnatus had no sooner enter'd on his office, than he began to bluster like a man angry with every body, and determined to be a severe reformer of manners. He sharply reproved the Senators for their meanness of spirit, and want of resolution, in suffering the same men to be continued in the Tribuneship from year to year, men who with impiety and foul language lorded it over the State, as if it were some disorderly house which they kept. "Courage, constancy, every virtue civil and "military was driven from *Rome* with my son *Caeso*. Babblers, fowlers "of sedition reign here like Kings with perpetual and absolute sway. "What? Did you march your Troops, (with reverence for *Caius Claudius* and the dead *Valerius* be it spoken) did you march up to the "Capitol, before you had clear'd the Forum of those enemies, *Virginius* and his Colleagues? Did *Virginius* deserve less punishment for not

Y. of *R.* 293. Bef. *J. C.* 459. 50 Consulship. *Livy*, B. 3. c. 19.

* According to *Dionysius*, *Quinctius* was at his farm, actually following the plough, and much atmir'd, when his election to the Consulship was notified to him. But it is not probable that so worthy a Patriot, living so near the City, should be less forward to assist in recovering the Capitol from *Herdonius*, than the *Tusculans*. Nor is it likely, if he came to *Rome* on that occasion, that he should be ignorant of the universal combination of the Nobles to raise him to the Consulship, or that he left the City before his election.

Livy says nothing of the plough till *Cincinnatus* is chosen Dictator.

V. of R. 293. Bef. J. C. 459. 50 Consulship.

"being in the Capitol, than *Herdonius* for having seized it? By *Hercules*, "he deserved greater. *Herdonius* declared himself your enemy; he put "you upon your guard. *Virginius*, by denying there was any war, "would have disarm'd you, exposed you naked and defenceless to your "slaves and exiles. What a shame in the sight of Gods and Men, that "the *Tusculans* should be before us in arming for our defence, that it "should be doubtful whether *Mamilius* the *Tusculan* General, or our "Consuls recover'd the Capitol! And this is what you, Tribunes, call "*succouring the Plebeians*, exposing them to be slaughter'd by the ene-"my! *Jupiter*, the most High, the All-good, was not worthy to be "rescued, when beset by slaves and exiles; but your persons are sacred "and inviolable! And do you flatter yourselves, that thus cover'd over "with crimes against Gods and Men, you shall pass your Bill this year? "Unfortunate was the day, when I was chosen Consul, more unfortu-"nate than that in which *Valerius* was slain, if you can by force to prefer "your Bill. But, no more of that at present. I now give you notice, "that my Collegue and I intend to march the Legions against the "*Æqui* and *Volsci*. I know not by what fatality it so comes to pass, "but the Gods are ever more favourable to us in war, than in peace."

The Consul quite stunn'd the multitude by this menacing speech. A winter campaign was a dreadful thought. The *Patricians* began to lift up their heads; their affairs seem'd to be upon the recovery. *Claudius*, who had spirit enough to join in a bold enterprise, but not the sort of courage necessary to form one, readily suffer'd his Collegue to take the lead on this occasion, yet he talked as big as if he had been the author of the measure: he would do wonderful things, yes, he would shew himself to be a Consul. The Tribunes scoffed at them both. *And where* (said they) *will you get the army, which you are to lead into the field? We shall suffer no Levies to be made.* "We need none (answer'd "*Quinctius*.) The Troops which *Valerius* inlisted for retaking the Ca-"pitol, all swore to rendezvous at the Consul's command, and not "to disband themselves without his permission; and we strictly enjoin "every soldier, who took that oath, to appear in arms to morrow at "the Lake *Regillus*." To which the Tribunes replied, "That the "oath did not bind the soldiers to his obedience, who was then only "a private man." However, this evasion did not satisfy the consci-ences of the People. *That contempt for the Gods, so prevalent in our age,* says *Livy, had not in those days began to make its appearance. Men did not by interpretations contrive to make oaths and laws suit their private de-sires, but suited their manners to their oaths and to the laws.*

The Tribunes finding their cavil about the oath would not do, turn'd their thoughts to prevent, by some other means, the march of the troops from the City: For *Quinctius* talk'd of the expediency of passing the

† From this expression it would seem that the slaves, whom *Herdonius* commanded, were some who had run away from their Roman masters.

whole winter in the field. And the more to terrify both the Commons and their Magistrates, he declared, and often repeated it, "that [at his "return from the war] he would hold no Comitia for electing Consuls; "that the State was too much distemper'd to be cured by ordinary re- "medies; that it needed a Dictator, who would make all disturbers "of the peace feel the weight of an authority from which there lay no "appeal."

A. of R. 293. *Bef. J. C.* 459. 50 Consulship. *Livy*, B. 3. c. 20.

Dion. Hal. B. 10.

The Senate were at this time assembled in the Capitol. Thither ran the Tribunes, with the *Plebeians*, all in a * consternation, at their heels. The multitude with loud voices call'd out sometimes upon the Fathers, sometimes upon the Consuls to compassionate their case. *Quinctius* would listen to no intercessions, till the Tribunes had promised to abide by what the Senate should judge fit to be done. Then he reported their petition to the Fathers, who thereupon made a Decree, "That the Tribunes "should no more prefer their Bill this year, and that the Consuls should "not lead an army from the City:" and the Decree declared further, "that, in the judgement of the Senate, to continue the superior Magi- "strates in their office after the expiration of their year, and to reveleft "the same Tribunes, were both contrary to the welfare of the Re- "public."

Thus were all commotions calm'd for the present; and *Quinctius*, during the remainder of his Consulship, kept things quiet by a patient, candid and equitable conduct in hearing and deciding suits between man and man, to which business he chiefly apply'd himself.

D. Hal. B. 10.

But notwithstanding the Senate's Decree before mention'd, and the warm remonstrances of the Consuls, *Virginius* and his Colleagues prevail'd to get themselves rechosen by the People to the Tribuneship. The Senate, to be even with them, were for continuing *Quinctius* in the Consulship [not doubting to carry his re-election in the *Comitia by Centuries.*] Never did *Quinctius*, during his whole administration, exert more spirit, or express a more vehement anger than on this occasion.

Livy, B. 3. c. 21.

* *Livy* tells us, that what contributed to frighten the *Plebeians* into submission, was a rumour spread, "That the augurs had "been directed to repair to the Lake Re- "gillus, in order to consecrate a place for "holding Comitia, whose every article "which had been carried at *Rome* in fa- "vour of the Commons by Tribunician "violence would be abrogated: since the "Consuls would there be present, and the "Tribunes, whose right of opposition did "not extend beyond a mile from the City, "would, if they came there, be upon the "foot of private men."

Dionysius says nothing of this; nor does it seem probable that the People should be alarm'd with the apprehension of a design which certainly could never take place. For had it been practicable to any purpose, it would long before have been put in execution.

The only struggle in the minds of the People at this time, seems to have been between the military oath and the winter campaign; and, to the honour of the soldiers, the oath carried it; they had recourse to intreaties for avoiding the cold. Perhaps the character of *Quinctius*, and his manner of life, had no small share in bringing the *Plebeians* to submission for the present. It is observable how much more tamely they could suffer themselves to be hector'd by this plough-man Consul, than by an *Appius Claudius*.

" Little

"Little cauſe to wonder, *Conſcript Fathers*, that the *Plebeians* make "light of your authority! You trifle with your own Decrees. What! "Are you in competition with the multitude, to ſee which ſhall ſurpaſs "the other in levity and inconſtancy? Is this the conteſt in which vic- "tory is to give the Victors the chief power in the Republic? The "headſtrong multitude have broken through your Decree, and there- "fore you will do the ſame! An excellent example truly you have "choſen to follow! For my part, I ſhall not imitate the Tribunes; I "will not ſuffer myſelf to be re-elected to my office. And I exhort "you, *Cæius Claudius*, to reſtrain the *Common People* from ſuch licentious "proceedings." The Fathers, hereupon, iſſued an edict, "forbidding "all perſons to name *Lucius Quinctius* at the next elections, for one of "the Conſuls; and declaring, that, if any one did, his vote ſhould not "be admitted."

The Comitia being held, they gave the conſulate * a ſecond time to *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *L. Cornelius Maluginenſis*.

Upon advice that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were making great preparations for war, the new Conſuls ſummon'd the allies to furniſh their contingents of troops for the ſervice. An army was form'd, one third *Romans*, two thirds *Latines* and *Hernici*. *Fabius* had the conduct of it, and entirely routed the enemy near *Antium*.

In the mean time a body of the *Æqui* ſurprized the Citadel of *Tuſculum* in the night. This news, which was carried hither to *Rome*, and thence to the camp before *Antium*, affected the *Romans* as much as if the Capitol had been again ſeized. Mindful of the friendly part which the *Tuſculans* had lately acted in the affair of *Herdonea*, *Fabius* with all expedition marched to their relief. The enemy, to hinder ſuccours from coming to the City, had encamped an army not far from the walls. *Fabius* with only a part of his forces kept that army in play, ſending the remainder to aſſiſt the *Tuſculans* to recover their Citadel. This was laſted ſeveral months, famine compell'd the *Æqui* to ſubmit, and the *Tuſculans* made them paſs unarmed and naked under the yoke. After which the Conſul purſued them in their return homeward, and cut them all off to a man. * *Cornelius*, who had ſtaid at *Rome* to guard it from any ſudden attack, now marches the troops under his command from the City, and the two Conſuls, taking different roads, invaded, plundered and laid waſte the lands of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*.

At *Rome* the Tribunes complain'd, that theſe wars were protracted meerly to keep off the affair of the Law; and they loudly declared that nothing ſhould hinder them from going through with what they had undertaken. Nevertheleſs *Lucretius*, prefect of the City, prevail'd

* 3d time. Y. of *R.* 294. Bef. *J. C.* 458. 51 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 3. c. 22.

c. 23.

* According to *Dionyſius*, *Antium* revolted this year and was ſubdued by *Cornelius*. And *Livy* ſays, that the greater number of authors report this; but that he does not find it in any of the ancient

with them to defer the business till the arrival of the Consuls. The Consuls return'd from the war, and entered the City with their armies in

Livy tells us, that, at this time, a new source of civil dissension arose in the Republic: that the Questors cited *M. Volscius Fictor* to trial before the People, on the charge of his having given false testimony against *Cæso*: that the Tribunes put a stop to the proceedings, refusing to let the *Comitia* be held for that trial, unless they were first held for enacting their Law, and that both these affairs were put off to the return of the Consuls: that no steps were taken with regard to either before the Consuls of the new year had enter'd on their office: that then *Cæso*'s uncle, *Titus Quinctius*, (who had been thrice Consul) and *Marcus Valerius*, men of more weight than their predecessors, were the Questors: that because *Cæso*, the glory of the *Roman* youth, could not be restored either to his family or to his country, *Quinctius*, from a spirit of justice, and from an affection for his kinsman, made war upon the false witness, who had *deprived him, tho' innocent, of the liberty of pleading in his own defence*: *Et quoniam neque Quinctiæ familiæ Cæso, neque reipublicæ egregius juvenis restitui posset, falsum testem, qui dicendi causæ innocenti ademisset, jure ac jure bello persequebatur.*

What *Livy* means to say by this I know not. For, by his own account, *Cæso* ran away to avoid a trial on *Volscius*'s accusation; and, as to the crimes and misdemeanors with which the Tribunes had charged him, neither his uncle nor his own father had pretended that he was innocent. And, according to *Dionysius*, *Cæso* would not own the jurisdiction of the Court.

Notwithstanding the great weight of these Questors, the opposition of the Tribunes forc'd the prohibition once more. But the next year, when the father of *Cæso* was Dictator, the Tribunes, intimidated by his absolute power, durst not oppose the bringing *Volscius* to trial; and he was convicted, condemn'd, and banish'd to *Lanuvium*.

Dionysius says nothing of all this, nor indeed has it any shadow of probability. If, as the *Greek* Historian relates, *Volscius* was all the time one of the Tribunes; which, according to *Livy*, he was not.

Mr. *Hooke* has follow'd *Livy* in making the accuser of *Cæso* one of the Tribunes, and yet has follow'd *Dion* in representing the murder of *Cæso* as my'd, sometimes and banish'd in that very year, when, according to *Dionysius*, he was in his fourth Tribuneship.

Both Mr. *Vertot* and Mr. *Rollin*, founding themselves wholly on a passage in *Grove's* Question not done, relate, that in the short Dictatorship of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, (when *Volscius* is said to have been banish'd) *Cæso was recall'd from banishment*. *Cicero*'s words are these: *At vero, ut annales, ut libri Romani, & monumenta vetustatis loquuntur, Cæso ille Quintius, & M. Furius Camillus, & M. Servilius Ahala, cum essent optime de Republica meriti, tamen populi vi civitate sua, tractandâque fuerunt, damnatique Comitiis Centuriatis, cum in exsilium profugissent, rursus ab eodem populo placati sunt in suam pristinam dignitatem restituti.* One would imagine from the total silence of *Livy* and *Dionysius*, as to the recalling of *Cæso*, that those *Annales* and *Monumenta*, of which *Cicero* speaks, were wholly unknown to them, or that they consider'd them as of no authority. Nor perhaps is the Orator much to be regarded, when, to serve a present turn and his own private interest, he brings precedents from antient history of cases like his own. It is plain that neither the *Latin* nor the *Greek* Historian have taken him for their guide. But what seems decisive against the authority of *Cicero* in this instance, is his saying, that *Cæso* was condemn'd in *Comitia by Centuries*; which is expressly contradicted by the whole History of those times. The Tribunes did not pretend to hold *Comitia by Centuries*, and yet they held the assembly for the trial of *Cæso*.

Father *Catrou*, not finding that *Cæso* was recall'd, or that any motion was made for recalling him, either when his uncle was Questor, or when his father was Dictator, concludes, that he was dead; or perhaps he gathers this from these words of *Livy*, *Quoniam neque Quintiæ familiæ Cæso, neque Reipublicæ restitui potest*. But there seems no need to have recourse to the supposition of *Cæso*'s death, to account for his not being recall'd: for the same Tribunes who had prosecuted him were still in office, and the Bill, which had given occasion to *Cæso*'s violences

Y. of R. 294
Bef. J. C. 458.
51 Conſulſhip.

in triumph; and becauſe the Tribunes now ſaid nothing of the Law, it was generally believed, that they were deterr'd from that purſuit: But in truth, a far different reaſon occaſion'd their ſilence. As the year drew towards a cloſe, they had their thoughts wholly intent on getting themſelves elected a fourth time to the Tribuneſhips; and, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous oppoſition from the Conſuls, they carried their point.

Livy, B. 3. c. 24. *D. Hal.*

Towards the end of this year the *Æqui* ſued for peace, and the Senate made a treaty with them, importing, that they ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the towns and lands they then held, and be exempt from paying tribute to the Republic, but, like the other allies, furniſh her with as many auxiliary troops as ſhe occaſionally ſhould require.

violences and miſdemeanors, was ſtill depending; and it is not to be imagined that the Tribunes would ſuffer his return to *Rome*, before that affair was determined. If I might have leave to conjecture, I ſhould ſay, that *Caſo* was never recall'd, that he was guilty not only of the miſdemeanors with which the Tribunes charged him, but likewiſe of the murder of which *Kæſo* acquitted him, and that this *Kæſo* did not get the ſurname of *Kæſo* from his having given falſe evidence, but that falſe evidence was in after times imputed to him by the Hiſtorians, merely on account of his ſurname.

CHAP. XXIV.

§. 1. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus is named to the Dictatorſhip; he reſcues the Roman army out of extreme danger; and the 16th day after his promotion reſigns his office. §. 2. The Tribunes oppoſe the neceſſary levies for a war with the Æqui. They are at length induced to waive their oppoſition, but do it conditionally, that the Commons may be permitted to augment the number of their Tribunes to TEN.

Y. of R. 295.
Bef. J. C. 457.
52 Conſulſhip.

§. 1. IN the beginning of the new adminiſtration, of *L. Minucius* and *C. Nautius*, *Virginius* and his Collegues preſſed forward the affair of the Law, to bring it to a concluſion. Yet they allow'd the Conſuls two months time to conſider of it, and expoſe to the People the miſchiefs latent under it, if any ſuch there were; after which it was to be propoſed in Comitia and put to the vote. This conceſſion made all quiet in the City. But the tranquillity did not laſt long, for the *Æqui* breaking the treaty they had made the year before, invaded and plunder'd the territory of the *Tuſculans*, allies of the *Roman* Republic, and, loaded with ſpoil, retired with it to the hill *Algidus*, (about 12 miles from *Rome*) where they encamp'd. The Senate diſpatch'd three Ambaſſadors thither to complain of the injury, and demand reſtitution. *Gracchus Cluilius*, General of the *Æqui*, had pitched his tent under a large oak for the ſake of the ſhade. *There!* ſaid he to the Ambaſſadors, *deliver your errand to that tree! I have other buſineſs to mind.* They return'd to *Rome* and reported the reception they had met with. Inſtantly the

the Senate order'd one of the Conſuls to march againſt *Gracchus*, and commiſſion'd the other to enter the frontiers of the *Æqui* and lay the country waſte. The Tribunes at firſt obſtructed the Levies, and perhaps would have continued ſo to do, but for a ſecond invaſion. A numerous army of *Sabines* advanced almoſt to the very walls of *Rome*; and the devaſtations they made could not patiently be endured by the People. Regardleſs of the diſſuaſions of their Tribunes, they now readily offer'd themſelves for the ſervice. Two armies were preſently raiſed. The *Sabines* retired; *Nautius* marched into *Sabina*, and did more than make reprisals on the enemy. *Minucius*, who led his forces againſt the *Æqui*, had neither the ſucceſs nor the courage of his Colleague. He pitched his camp not far from the enemy, but kept cloſe within it through fear. When the *Æqui* perceived his cowardice, it gave them the boldneſs to attack his camp in the night; but they found it too ſtrong to be forced. The next day therefore they drew lines about it, in order to ſtarve their enemies into a ſurrendry at diſcretion. Before the *Romans* were quite encloſed, five horſemen found means to make their way through the quarters of the *Æqui*, and carried the news to *Rome*. *Quintus Fabius*, Governor of the City, immediately diſpatch'd a meſſenger to the Conſul *Nautius*, to inform him of the diſtreſs his Collegue was in. *Nautius* leaving his army to the care of his Lieutenants repair'd to *Rome* in all haſte. He arrived there in the night, and without delay had a conference with the chief of the Senate, who all agreed to have recourſe to the uſual expedient in great exigencies, a Dictator: whereupon the Conſul, with univerſal approbation, named *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus* to that important dignity, and then return'd to his army. V. of R. 295 Bef. C. 456 5 Conſulſhip.

The perſons, deputed to give *Quinctius* notice of his nomination to the Dictatorſhip, found him buſily employ'd about his farm, either following the plough, or digging a ditch. After the common mutual ſalutations they deſired him to put on his gown, and hear their commiſſion to him from the Senate. *What is the buſineſs*, ſaid *Quinctius* in ſurprize, *Is all well?* Then, turning to his wife who was in the field with him, RACILIA, *Go fetch my gown. Make haſte.* The duſt and ſweat wiped from his face, and the gown put on, the deputies ſtrait ſaluted him DICTATOR, invited him to *Rome*, and inform'd him of the perilous condition of the army. A barge belonging to the public was ready to convey him to the City. His three ſons, his other relations and friends, and the greater part of the Senate received him at his landing. With this attendance, and with four and twenty Lictors walking before him, he was conducted to his houſe. Crowds of *Plebeians* likewiſe put themſelves in his train, but they were not very glad to ſee him; for they thought him cloath'd with too much power, and fear'd the uſe he might make of it. They kept watch all that night.

* *Dionyſius* ſays nothing of the cowardice of *Minucius*, but repreſents him as raſhly purſuing the enemy, who, by artfully retreating before him, drew him into a diſadvantageous ſituation, and then block'd him up in his camp.

V. of R. 295. Bef. J. C. 457. Consulship.

Quinctius the next morning, before day break, went to the Forum, and there named, for his *General of the Horse*, *L. Tarquitius*, a *Patrician* of diſtinguiſh'd bravery, but who, being too poor to keep a horſe, had till then never ſerved but in the infantry. Thus all the hopes of the Republic lay in an old man, called from the plough to command in chief, and a foot ſoldier, raiſed to be *General of the Horſe*.

The Dictator, by proclamation, order'd a ſuſpenſion of all proceſs in the courts of juſtice, the ſhops to be ſhut up, and all the Citizens, able to bear arms, to be before ſun ſet in the *field of Mars*, each with five days proviſions, and twelve ſtakes for a palliſade. Whoever through age was diſqualified for the ſervice, was to dreſs the proviſions for the ſoldier who lived neareſt him, while he furniſh'd himſelf with the ſtakes and got ready his arms.

All theſe commands punctually executed, and the forces drawn up in good order, not only for marching, but fighting, if need ſhould require, the Dictator, at the head of the Infantry, and *Tarquitius*, at the head of the Cavalry, led forth the army. No alacrity was wanting either in the commanders, or their men. *Quicken your pace, ſoldiers*, ſaid the leaders, *let us come up with them this very night. Expedition! a* Roman *Conſul and his army beſieged! three days inveſted! who knows what may happen in a day, or a night? A ſingle moment often decides in great events.* The Generals had the pleaſure to hear the ſoldiers, and thoſe who bore the colours, mutually call upon each other, *Faſter, Enſign!—Soldiers, keep up!* And thus by midnight they reached the *Algidus*.

Quinctius made a halt, as ſoon as he perceived he was near the enemy. And when, by riding about, he had taken ſuch a view of their camp as the obſcurity of the night would permit, he order'd his men to heap all the baggage together in one place, and then return into their ranks with the ſtakes they had brought from *Rome*. This done, he extended his forces and inveſted the camp on his ſide of it; after which, on an appointed ſignal given, the ſold'rs all together gave a ſhout, and then fell every man to work to cut a trench before him and plant his ſtakes. The ſhout reached beyond the camp of the *Æqui* to that of the Conſul. Sudden terror ſeized the one, univerſal joy the other. Nothing among the *Roman* ſoldiers but mutual congratulations on the arrival of ſuccour. *No time to be loſt!* cried *Minucius*. *Not only ſuccour is come, but our fellow Citizens are actually in conflict with the enemy. I know it by the ſhout. To arms, to arms, Follow me, ſoldiers.* Out ſallied the legions to action, and by their ſhouts gave notice of it to the Dictator. The *Æqui* were juſt going to make an effort to interrupt the works the Dictator had begun, when the alarm from the other ſide obliged them to turn their chief ſtrength that way, leſt the Conſul ſhould break through their camp. His attack kept them in play till the morning, ſo that *Quinctius* had the reſt of the night free to go on with his fortification. Having finiſh'd it by day break, he ſtrait led out his forces to aſſault that of the enemy. A new conflict began; the former continued. The

Æqui, now preſſed on both ſides, hopeleſs of defending their ſhires, hopeleſs of relief, ceaſed the fight, and had recourſe to ſupplications. They begg'd of the Dictator, they begg'd of the Conſul, not to place victory in ſlaughter, but to ſuffer them to go off diſarm'd. The Conſul referr'd them to the Dictator. *Quintius* contemptuouſly anſwer'd them, that *he did not want their blood, he would let them go; but that, by paſſing under the yoke, they ſhould at length confeſs, that the Æqui were a conquered People. But firſt*, ſaid he, *ſend me hither in chains your General Gracchus, and ten more of your principal officers*: with theſe he meant to adorn his triumph; *and you ſhall evacuate the City of* Corbio. All was ſubmitted to.

L. of R. 295. Bef. J. C. 457. 5th Conſulſhip.

The Dictator gave the plunder of the enemy's camp to the ſoldiers he had brought with him from *Rome*, not ſuffering thoſe of the Conſul to take any part of it. "You, ſoldiers, ſaid he, who were but lately going to "fall a prey to our enemies, you ſhall have no ſhare of their ſpoils." Then, turning to the Conſul, "And you, *Minucius*, till you begin to "have the ſpirit of a Conſul, ſhall command theſe legions in quality "only of a Lieutenant General." [†] Notwithſtanding the Conſulſhip, and in obedience to order, continued to furniſh the army with ſuch reſpect, ſuch ready ſubmiſſion to ſuperior merit, and ſuperior authority, were paid in thoſe days, that the conſular troops, inſtead of the diſgrace they ſuffer'd, than with the benefit they had received, decreed to the Dictator a golden crown of a pound weight, and at his departure ſaluted him by the title of *their Patron*.

Livy, B. 3. c. 29. & D. H. B. 10.

Quintius return'd to *Rome*, and had there a magnificent triumph; after which, tho' he might have retain'd his high Office ſix months, he reſign'd it the fifteenth day from his promotion to it.

In the end of the year, the Tribunes began to ſtir again in the affair of the *Law*; but as two armies were about to be raiſed for the Conſuls (a war made againſt the *Sabines*) the Senate carried it, that no Bill ſhould be preferr'd in the People, nor the laſt in the election of Tribunes, the Commons prevail'd to have the ſame men who had held the Tribuneſhip four years ſucceſſively, appointed a fifth time to that office. The conſular faſces were transferr'd to *C. Horatius*, and *Q. Minucius*. In the beginning of their adminiſtration, they had nothing to do abroad; but the Tribunes, with their Bill, found them ſufficient

† According to *Livy*, *Quintius* finding was ſoon after ſent from *Rome* to ſucceed *Minutius* in the command of the army.

A. of R. 296. Bef. J. C. 456. 53 Conſulſhip.

employment at home; yet it was not long before the diſpute on this head gave place to another: for news came, that the *Aqui* had in the night ſurpriſed the *Roman* garriſon of *Corbio*, and taken the place by aſſault. The Senate without delay order'd an army to be raiſed, and led to the *Algidus*. *No Levies!* ſaid the Tribunes; *The Bill is the important point, the buſineſs that muſt be firſt ſettled.* Neither Conſuls nor Senate would hear of the Bill. Both ſides continued obſtinate, till a ſecond alarm was given from abroad. The *Sabines* made an incurſion into the *Roman* territory, and advanced almoſt to the City walls. The Tribunes then ſeeing a neceſſity of arming, began * to treat with the Senate. As they had been conſtantly baffled, tho' in office five years ſucceſſively, they judged, that it was for want of a ſufficient number in their college, and therefore reſolved to ſeize the preſent occaſion to get it augmented. "On one condition, *ſaid they*, we ſhall conſent to your "raiſing troops. The thing will be of little conſequence to you, and "will pleaſe the Commons very much; perhaps make them eaſy as to "all their other demands. Allow them to have, for the future, TEN "Tribunes, inſtead of only five."

In the debates of the Senate on this motion, *Caius Claudius* oppoſed it with great warmth. He ſaid, "that to grant the Commons more Tri"bunes would have no good effect upon them, it would only make them "more untractable and inſolent. The partition of the lands, *Terentius*'s "Bill, and every project for diminiſhing the authority of the Senate, and "increaſing the power of the People, would preſently be revived; and "in ſhort, that an augmentation of the number of Tribunes would "have the worſt conſequences imaginable." But *Quintius Cincinnatus*, whoſe judgment had greater weight with the Senate than that of *Claudius*, conſider'd the matter in a different light, and was of opinion, that what the *Plebeians* ſued for as a favour, would turn to their diſadvantage when obtain'd; becauſe it would be eaſier to ſow diviſion among Ten Tribunes than among five, and he therefore exhorted *the Fathers* to a conceſſion. His advice prevail'd. The requeſt was granted, but conditionally, that the Tribunes † then in office ſhould not be rechoſen. To this the petitioners agreed, and held the Comitia immediately for

* *Dionyſius* reports, that when the Tribunes were obſtinate in oppoſing the Levies, all the Senators, by the advice of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, took arms and repair'd to the Forum, *determined to march out* (ſupported only by their clients and adherents) againſt the enemy; that even the oldeſt of the Fathers appear'd in armour, but *wept* and look'd ſo piteouſly, that the ſpectacle drew tears in abundance from the multitude; and a moſt ridiculous ſcene of affliction the Hiſtorian moſt gravely makes of it. He adds, that the Tribunes ſeeing the People ſo melted, and fearing that they ſhould not be able to hinder the [weeping] *Plebeians* from following the [weeping] *Patricians* to the war, began then to covenant for an augmentation of the College, &c.

† Livy's words ſeem to make the condition general, that the Commons ſhould never, for the future, chuſe the ſame men twice to the Tribuneſhip, *ne ſolos eoſdem Tribunos juberent*. If this was the condition, the People did not obſerve it, as we ſhall preſently ſee.

The increaſe of the number of Tribunes to ten was 36 years after the erection of the Tribuneſhip.

the

the nomination of *Ten Tribunes*, as having learnt by experience, that they might meet with a diſappointment, ſhould they put off the election to the end of the war. Two out of each of the five firſt Claſſes were choſen; a method obſerved ever after.

The commotion thus quieted, troops were raiſed. *Minucius* marched to attack the *Sabines*, but found no enemy in the field. *Horatius* defeated the *Æqui*, and retook *Corbio*.

CHAP. XXV.

§. I. The Tribunes make a new demand in favour of the People; and the Senate, after ſome ſtruggle, comply. §. II. The Conſuls, by an imprudent ſeverity in levying ſoldiers, give occaſion to an unprecedented inſult upon their dignity from the Tribunes. §. III. *The* Agrarian *and* Terentian Laws *are propoſed anew.* Sicinius Dentatus, *an old ſoldier, makes a notable ſpeech in relation to the former. The* Patricians *by violence hinder the ſuffrages from being collected.* §. IV. *The Conſuls lead an army into the field againſt the* Æqui. *They order* Sicinnius Dentatus, *at the head of* 800 *Veterans, upon a deſperate enterprize. He remonſtrates againſt it, but obeys, and ſucceeds ſo well, as to occaſion the total defeat of the enemy by the Conſuls. At his return to* Rome *he prevails with the People to refuſe them a triumph; and they are condemn'd the next year in a fine for miſconduct.*

§. I. IN the Conſulſhip of *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius*, the Tribunes demanded that mount *Aventine* ſhould be granted to the People, or at leaſt thoſe parts of it which were not occupied by lawful purchaſers. *L. Icilius*, the head of the college, ſet forth, that the land of that hill belonged to the Republic; that ſome *Patricians* had indeed purchaſed certain parcels of it, but others had got poſſeſſion of what they enjoy'd by mere uſurpation, and that the remaining part of it was uncultivated and uninhabited. He propoſed therefore, that thoſe *Patricians*, who could ſhew good claims to what they poſſeſſed, ſhould be confirmed in their poſſeſſions; but that thoſe, who had built houſes upon the hill, without lawful title to the ground, ſhould be outed; previouſly reimbourſed however what they had expended in building thoſe houſes; and laſtly, that all the land uncultivated, or unoccupied by rightful owners, ſhould be given *gratis* to the Commons, who growing daily more numerous began to want habitations.

Y. of *R.* 297. Bef. *J. C.* 455. 54 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 10.

There could be no plauſible objection to this propoſal, and it was a matter of ſmall importance to the Nobles; yet the Conſuls, apprehending, perhaps, that from ſuch a partition of mount *Aventine*, the *Plebeians* might take occaſion to renew their old pretenſions upon the conquered lands, defer'd convening the *Fathers*, whom the Tribunes had deſired to conſider of the matter, and then refer it to the People. *Icilius* impatient

Y. of R. 297. Bef. J.C. 455. 54 Conſulſhip.

patient of this delay, ſent a command to the Conſuls by an apparitor, to aſſemble the Senate forthwith. The apparitor met with a rough reception. A lictor by the Conſuls orders gave him ſome blows, and drove him away ignominiouſly. A mighty uproar enſued. *Icilius* cauſed the lictor to be ſeized, and was for having him thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. The Conſuls not daring to employ violence to reſcue him out of the hands of the ſacroſanct Tribunes, endeavoured to gain over ſome one of them, who might put a ſtop to the fury of his Collegue: But *Icilius* had before taken meaſures to defeat that artifice. He had ſo warmly repreſented to his Brethren, that the ſtrength of their College lay wholly in their union, that they had agreed, no one among them ſhould oppoſe what was determined by plurality of voices. Thus the poor Lictor ſaw himſelf juſt upon the point of loſing his life, for having obeyed the orders of the Conſuls too punctually. To ſave him, *the Conſcript Fathers* had recourſe to intreaties; and they ſeem to have been conſtrain'd to a compoſition with the Tribunes: Theſe releaſed the Lictor, and the Senate, by a Decree, yielded mount *Aventine* to the People; a conceſſion of ſmall importance, as was before obſerved; yet the meaſures uſed to obtain it, made a very great breach in the conſular authority; for the Tribunes kept themſelves ever after in poſſeſſion of the new prerogative, aſſumed by *Icilius* and his Collegues, *of convening the Senate.*

Y. of R. 298. Bef. J.C. 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

§. II. THE next year *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius* were Conſuls. Theſe Magiſtrates apprehending that the preſent quiet in the City would ſoon be diſturbed, unleſs the Republic had a war abroad, reſolved to lead out an army againſt the *Æqui*.* But this their policy they themſelves defeated, by the unſeaſonable rigour with which they proceeded in the inrollments. They admitted of no excuſes, how allowable ſoever, and condemn'd to heavy fines or impriſonment, all thoſe who refuſed to liſt themſelves for the war. *Icilius* and his Collegues (who had been continued in the Tribuneſhip at the new elections) did not fail to take the part of the complainants, and when they found that words were ineffectual, endeavoured by force to reſcue the priſoners out of the hands of the Lictors; they even went ſo far in their fury as to bid the *Ædiles* lay hold on the Conſuls and lead them to priſon. The *Patricians* all united as one man to defend the ſupreme Magiſtrates; blows enſued; and for this time the Conſuls got the better in the conflict; the Tribunes were routed and roughly treated. But the triumph of the Nobles was of ſhort duration. The next day, and the following, great numbers of *Plebeians* flock'd from the Country to the City; and the Tribunes, then finding themſelves in a condition to deal with their adverſaries, held frequent councils, to which they complain'd moſt bearily of the inſults they

* According to *Livy*, it was to ſuccour Army. And this accounts for the Tribunes not oppoſing the Levies, but only the unjuſt (thoſe under the Conſuls in a dangerous enterprize) that the Conſuls began to raiſe an army, had

had suffer'd; protesting at the same time, that they would lay down their office if they could not be supported in the exercise of it. And now, encouraged by the Commons, who with great warmth enter'd into their Magistrates resentments, they made no scruple to send a summons to the Consuls to appear before an *Assembly of the People*, and answer for their conduct; the first instance of citing the superior Magistrates to trial, during their Magistracy. Y. of R. 298 Bef. J. C. 454. 55 Consulship.

The Consuls refusing to listen to the summons, away went the Tribunes to the Senate, then sitting in debate on these matters, and having first in a plaintive tone set forth, "the violence which had been done "to their sacred persons, by the Consuls or their adherents," demanded peremptorily, "that those Magistrates might either clear themselves by "oath from having had any hand in that violence, or, if they scrupled "to take such oath, appear in judgment before the People;" and they added, "that for their parts, they would take the votes of the Tribes "upon the affair."

In answer to all this, the Consuls reproached the Tribunes "with having "been the aggressors, and with having carried their insolence to such "excess, as first to attempt imprisoning the sovereign Magistrates of "the State, and afterwards, when they fail'd in that, to cite them to "appear in judgment before an *Assembly of the People*; tho' by Law "they had no right to summon thither even the most inconsiderable "of the *Patricians*, without a previous *Senatus Consultum* for that pur-"pose." And they declared, "that if the Tribunes were so audacious "as to proceed toward collecting the votes of the People, they would "arm the whole body of the *Patricians*."

These mutual reproaches and menaces lasted the whole day; and the Senate, thinking it equally dangerous to declare either for the Consuls, or the Tribunes, came to no resolution.

§. III. THE Tribunes, finding that nothing was to be expected from *the Fathers*, call'd the People together, to deliberate on the proper measures to be taken.

The most turbulent and hot-headed were for retiring in arms a second time to the *Mons Sacer*, and there declaring open war against the *Patricians*, for having broken the treaty which had there been made.

Others, more in number, judged it not advisable to leave the City, not equitable to impute to the whole body of the Nobles, the violences which some particulars had acted against the sacred persons of the Tribunes; provided that strict justice were done upon the guilty, who had incurr'd the penalty of death or exile, [and might be punish'd according to Law, without any previous process.]

Others, again, more moderate, declared against putting any Citizen to death, before trial and condemnation in legal form, and especially, when the question was concerning the Consuls, the supreme Magistrates of the Republic: but they counsell'd the assembly to discharge their wrath on those who had aided the Consuls, and to punish them according to the utmost rigour of the Laws.

As

Y. of R. 298. Bef. J. C. 454 55 Conſulſhip.

As nothing could be immediately agreed upon, a little time diminiſh'd the fury of the Tribunes, and at length the concluſion was, that the third market day they would hold an aſſembly, to condemn the Conſuls in a pecuniary fine. However, before the 27 days were quite expired, they changed their mind; and having aſſembled the People, declared, that at the intreaty of ſeveral worthy men, to whom it was not eaſy to refuſe any thing, they were willing to forgive the perſonal injuries they themſelves had ſuffer'd, but could never pardon thoſe which had been done to the People, and would therefore inſtantly renew the proſecution of thoſe two important affairs, the *Agrarian* and *Icilian* Laws, the publication of which had been ſo long poſtponed by the artifices of the *Patricians*. This ſaid, they fixed a day for a new Aſſembly to deliberate and decide upon thoſe matters.

The People being met at the time appointed, *Icilius* began with propoſing the *Agrarian* Law; and, when he had himſelf made a long harangue on the reaſonableneſs of it, notified, that any *Plebeian* preſent might ſpeak his mind freely. Upon this ſeveral ſtood forth ſucceſſively, pleaded the right their ſervices gave them to a ſhare of the conquered lands, and were all heard with pleaſure. But nothing ſo much quickened the zeal of the Aſſembly in behalf of the Law, as the diſcourſe of * *Sicinius Dentatus*, a *Plebeian*, who had ſerv'd long, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his exploits in the Wars. He was a man of a noble aſpect, and, tho' now 58 years of age, in his full ſtrength of body as well as mind. With a ſoldierly eloquence he ſpoke to this effect: "It is now forty years "that I have born arms, and for the thirty laſt I have been always in "ſome command or other. I have been in a hundred and twenty "engagements. I have received forty-five wounds and all before, "twelve of them in that ſingle action againſt *Herdonius* the *Sabine*. "Fourteen † civic crowns I obtained for having ſaved the lives of ſo "many who in ſome little ſkirmiſh had killed an enemy, engaging him hand to hand. They were reckoned very honourable gifts, and the Gods are commonly repreſented with ſuch ſpears, on the old coins. Mr. *Walker* derives hence the cuſtom of our great Officers carrying white rods or ſtaves, as enſigns of their places.

* *Siccius* according to *Livy*.

† Of the military rewards in uſe among the *Romans*, Mr. *Kennet* [Part 2. Book 4. Chap. 16.] ſpeaks thus:

The encouragements of valour and induſtry were much more conſiderable than the proceedings againſt the contrary vices. The moſt conſiderable (not to ſpeak of the promotion from one ſtation to another, nor of the occaſional *donatives* in money, diſtinguiſhed by this name from the largeſſes beſtowed on the common people, and termed *Congiaria*) were firſt the *dona imperatoria*, ſuch as

The *haſta pura*, a fine ſpear of wood without any iron on it; ſuch a one as *Virgil* has given *Sylvius* in the ſixth of the *Æneids*.

Ille, videſ? puræ juvenis qui nititur haſtæ.

This preſent was uſually beſtowed on him,

The *armillæ*, a ſort of bracelets, given upon account of ſome eminent ſervice, only to ſuch as were born *Romans*.

The *torques*, golden and ſilver collars, wreathed with curious art and beauty. *Pliny* attributes the golden collars to the auxiliaries, and the ſilver to the *Roman* ſoldiers; but this is ſuppoſed to be a miſtake.

The *phaleræ*, commonly thought to be a ſuit of rich trappings for a horſe; but becauſe we find them beſtow'd on the foot as well as the cavalry, we may rather ſuppoſe them

" many Citizens in battle; three mural crowns for having been the firſt " that mounted the breach in towns taken by aſſault; one obſidional " crown; eight other crowns for different exploits; eighty-three golden " collars, ſixty golden bracelets, eighteen lances (*haſtæ puræ*), twenty-

A. of R. 298. Bef. C. 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

them to have been golden chains, of like nature with the *torques*, only that they ſeem to have hung down to the breaſt; whereas the others only went round the neck. The hopes of theſe two laſt are particularly urged, among the advantages of a military life by *Juvenal*, *Sat.* xvi. 60.

Ut læti phaleris ſimus, & torquibus emmes.

The *vexilla*, a ſort of banners of different colours, worked in ſilk or other curious materials, ſuch as *Auguſtus* beſtowed on *Agrippa*, after he had won the ſea-fight at *Actium*.

Next to theſe were the ſeveral coronets, received on various occaſions. As,

Corona civica, given to any ſoldier who had ſaved the life of a *Roman* citizen in an engagement. This was reckoned more honourable than any other crown, tho' compoſed of no better materials than oaken boughs. *Virgil* calls it *civilis quercus*, *Æn.* vi. 772.

Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.

Plutarch has gueſs'd very happily at the reaſon why the branches of this tree ſhould be made uſe of before all others. For the oaken wreath, ſays he, being otherwiſe ſacred to *Jupiter*, the great guardian of their city, they might therefore think it the moſt proper ornament for him who had preſerved a citizen. Beſides, the oak may very well claim the preference in this caſe, becauſe in the primitive times, that tree alone was thought almoſt ſufficient for the preſerving of man's life: Its acorns were the principal diet of the old mortals, and the honey which was commonly found there, preſented them with a very pleaſant * liquor.

It was a particular honour conferr'd on the perſons who had merited this crown, that when they came to any of the publick ſhows, the whole company, as well Senate as People, ſhould ſignify their reſpect, by riſing up when they ſaw them enter; and that they ſhould take their ſeat on theſe occaſions among the Senators; being alſo excuſed from all troubleſome duties and ſervices in their own perſons, and procuring the ſame immunity for their father and grandfather by his † ſide.

Corona muralis, given to him who firſt ſcaled the walls of a city in a general aſſault; and therefore in the ſhape of it there was ſome alluſion made to the figure of a wall.

Corona caſtrenſis, or *vallaris*, the reward of him who had firſt forced the enemies intrenchments.

Corona navalis, beſtowed on ſuch as had ſignalized their valour in an engagement at ſea; being ſet round with figures like the beaks of ſhips.

——*Cui belli inſigne ſuperbum*
Tempora navali fulgent roſtrata Corona.
Virg. Æn. viii. 684.

Lipſius fancies the *corona navalis*, and the *roſtrata*, to have been two diſtinct Species, though they are generally believed to be the ſame kind of crown.

Corona obſidionalis: This was not, like the reſt, given by the General to the ſoldiers, but preſented by the common conſent of the ſoldiers to the General, when he had delivered the *Romans* or their allies from a ſiege. It was compoſed of the graſs growing in the beſieged place.

Corona triumphalis, made with wreaths of lawrel, and proper only to ſuch Generals as had the honour of a triumph. In after-ages this was changed for ‡ gold, and not only reſtrained to thoſe that actually triumphed, but preſented on ſeveral other accounts, as commonly by the foreign ſtates and provinces to their patrons and benefactors. Several of the other crowns too are thought to have been of gold, as the *caſtrenſis*, the *mural*, and the *naval*.

Beſides theſe, we meet with the *corona aurea*, often beſtowed on ſoldiers without any other additional term. And *Dion Caſſius* mentions a particular ſort of coronet made of olive boughs, and beſtowed, like the reſt, in conſideration of ſome ſignal act of valour. *Lipſius* believes theſe to have ſucceeded in the room of the golden crowns after they were laid aſide.

* Vide *Plutarch* in *Coriolano*. † Vide *Plin.* lib. 16. cap. 4. ‡ *Aurum Coronarium*.

Y. of R. 298. Bef. J.C. 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

"five ſets of furniture for horſes, nine of which I won from ſo many "enemies conquered in ſingle combat.——And now, *Romans*, you know "my ſervices, and you have heard what have been the rewards of them, "rewards that ſufficiently prove my courage, but make little addition "to my fortune. No land, no ſhare in the conquered countries. Nei- "ther *Sicinius*, nor any of you *Plebeians*, the companions of my la- "bours and my glory, are to reap the leaſt benefit from thoſe acquiſi- "tions. The *Patricians*, it ſeems, by their noble birth, have an inhe- "rent right to all the public demeſnes. No matter whether they have "any merit or not. But is this to be endured? Shall they alone enjoy "the fruits of our conqueſts? The purchaſe of our blood? No, *Plebei- "ans*, let us delay no longer to do ourſelves juſtice. Without ſo much "as hearing what the uſurpers have to ſay againſt it, let us this very "day paſs the Law propoſed by *Icilius*. If the young *Patricians* have "the Boldneſs to oppoſe by violence the collecting of the votes, let our "Tribunes make them feel what is the extent of their Authority."

Sicinius having thus cloſed, *Icilius* highly commended both the ſpeaker and his ſpeech, yet added, that in one thing he muſt differ from him; for that the People could neither in juſtice nor in prudence refuſe to hear what the *Patricians* had to ſay againſt the Law; and ſo he adjourned the Aſſembly to the day following.

§. IV. THE Conſuls during great part of the night held conference with the chief men of the Senate, on meaſures to fruſtrate the deſigns of the Tribune. No expedient offered itſelf, but the old method; which was, forcibly to hinder the People from proceeding to vote.

The next morning, the Aſſembly being formed, the Tribunes cauſed proclamation to be made, that whoever had any ſolid reaſons to offer againſt the Law, might, if they pleaſed, lay them before the People. Divers Senators preſented themſelves one after another; but the moment they began to ſpeak, ſuch a noiſe aroſe from all parts of the *Comitium*, ſome applauding, others hooting, as made it impoſſible to hear what was ſaid. The Conſuls, full of indignation, proteſted warmly againſt all that ſhould be done in ſo tumultuous an Aſſembly: To which the Tribunes anſwered, that it was no wonder the People ſhould be tired with hearing the ſame trite and frivolous objections ſo often repeated. When a great part of the day had been ſpent in ſuch altercations, the Multitude quite weary of them, called out, *To the Vote*. In that inſtant the *Patricians*, who, in ſmall companies, had poſted themſelves in almoſt all parts of the *Comitium*, fell all at once upon the *Plebeians*, and by blows and main force hindered them from gathering into their reſpective tribes. The Tribunes exclaim, break through the preſs, haſten to aſſiſt the *Plebeians*, and rectify the diſorder. Vain are their efforts; their own ſacred perſons are ſuffered ſafely to paſs whitherſoever they pleaſe; but, their followers being ſtopped by the *Patricians*, they can do nothing, their meaſures are diſconcerted, they are forced to retire.

They

They convened the People again the next Day, and made their complaints. Moſt of the young *Patricians* had been concerned in raiſing the tumult; but as it was impracticable to puniſh all the guilty, only the youth of the *Poſthumian*, *Sempronian*, and *Clelian* families were ſingled out for proſecution; and cited to appear before an *Aſſembly of the People*. V. of *R.* 298. Bef. *J. C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 10.

The beſt heads in the Senate having conſulted together on this occaſion, and knowing that the Tribunes had determined to inflict no ſeverer puniſhment on the criminals than the confiſcation of their effects, thought it adviſable to acquieſce, not only becauſe they could eaſily repair the loſs to the ſufferers, but becauſe they hoped that the multitude, ſatisfied with this revenge, would drop their purſuit of the Law. When the day came for the trial, the perſons accuſed not appearing were condemned for default; their goods were afterwards ſold publickly, and the produce conſecrated to *Ceres*. The Senate cauſed thoſe goods to be bought up with their money by private Hands, and ſhortly after reſtored them to the former Proprietors.

§. V. IT was not very long before the Tribunes brought on again the affair of the Law for a *Partition of the Lands*. But their proceedings were now interrupted by ſudden advice, that the *Æqui* had invaded the territory of *Tuſculum*, and threatened the Town. The Senate without delay ordered an army to the relief of thoſe dear Allies, the *Tuſculans*; nor could the Tribunes divert the *Plebeians* from offering themſelves to ſerve in this war. Even *Sicinius Dentatus*, that zealous advocate for the *Agrarian Law*, preſented himſelf a voluntier with 800 veterans, who, like himſelf, had compleated the years of ſervice preſcribed by Law, but yet were willing to make another campaign under the particular command of *Sicinius*, to whom they had, moſt of them, perſonal obligations.

The army marched from *Rome*, and advanced towards the * *Algidus*, the uſual haunt of the *Æqui*, and whither they had retired on the news of the Conſuls approach. Theſe Generals having found the enemy intrenched on the hill, pitched their camp not far from them, fortified it well, and kept cloſe within it, to conceal their ſtrength, which was very conſiderable. The *Æqui* took theſe precautions for a ſign of fear, and imagining the number of the *Romans* to be ſmall, made ſeveral attempts to bring them to an engagement. One day when *Romilius* commanded in chief, and the *Æqui* deſcending from their hill offered him battle, he reſolved to accept the challenge. With this view he ſent for *Sicinius Dentatus*, and ſaid to him, "My Collegue and I intend to march "againſt the enemy in the plain, and in the mean time I would have "you, with the cohort under your command, aſcend by yon narrow "winding way to the top of the hill, and attack their entrenchments. "They have undoubtedly left but a weak garriſon there, and your brave

* According to *Dionyſius* the ſcene of action was near the city of *Aricia*. But there is probably an error in the Copy; it ſhould be the city of *Algidum*, which ſtood upon mount *Algidus*. *Livy* ſays the *Æqui* were poſted on the *Algidus*; and this was in the neighbourhood of the *Tuſculum*.

Y. of *R.* 298, Bef. *J.C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

"veterans will eaſily make themſelves maſters of the camp. If the "*Æqui* here below, to preſerve it, quit the plain, we ſhall then fall up- "on their rear, and their deſtruction will be inevitable." *Sicinius* an- ſwered, "I am always ready to obey orders. But give me leave to ſay, "that the execution of what you now command is not ſo eaſy as you "ſeem to imagine it. The hill is very high and ſteep, and I ſee but "one way up to it. We ſhall no ſooner be engaged in that narrow "paſs, but the enemy will infallibly pour down upon us; and how "ſhall I be able, with my body of veterans alone, to ſuſtain their charge "from the higher ground? You are willing to ſuppoſe that the guard of "the camp is weak. There is no probability of this; and, even granting "it certain, their very ſituation alone gives them ſuch an advantage "over us, that we ſhall never be able to force them.

Sicinius was going on with his remonſtrance, when the Conſul in great anger cut him ſhort; bidding him, not pretend to act the General, but remember his only buſineſs was to obey. He added, "but if you think "there is too much danger in the enterprize, I ſhall employ ſome other "Officer, who, leſs conceited of his own abilities, may ſucceed better. "And you, mighty Captain, you that have followed the wars forty years, "that have been in an hundred and twenty battles, and whoſe whole "body is covered over with wounds, do you return to *Rome* without "having dared to face the enemy, and carry back to the *Forum* that elo- "quent tongue, which is more formidable to your fellow-citizens, than "your ſword is to the *Æqui*, and the enemies of your country."

Sicinius irritated by the General's reproaches, anſwered him boldly, that he found he was reſolved either to deſtroy an old ſoldier, or to ſhame him, and for no other reaſon but his honeſt zeal for the public liberty; but that one was much eaſier to do than the other; that he would march up to the enemy's camp, and win it, or fall in the attempt with all his cohort. Theſe veterans then took their leave of the reſt of the ſoldiers, who looked after them, with weeping eyes, as after men ſent to the ſlaughter. Happily for them they were under the conduct of an old Of- ficer who underſtood his trade. *Sicinius* went round about a tedious way, and at length entered a great wood that ſeemed to ſtretch along the hills quite to the enemy's camp. Here having halted a moment, "Cheer up, my lads; either I am much miſtaken, or I ſhall find "ſome path that will lead us more ſafely to the enemy's camp than "that which our General pointed out, and by which we could not "have approached it without being ſeen." He then continued his march, and ſoon after met with a peaſant, who ſerving him for a guide, conducted him at length to an eminence that overlooked the camp, and was not far from it.

During this march the two armies came to an engagement in the plain. They fought a great while with equal courage, and victory did not declare for either ſide. The ſoldiers in the camp of the *Æqui*, not apprehending any danger from behind, were all got to the ſide next the

plain to see the fight. In this juncture *Sicinius* arrived on the other side, and finding it without Centinels, and quite defenceless, entered the camp at once. Then the veterans giving a loud shout fell upon the *Æqui*, whose eyes were turned another way. The sudden fright which seized the latter made them imagine their enemies to be much more numerous than they were; so that without staying to gather up their arms, all that could fled out of the camp, and ran precipitately down to the main body of their army, carrying fear and confusion along with them. *Sicinius* followed them close, and came thundering upon the rear of that main body, engaged in battle with the *Roman* army. The *Æqui* broken and put to flight, lost 7000 men, the Consuls not giving over the pursuit 'till night.

As soon as it was dark, and the action quite over, *Sicinius* retired with his veterans to the camp he had before taken. He had not lost one man, nor of the whole number was there one who had received a wound. With mutual embraces they congratulated each other on their good fortune, and all joined in heaping praises on their commander. About midnight *Sicinius*, full of resentment against the Consuls, formed a resolution to hinder them, if possible, from having the honours of a triumph, at their return to *Rome*. His companions, to whom he imparted his design, having unanimously approved it, they cut the Throats of the prisoners, killed the horses, set fire to the tents, the arms, and all the baggage, (including the rich plunder which the *Æqui* had got in the territory of *Tusculum*) leaving none of those marks of victory which were required from a General when he demanded the TRIUMPH. He then marched away with extreme diligence, arrived at *Rome* with his cohort, and there gave an account to the People of what had passed, complaining of the inhumanity of the Consuls, who, he said, had maliciously exposed eight hundred veterans to death, in all likelihood, unavoidable, and claiming the whole honour of the victory to himself and his cohort. Not only the People, but the Senate entered with warmth into his resentments, and absolutely refused the Consuls a triumph at their return *.

Y. of R. 299 / Bef. J. C. 454 / 55 Consulship.

* The reader will give what credit he pleases to this account from *Dionysius*, of what passed in the Consulship of *Romilius* and *Veturius*. *Livy* makes no mention of the disputes about the *Agrarian Laws*, or of *Sicinius*'s notable speech, or of the decree against the three *Patricians*, or of *Sicinius*'s exploit in the war against the *Æqui*. All that the *Latin* Historian says of the events of this year, is to the following effect; That the ten Tribunes revived the affair of the Bill [for an establishment of Laws.] That their pursuit of it was interrupted by news from the *Tusculans*, of the *Æqui* having invaded their territory; That the *Romans*, could not refuse [illegible] And [illegible] assistance to such affectionate allies; That the Consuls defeated the enemy in battle near the *Algidus*, slew 7000 of them, and got a great booty, which they sold, because [illegible] in the treasury; That this angered the soldiers, and furnished the Tribunes with matter for accusing the Consuls. [illegible] observes, that the learned, and Glarean in particular, have charged Livy with a faulty negligence, in taking [illegible] about the AGRARIAN LAWS, Sicinius's speech, and the condemnation of the three families.

As to the *Agrarian Laws*, it seems not improbable that the Tribunes at this time brought it again into agitation in order to terrify

V. of R. 299. Bef. J.C. 453. 56 Consulship.

And they had no sooner resigned the Fasces (to Sp. *Tarpeius* and A. *Aterpius*) but they were cited to appear before an Assembly of the People on a day fixed. *Sicinius* (whom the People had raised to the Tribuneship) charged *Romilius*; one of the Ediles charged *Veturius*. The accusations † ran upon certain insults, which, during their Consulship, they had offered to the Tribunes; and upon the affair of *Sicinius* and his veterans; and the People fined them both, *Romilius* in ten thousand *Asses*, and *Veturius* in fifteen thousand. History does not inform us of the reason of the difference which the People made in their fines: It was perhaps because *Veturius* had the greater hand in the ill treatment of *Icilius*'s apparitor. What favours this conjecture is, that at the same time a Law passed, with the consent of both orders in the State, That any Magistrate should have power to lay fines upon such persons as failed of due respect to his dignity: A prerogative reserved before to the Consuls only. But, to prevent any particular Magistrate from abusing and stretching his authority in this point, it was provided by the same Law, that the highest fines for such offences should never exceed the value of two oxen and thirty sheep.

Vertot.

terrify the Nobles, and thereby facilitate the passing of *Terentius*'s Bill concerning Laws. And perhaps it was this alarm which occasioned the Senate's so readily consenting presently after to let *Terentius*'s proposal take place as to the substance of it. For this sudden compliance is not well accounted for by the Historians. These seems to have been a compromise. Cease your pursuit of the *Partition of the Lands*, and you shall have a Body of Laws established.

But as to *Sicinius*'s Speech, the Writers who are most fond of it, do themselves, by their disagreement, furnish reasons to doubt. *Dionysius*, as we have seen, gives this hero 25 sets of furniture, for so many victories in single combats. *Pliny* B. 7. *Val. Max.* B. 3. and *Solinus* c. 6. allow him only 8. But then, to make him amends (as Father *Rouillé* observes) *Val. Max.* gives him 180 collars instead of only 80, and *Pliny* above 160 bracelets, instead of only 60.

The Reason why *Livy* says nothing of *Sicinius*'s exploits in the war which *Veturius* and *Romilius* conducted against the *Æqui*, is evident: He did not believe one word of it. What he relates is contradictory to *Dionysius*'s account. For according to the *Latine* Historian, the Consuls sold all the plentiful spoil of the enemy, and sent the produce to the Treasury; whereas according to the *Greek* Historian, *Sicinius* burnt and destroyed every thing, to the end that the Consuls, having no marks of victory to shew, might be refused a Triumph.

If one considers the singular negligence of the Consuls after the victory, with regard to the enemy's camp, which contained such a rich booty; the monstrous breaches of discipline imputed to that old soldier *Sicinius*; the injustice which, in burning the spoil, he is guilty of towards the Consuls troops, who expected to share it among them, and with whom he was in terms of affection; and lastly the Senate's approving all this conduct, and taking part with him against the Consuls: I say, if one considers these things, it may incline one to believe, that *Dionysius* borrowed his account from some Memoirs as authentic as the History of *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*.

† When *Livy* (B. 3. c. 31.) tells us, that the Consuls by *selling the booty for the use of the Treasury* [instead of giving it to the soldiers] *furnished the Tribunes with matter for accusing them to the Plebeians*, he probably means no more, but that the Tribunes took advantage of the anger which this proceeding raised in the minds of the soldiers, to forward a prosecution of the Consuls on another accusation, namely their violence in the dispute about the Law.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

§. I. *The Senate and People agree to send Deputies to* Athens *to copy out the Laws of* Solon *and of the other Lawgivers of* Greece, *in order to form thereby a body of* Roman *Law.* §. II. *In the Conſulate of* P. Seſtius *and* T. Menenius, *the Deputies return from* Greece. *The People preſs the nomination of ten Commiſſioners or* Decemvirs, *who are to compile the new Laws. The Conſuls, to avoid proceeding in this affair, have recourſe to various pretences. It is carried in the Senate by a majority, to create* Decemvirs; *and the* Tribunes, *after ſome ſtruggle, conſent to let them be all* Patricians. §. III. *The election is made in* Comitia *by* Centuries. *The* Decemvirs *compoſe* Ten Tables of Laws, *which are approved by the whole* Roman *People.*

§. I. THE Law before mentioned, concerning fines for diſreſpect to Magiſtrates, had (according to *Dionyſius*) been propoſed by the preſent Conſuls, *Tarpeius* and *Æternius*, to make their court to the People. For theſe Conſuls were * *terrified* by the ill treatment of their predeceſſors, whoſe cauſe the Senate had but weakly defended, after giving them encouragement to hope an effectual Protection. And by the ſame *terror* they were induced to ſide with the Tribunes in the project for an eſtabliſhment of Laws, and move it in the Senate. The houſe was now divided in opinion, and to the great ſurprize of every body, *Romilius*, whom the People had ſo lately fined, declared for granting to the People the Laws they ſo much deſired. He aſſigned for the reaſon of his change, the experienced want of reſolution in the Senate, to ſupport the Conſuls in their oppoſition to the Tribunes. And as to forming a body of Laws, he adviſed the *Fathers* to ſend Deputies into *Greece*, who ſhould copy the celebrated Laws of *Solon* at *Athens*, and likewiſe inform themſelves of the Laws and Cuſtoms of the other *Grecian* States; after whoſe return the Conſuls and Senate ſhould appoint Commiſſioners to make choice of ſuch of the *Grecian* Laws as were moſt ſuitable to the preſent conſtitution of the *Roman* Republic.

Y. of *R.* 299. Bef. *J.C.* 453. 56 Conſulſhip.

This advice of *Romilius* both prevailed in the Senate, and pleaſed the People. That the Tribunes, then dropping their Bill, and aſſuming a milder manner than hitherto, deſired of *the Fathers*, "that they "would put an end to contention, and at "laſt ſuffer Legiſlators to be "created, partly out of the Nobles, partly out of the Commons, for eſtabliſhing Laws of equality in point of Liberty." That the Senate expreſſed no diſlike to the ſubſtance of the propoſal, and objected only to the admiſſion of *Plebeians* into the number of the Legiſlators: and that, after ſome ſtruggle, the Tribunes yielded this point. Liv. l. 3. c. 31.

* Liv. on the contrary, repreſents Terentius and Æternius as not intimidated in the leaſt by the misfortune of their predeceſſors, but boldly ſaying, *The Commons and their Tribunes may ſue as they pleaſe, if they pleaſe, they ſhall not prevail to get their Bill paſſed.* That the Tribunes, then dropping their Bill, and aſſuming a milder manner than hitherto, deſired of *the Fathers*, "that they "would put an end to contention, and at "laſt ſuffer Legiſlators to be "created, partly out of the Nobles, partly out of the Commons, for eſtabliſhing Laws of equality in point of Liberty." That the Senate expreſſed no diſlike to the ſubſtance of the propoſal, and objected only to the admiſſion of *Plebeians* into the number of the Legiſlators: and that, after ſome ſtruggle, the Tribunes yielded this point. Liv. l. 3. c. 31.

Y. of R. 299. Bef. J. C. 453. 56 Conſulſhip.

the People. *Sicinius*, his late enemy, proteſted, that for the future he ſhould ever be his friend. Nay he went further, and in the name of the People remitted him the fine he had been condemned to pay. But as the money had been conſecrated to *Ceres*, *Romilius* rejected this favour, as thinking he could not accept it without ſacrilege.

A Decree conformable to *Romilius*'s propoſal being paſſed by the Senate, and confirmed by the People, *Sp. Poſthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *S. Sulpitius* were ſoon after commiſſioned and ſent away to make the collection of *Grecian* Laws. No foreign enemies diſturbed the State this year.

Y. of R. 300. Bef. J. C. 452. 57 Conſulſhip.

Nor in the following Conſulſhip of *P. Horatius* and *Sextus Quintilius*, was there either war abroad, or contention at home: but the Plague afflicted almoſt all *Italy*. The Conſul *Quintilius*, four Tribunes of the People, and great Numbers of citizens of all ranks and conditions died of it. The People, to avoid it, diſperſed themſelves about the Country. *Rome* in this general deſolation became a deſert, and ſome ſurprize was to be feared from the *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, and the *Sabines*. But the peſtilence raging among them too with the ſame fury, their calamity ſerved inſtead of ſtrength and defence to the Republic.

Y. of R. 301. Bef. J. C. 451. 58 Conſulſhip.

§. II. THE next year, in the Conſulſhip of *P. Seſtius* and *T. Menenius*, the plague ceaſed; and the Ambaſſadors, who had been ſent into *Greece*, returned to *Rome*. Preſently the Tribunes became very urgent for a nomination of Legiſlators to enter on the great work. The Conſuls, unwilling to have their Magiſtracy the Epoch of an innovation ſo diſadvantageous to the Nobles, put off the buſineſs under various pretences. At firſt, they alledged in excuſe of the delay, that the affair in queſtion being to be ſettled in the Conſulſhip of their ſucceſſors, nothing ought to be done in it, till thoſe ſucceſſors were appointed, nor indeed without their participation. To this the Tribunes made no objection; but it is probable, that their impatience haſtened the meeting of the Centuries; for theſe were aſſembled before the uſual time. They named *Appius Claudius* (grandſon of the firſt of that name) and *T. Genucius* to the Conſulſhip. After this election, *Menenius*, to get rid of the importunity of the Tribunes, pretended ſickneſs and ſtaid at home. And as for *Seſtius*, he excuſed himſelf by ſaying, that it would not be decent for him to act in ſo great an affair, without his Collegue; and he referred them to the Conſuls elect. To theſe the Tribunes applied themſelves, and by much ſollicitation and fine promiſes entirely gained them. *Appius* in an Aſſembly of the People, to which he went at the deſire of the Tribunes, made a ſpeech upon the reaſonableneſs of eſtabliſhing Laws equally favourable to all; an eſtabliſhment which, he ſaid, would put an end to the contention between the two parties, and make *Rome*, which had been ſo long divided, as it were, into two States, become one Commonwealth. He added, that if the election of himſelf and his Collegue to the Conſulſhip ſhould be offered by any perſon as an objection to the immediate appointment of Legiſlators, they were both ready (provided the Senate approved it,) to relinquiſh their pretenſions to that dignity.

Livy, B. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 10.

When

When the People had firſt beſtowed the higheſt praiſe on thoſe two *Patricians* for their diſintereſted virtue, they ran in crouds to the Senate-Houſe. *Minucius* being ſtill ſick, or pretending to be ſo, *Seſtius* alone (whom perhaps the Tribunes had gained by a promiſe to make him one of the Legiſlators) convened the Fathers, and propoſed the buſineſs. After ſome oppoſition from the warm advocates for all old cuſtoms, the opinion of the Conſuls elect prevailed; and at the motion of *Appius*, it was agreed, That ten perſons, to be choſen out of the body of the Senate, ſhould for one year, commencing from the day of their nomination, be inveſted, for the government of the State, with an authority from which there ſhould lie no appeal; and that the *Conſular*, the *Tribunician* *, and all the other Magiſtracies ſhould be ſuppreſſed during that ſpace of time. Y. of *R.* 301. Bef. *J. C.* 451. 58 Conſulſhip.

Theſe Decemvirs were to draw up a Body of Laws extracted from thoſe of *Greece*, and then communicate the Work to the Senate and People for their approbation and confirmation.

The Tribunes contended a while, for the admiſſion of ſome *Plebeians* into the number of the Legiſlators, but at length yielded this point, on condition, that the Decemvirs ſhould not abrogate the *Icilian Law* [relating to Mount *Aventine*] nor the Laws regarding the functions and privileges of the Tribunes. *Livy* B. 3. c. 32.

§. III. SHORTLY after, a ſolemn Aſſembly was held of the whole *Roman* People convened by Centuries, and when the auſpices had been taken, and the other ceremonies of religion performed, they proceeded to the election of the Decemvirs. *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius* were the firſt named; it was thought they deſerved this honourable preference for the generous abdication they made of the Conſulſhip: then *L. Seſtius*, the Conſul who had brought this matter before the Senate againſt his Collegue's will: *Sp. Poſthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, the three Deputies who had been ſent into *Greece*; *T. Romilius*, who had propoſed that deputation; and to theſe were added *C. Julius*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all Conſulars, and men of diſtinction, but too old, as ſome ſay, to oppoſe with reſolution the ſentiments of their Collegues. *Appius*, by the favour he had acquired with the People, had the modelling of this Magiſtracy. Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J. C.* 450. 59 Conſulſhip. c. 33.

The DECEMVIRS agreed among themſelves that only one of them at a time ſhould have the faſces, aſſemble the Senate, confirm Decrees, and act in all reſpects as ſupreme Magiſtrate. To this honour they were to ſucceed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then reſigning it to another; and while one had the badges of ſovereign power, the other nine differed not, in their appearance, from private perſons, excepting

* This is the firſt inſtance of ſuſpending the Tribuneſhip. The functions of the Tribunes had hitherto been always preſerved, even under the Dictators, and when all other Magiſtracies ceaſed. The reaſon was, that the Tribunes were not properly Magiſtrates, but only Protectors of the People againſt any oppreſſions by the Magiſtrates. *Plut. Quæſt. Rom. p.* 283.

Y. of R. 302. Bef. J.C. 450. 1 Decemvirate

that each of them was attended by an officer called *Accensus*, who walked before him.

They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their Tribunal in the *Forum*, to diſpenſe juſtice, which they did with ſo much impartiality, that the People, charmed with their conduct, ſeemed to have forgot their Tribunes. Moſt of them pray'd to the Gods for the continuance of a Government ſo full of moderation; nay, there were many *Plebeians* who declared, that inſtead of reſtoring the Conſulate and Tribunate, the beſt thing they could do, would be to find ways to make the Decemvirate perpetual.

The People looked upon themſelves as chiefly indebted to *Appius* for the preſent felicity they enjoy'd. And indeed by the good underſtanding he lived in with his Collegues, and by his affable behaviour to the People, he acquired univerſally the reputation of ſuperior merit. From being an auſtere *Patrician* who croſſed the *Plebeians* in all their pretenſions, he was changed to a very *Popicola*: No body ſo gracious and condeſcending as *Appius*: He could call the Citizens he met by their Names. He ſaluted even the meaneſt of the populace, giving them all aſſurances of his good will and concern for their intereſts.

The Decemvirs applied themſelves diligently this whole year to their work, which when compleated, they expoſed in TEN TABLES, fixed up in the *Forum*; and then with great modeſty repreſented to the People aſſembled, "* that they did not know they had omitted any "thing neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of that equality which ought to "be among the members of a free Republic. That nevertheleſs they "would have their fellow-citizens examine the performance carefully, "and declare freely what they conceived ought to be retrenched or add-"ed; to the intent that the *Roman* People might, for the future, live un-"der Laws which they might be ſaid to have *propoſed* as well as "*enacted*." The Decemvirs for ſome time ſat daily in the *Forum* to receive remonſtrances; and whoever had any thing to object againſt the Laws was readily heard. And when all neceſſary corrections and amendments had been made, and the People in general ſeemed to be well ſatisfied, the TEN TABLES were carried before the Senate, and there approved by an expreſs Decree. Soon after which, the Decemvirs convened an *Aſſembly of the Centuries*, where the LAWS, being firſt read over, were confirmed by the unanimous voices of the whole ROMAN PEOPLE.

D.Hal. B. 10. c. 57.

Plin. B. 34. Cap. 5. Strabo B. 14.

* It is ſaid that the Laws of *Crete* were explained to the Decemvirs by one *Hermodorus* of *Epheſus*, who happened to be at *Rome*; and that *Heraclitus* the friend of *Hermodorus* wrote him a congratulatory letter on the ſame account, in drawing up the *Roman* Laws, telling him, that in a dream he had ſeen all the nations of the earth bowing down before theſe Laws, and worſhipping them in the *Perſian* manner.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Fragments of the TEN TABLES of Laws beforemention'd, as they have been collected and digested by the learned Jesuits *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, and also of the TWO TABLES of Laws soon after added to the TEN.

TABLE I.

Of Law-Suits.

I. Law. *Go immediately with the person who cites you before the Judge.*

II. Law. *If the person you cite refuses to go with you before the Judge, take some that are present to be witnesses of it, and you shall have a right to compel him to appear.*

III. Law. *If the person cited endeavours to escape from you, or puts himself into a posture of resistance, you may seize his body.*

IV. Law. *If the person prosecuted be old, or infirm, let him be carried in a* Jumentum, *or open carriage. But if he refuse that, the prosecuter shall not be obliged to provide him an* Arcera, *or a covered carriage.*

V. Law. *But if the person cited find a surety, let him go.*[1]

VI. Law. *Only a rich man shall be security for a rich man. But any security shall be sufficient for a poor man.*

VII. Law. *The judge shall give judgment according to the agreement made between the two parties, by the way.*

VIII. Law. *If the person cited has made no agreement with his adversary, let the* Prætor *hear the cause from sun-rising till noon; and let both parties be present when it is heard, whether it be in the* Forum, *or* Comitium.

IX. Law. *Let the same* Prætor *give judgment in the afternoon, though but one of the parties be present.*

X. Law. *Let no judgments be given after the going down of the sun.*

XI. Law. *When the parties have pitched upon a judge or arbitrator by consent, let them give securities, that they will appear. Let him who does not appear in court pay the penalty agreed upon, unless he was hindered by some great fit of sickness, or by the performance of some vow, or by business of state, or by some indispensible engagement with a foreigner. If any one of these impediments happen to the judge or arbitrator, or either of the parties, let the hearing be put off to another day.*

XII. Law. *Whoever shall not be able to bring any witnesses to prove his pretensions*

Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J.C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

[1] The plaintiff was often disappointed of his demand upon the defendant, and the prosecution declared null, for want of witnesses. In order to remove this inconvenience, the

Y. of R. 302. Bef. J.C. 450. 1 Decemvirate

pretenſions before the Judge, may go and make a clamour for three days together, before his adverſary's houſe.

TABLE II.

Of ROBBERIES.

I. LAW. *He that is attacked by a robber in the night, let him not be puniſhed if he kills him.*

II. LAW. *If the robbery be committed by day, and if the robber be taken in the fact, let him be beaten with rods, and become the ſlave of him whom he robbed. If the robber be a ſlave already, let him be beaten with rods, and thrown down headlong from the top of the capitol. If he be a child, under the age of* puberty, *let him be corrected, according to the* Prætor's *diſcretion, and let reparation be made to the injured party.*

III. LAW. *When robbers attack any perſon with arms, if the perſon attacked has cried out for help, he ſhall not be puniſhed if he kill the robbers.*

IV. LAW. *When upon a legal ſearch, any ſtolen goods are found in a houſe, the robbery ſhall be puniſhed upon the ſpot, as if openly and publickly committed.*

V. LAW. *For robberies committed privately, the robber ſhall be condemned to pay double the value of the things ſtolen.*

VI. LAW. *Whoſoever ſhall cut down trees, which don't belong to him, he ſhall pay* 25 Aſſes *of braſs, for every tree ſo felled.*

VII. LAW. *If any one comes privately, by night, and treads down another man's field of corn, or reaps his harveſt, let him be hanged up, and put to death, as a victim devoted to* Ceres. *But if he be a child, under the age of* puberty, *let the* Prætor *order him to be corrected as he ſhall think fit, or let double ſatisfaction be made for the damage he has done.*

Decemviri made a Law, which gave the perſon injured leave to go to the door of his houſe whom he intended to proſecute; to repeat the ſubject of his complaint with a loud voice; and even to have recourſe to invectives if there was occaſion: and to continue this for three market-days together, becauſe the country People came then to *Rome*, about their buſineſs. Hence came the cuſtom, which continues to this day, of ſending three ſummons, before judgment is given by default. If after theſe repeated clamours the perſon cited ſtill refuſed to make reſtitution, the plaintiff had a right to call thoſe in the neighbourhood who heard him, as witneſſes, and go in with them, even by force, into his adverſary's houſe, and there ſeize his own goods wherever he found them. The Law was thus expreſſed. CUI TESTIMONIUM DEFUERIT, IS TERTIIS DIEBUS, OBPORTUM, OBVAGULATUM ITO; that is to ſay, *ei, qui teſtimoniis deſtituitur, liceat, tertiis nundinis, reum ante ædes, convitiis & clamoribus appellare.* According to *Feſtus*, *portus* had anciently the ſame ſignification as *domus*, or *ædes*. The word *obvagulatum* is, ſays *Feſtus*, put for *quæſtionem cum convitio*, i. e. *a demand made with great outcries and invectives.* In this ſenſe the *Civiliam* interpret the verb *vagulo*, which they derive from the verb *vagio*.

Turneb. B. 2. *adverſ. cap.* 26. and *Salmaſius Obſerv. adjus Attic. & Ro. cap.* 30. ſtate this Law in a different manner. Their interpretation of it is this. *If the plaintiff cannot produce his witneſſes, let him go to the houſe of him whoſe teſtimony he had a right to expect; and let him require him to bear witneſs for him with great cries, and with injurious reflections, if the witneſs obſtinately perſiſts in the refuſing it.*

VIII.

Y. of R. 302. Bef. J. C. 450. 1 Decemvirate

VIII. LAW. *If a robber and the perſon robbed agree together upon terms of reſtitution, no farther action ſhall lie againſt the robber.*

IX. LAW. *Preſcription ſhall never be pleaded as a right to ſtolen goods, nor ſhall a foreigner have a right to the goods of any* Roman *citizen, by the longeſt poſſeſſion.*

X. LAW. *If any one betrays his truſt, with reſpect to what is depoſited in his hands, let him pay double the value of what was ſo depoſited, to him who entruſted him with it.*

XI. LAW. *If any one finds any of his goods in another man's poſſeſſion, who became poſſeſſed of them by a breach of truſt, let the* Prætor *nominate three arbitrators to judge of it. And let the wrongful poſſeſſor pay double the value of what he has gained by detaining them.*

XII. LAW. *If a ſlave has committed a robbery, or done any damage, with the privity, and at the inſtigation of his maſter, let the maſter deliver up the ſlave to the perſon injured, by way of compenſation.*

TABLE III.

Of LOANS, AND THE RIGHT OF CREDITORS OVER THEIR DEBTORS.

I. LAW. *Let him who takes more than one* per Cent. *intereſt for money, be condemned to pay four times the ſum lent.*

II. LAW. *When any perſon acknowledges a debt, or is condemned to pay it, the creditor ſhall give his debtor thirty days for the payment of it: After which he ſhall cauſe him to be ſeized, and brought before a Judge.*

III. LAW. *If the debtor refuſes to pay his debt, and can find no ſecurity, his creditor may carry him home, and either tie him by the neck, or put irons upon his feet, provided the chain does not weigh above fifteen pounds; but it may be lighter, if he pleaſes.*

IV. LAW. *If the captive debtor will live at his own expence, let him; if not, let him who keeps him in chains allow him a pound of meal a day, or more, if he pleaſes.*

V. LAW. *The creditor may keep his debtor priſoner for ſixty days. If in this time the debtor does not find means to pay him, he that detains him ſhall bring him out before the people three market-days, and proclaim the ſum, of which he has been defrauded.*

VI. LAW. *If the debtor be inſolvent to ſeveral creditors, let his body be cut in pieces on the third market-day. It may be cut into more or fewer pieces with impunity: Or, if his creditors conſent to it, let him be ſold to foreigners beyond the* Tyber.

TABLE IV.

Of the RIGHT of FATHERS of FAMILIES.

I. LAW. *Let a father have the power of life and death over his legitimate children, and let him ſell them when he pleaſes.*

II. LAW.

II. Law. *But if a father has sold his son three times, let the son then be out of his father's power.*

III. Law. *If a father has a child born, which is monstrously deformed, let him kill him immediately.*

IV. Law. *Let not a son, whose father has so far neglected his education as not to teach him a trade, be obliged to maintain his father in want; otherwise let all sons be obliged to relieve their fathers.*

V. Law. *Let not a baſtard be obliged to work to maintain his father.*

TABLE V.

Of Inheritances and Guardianships.

I. Law. *After the Death of a father of a family, let the diſpoſition he made of his eſtate, and his appointment concerning the guardianſhip of his children, be obſerved.*

II. Law. *If he dies inteſtate, and has no children to ſucceed him, let his neareſt relation be his heir; if he has no near relation, let a man of his own name be his heir.*

III. Law. *When a freed-man dies inteſtate, and without heirs, if his patron be alive, or has left children, let the effects of the freed-man go to the family of his Patron.*

IV. Law. *After the death of a debtor, his debts ſhall be paid by his heirs, in proportion to the ſhare they have in his inheritance. After this they may divide the reſt of his effects, if they pleaſe, and the Prætor ſhall appoint them arbitrators to make the diviſion.*

V. Law. *If a father of a family dies inteſtate, and leaves an heir under age, let the child's neareſt relation be his guardian.*

VI. Law. *If any one becomes mad, or prodigal, and has no body to take care of him, let a relation, or if he has none, a man of his own name, have the care of his perſon and eſtate.*

TABLE VI.

Of Property and Poſſeſſion.

I. Law. *When a man conveys his eſtate to another, let the terms of the conveyance create the right.*

II. Law. *If a ſlave, who was made free on condition of paying a certain ſum, be afterwards ſold, let him be ſet at liberty, if he pay the perſon who has bought him, the ſum agreed upon.*

III. Law. *Let not any piece of merchandize, tho' ſold and delivered, belong to the buyer, till he has paid for it.*

IV. Law. *Let two years poſſeſſion amount to a preſcription for lands, and one for moveables.*

V. Law.

V. Law. *In litigated cases the presumption shall always be on the side of the possessor: And in disputed cases of liberty or slavery, the presumption shall always be on the side of liberty.* Y. of R. 302. Bef. J. C. 450. 1 Decemvirate

TABLE VII.

Of Trespasses and Damages.

I. Law. *If a beast does any damage in a field, let the master of the beast make satisfaction, or give up the beast.*

II. Law. *If you find a rafter of your own timber in another man's house, or a prop in his vineyard, which they are made use of, don't pull down the house, or ruin the vineyard; but make the possessor pay double the value of the thing stolen; and to have the same destroyed, or the pole taken out of the vineyard, then seize what's your own.*

III. Law. *Whoever shall maliciously set fire to another man's house, or an heap of corn near his house, shall be imprisoned, scourged, and burnt to death. If he did it by accident, let him repair the damage. And if he be a poor man, let him be slightly corrected.*

IV. Law. *Whoever shall deprive another of the use of a limb, shall be punished according to the law of retaliation, if the person injured does not agree to accept some other satisfaction.*

V. Law. *If he has only dislocated a bone, let him pay three hundred pounds of brass if the sufferer be a freed-man, and a hundred and fifty if he be a slave.*

VI. Law. *For common blows with the fist, and injurious words, the punishment shall be twenty five Asses of brass.*

VII. Law. *Whoever slanders another by words, or defamatory verses, and injures his reputation, shall be beaten with a club.*

VIII. Law. *Let him who has once been a witness, and refuses to bear witness again, though a public person, be deemed infamous, and made incapable of bearing witness any more.*

IX. Law. *Let every false witness be thrown down headlong from the* Capitol.

X. Law. *Whoever shall wilfully kill a freed-man, or shall make use of magical words to hurt him, or shall have prepared poison for him, or given it to him, shall be punished as an homicide.*

XI. Law. *Let all* Parricides *be thrown into the river, sowed up in a leather-bag, and with their heads veiled.*

XII. Law. *The guardian who manages the affairs of his ward ill, shall be reprimanded; and if he be found to have cheated him, he shall restore double.*

XIII. Law. *A patron who shall have defrauded his client, shall be execrable.*

Of Estates in the Country.

Y. of R. 302.
Bef. J.C. 450
1 Decemvirate

I. Law. *Let the space of two feet be left between one*

II. Law.

III. Law. *If two neighbours*

IV. Law.

V. Law. *If the*

VI. Law.

VII. Law. *Roads shall be eight foot wide, where they are streight, and where they turn, sixteen.*

VIII. Law.

IX. Law.

II. Law.

III. Law. *for a judge or arbitrator to take money for acting.*

IV. Law. *Let all cases*

V. Law.

VI. Law.

VII. Law.

VIII. Law. [i. e. let the last supercede all

TABLE I.

Of Funerals, and old Ceremonies relating to the Dead.

Y. of R. 302. Bef. J.C. 450. 1 Decemvirate

I. Law. [illegible]

II. Law. [illegible]

III. Law. *Let all the [illegible] funerals are held, be cut with a saw.*

IV. Law. *Let the dead body be covered with [illegible] more than three habits, bordered with purple, [illegible] Let no person upon the same be employed in celebrating the obsequies.*

V. Law. *Let not the women tear their faces, or disfigure themselves, or make lamentations over [illegible].*

VI. Law. *Let not any part of a dead body be carried away, in order to perform other obsequies for the deceased, except he died in war, or out of his own country.*

VII. Law. [illegible]

[a] Rogum ascia ne polito, are the *Latin* words of this Law, which seems to have passed from the *Athenians* to the *Romans*. *Solon*, and after him *Phalereus*, forbad the use of [illegible] and the ornaments of sculpture, in the building of sepulchres.

[b] It was a Law established by [illegible], that no more than three robes should be buried or burnt with the corpse; a custom observed among the ancients, to load the funeral-pile, or fill the sepulchre with [illegible] the valuable things the deceased had used in his life-time; agreeable to these lines of *Virgil* in his sixth *Aeneid*,

Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota
Injiciunt.

The latter clause of this Law did not hinder the *Romans* from [illegible] flutes in the funerals of great men.

[c] The *Decemvirs* have given us this law, after *Solon*, B. 2. *de Legib.* thus, HOMINIS MORTUI IN URBE NE SEPELITO, NEVE URITO. HUIUS FACIAS, EXTRAVENTUM AEDES, SEPULCRI CAUSA, HABENTO. SEPULCRUM AEDIFICATO, NEVE ADDITO, NEVE INCOLITO. HUNC SUIS HONORIBUS DEFUNCTUM, NE VIOLATO. NEVE EXIMITO. NEVE ADDITO.

Y. of R. 302, Bef. J.C. 450. 1 Decemvirate

VII. Law. *Let no flowers be embalmed after their death; whether no drinking round a dead body, or let such gilded liquors be poured on it.*

VIII. Law. *Let no crowns, fetters, perfuming pots, or any kind of perfume, be carried to funerals.*

IX. Law. *If the deceased has merited a crown by the public honours, by any exploit of his own, or the approbation of the people, or the favour of horses, let his panegyric be made at his funeral, and let the relations have leave to put a crown upon his head, as well during the solemn days he remains in the house, as when he is carried to be buried.*

X. Law. *Let no man have more than one funeral made for him, nor three one bed put under him.*

XI. Law. *Let no gold be used in any sepultures, unless the jaw of the deceased has been tied up with a gold thread. In that case the corpse may be interred or burnt with the gold thread.*

XII. Law. *For the future, let no sepulchre be built, or funeral pile raised within sixty feet of any house, without the consent of the owner of the house.*

XIII. Law. *Prescription shall never be pleaded against a man's right to his burial place, or the entrance to it.*

TABLE XI.

Of the Worship of the Gods, and of Religion.

The Laws of the 11th and 12th Tables were not drawn up till the next year 303, nor passed till 305 of *Rome*.

I. Law. *Let all persons come with purity and piety to the assemblies of religion, and banish all mercenary views from thence. Let no one disturb the Gods themselves among them.*

II. Law. *Let no person have particular Gods of his own, or worship any new and foreign ones in private, unless they are authorized by public authority.*

III. Law. *Let every one adore the temples consecrated by his fore-fathers, the sacred groves in his fields, and the oratories of his Lares. And let every one observe the rites established in his family, and by his ancestors, in the worship of his domestic Gods.*

IV. Law. *Honour the Gods of Heaven, not only those who have always been esteemed such, but those likewise whose merits have raised them thither, as Hercules, Bacchus, Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux, and Romulus.*

V. Law. *Let those commendable qualities, by which heroes attained Heaven, be ranked among the Gods, as Understanding, Virtue, Piety, Fidelity; and let Temples be erected to them. But let no vicious vice be paid to any vice.*

VI. Law. *Let the most solemn festivals be observed.*

VII. Law.

IX. LAW. *Let no woman be present at the sacrifices which are offered by the neighbours except the aforementioned [illegible] who shall be at enmity.*

X. LAW. *[illegible] belongs, as a treason to the Gods, to be punished as a Parricide.*

XI. LAW. *Those persons who [illegible] shall be punished with death by the Gods, and let it be [illegible]*

XII. LAW. *[illegible]*

XIII. LAW. *Let every one strictly perform his vows; but for no wicked person dare to make any offerings to the Gods.*

XIV. LAW. *Let no man [illegible] to the prejudice of his other; and let him be diligent in his affairs of field, [illegible]. Let no man dedicate a litigious cause to the Gods: if he does, he shall pay double the value of it to him who [illegible]*

XV. LAW. *[illegible]*

XVI. LAW. *Let him who has been guilty of any of these faults [illegible] make [illegible] and [illegible]*

PART XII.

Of Marriages, and the Rights of Husbands.

I. LAW. *When a [illegible] but does not cohabit with a man for a whole year, without being [illegible] absent from him, let her be deemed his wife*[a].

II. LAW.

[a] SECUNDUM CONJUGIUM QUOD NON REPARARI POTERIT, NOVUM CONTRAHITO: QUOD REPARARI POTERIT, PUBLICE SACERDOTES REPARANTO. That is, to favour *A premeditated crime could not be expiated by the blood of victims, because it implied a formal contempt of the Gods. It therefore was the guilty person's business to repair his injury to the divine religion by repentance and legal satisfaction.*

THE Law is quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, [illegible] by *Macrobius Saturnal.* B. 1. c. 3. The *Cimbrians* have it as follows: MULIERI SUUM ADULTERIUM MATRIMONII ERGO, ALIENUM REMANERE, SI TRI NOCTIUM SPATIO, MARITUM ABSENS NON REPETIERIT, ET EUM DOMUM RECEPERIT, NEC ILLA ADULTERII REA ESTO. *i. e. Let a man be absolute master of a woman, who has cohabited with him for the space of one year, provided that, in all this time, she has not been absent from him three*

II. LAW. *If a man catches his wife in adultery, or finds her with a whore, he may, with the consent of her relations, punish her even with death.*

III. LAW. *When a man will put away his wife, the form of doing it shall be by taking from her the keys of the house, and giving her what she brought. This shall be the manner of a divorce.*

IV. LAW. *A child born of a widow in the tenth month after the death of her husband shall be deemed legitimate.*

V. LAW. *It shall not be lawful for the Patricians to intermarry with the Plebeians.*

three nights, she then became his wife, yet not in such a manner, as to be a sharer in the husband's goods, or to have a right to the inheritance. So that this was being in a condition much below that of a lawful wife: By which we mean, one whose marriage was solemnized with the usual ceremonies.

[f] *Cicero* declares it as his positive judgment and opinion, That *the* LAWS *of the* TWELVE TABLES *are justly to be preferred to all the libraries of the Philosophers*.

* *Cic. de Oratore*, B. 1.

These Laws being established, it necessarily followed, that there should be disputations and controversies in the courts, since the interpretation was to be founded on the Authority of the learned. This interpretation they called *jus civile*, though at present we understand by that phrase the whole system of the Roman Laws.

Besides out of all these Laws the learned men of that time composed a scheme of forms and cases, by which the proceedings in the courts were directed. These were termed *actiones legis*.

We may add to these the Laws preferred at the public Assemblies of the People, that are called *Plebiscita*, made without the authority of the Senate, at the *Comitia Tributa*, which were allowed to be of equal force with other con-

with the title of *Augusti*. And these the *Senatus-consulta*, and edicts of the supreme Magistrates, particularly of the *Prætors*, made up the more form of Laws, the last of which they called *jus honorarium*.

And, lastly, when the Government was intrusted in the hands of a single person, whatever was recommended by the authority of a Law, with the name of *principalis voluntatis*.

Most of these daily increasing, gave so much scope to the Lawyers for the compiling of reports and other labours, that in the reign of *Justinian*, there were extant two thousand distinct volumes on this subject. The body of the Law being thus grown unwieldy, and rendered almost useless by its excessive bulk, that excellent Emperor entered on a design to bring it into just dimensions, which was happily accomplished in the constituting those four tomes of the *Civil Law*, which are now extant, and have contributed, in a great measure, to the regulating of all the States in *Christendom*: So that the old fancy of the *Romans*, about the eternity of their commonwealth, is not so much as at first sight it appears, since by their admirable sanctions, they are still like to govern [illegible]. *Kennet's Antiq. Part 3. Chap. 1.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

§. I. *The Senate and People agree to have the same sort of government continued for another year.* Appius *gets himself reckoned to the* Decemvirate, *and prevails with the People to elect nine men (of whom three are* Plebeians) *all devoted to his will, to be his Colleagues.* §. II. *The new* Decemvirs *privately agree to make their authority perpetual. They draw up two new tables of laws.* §. III. *Their year being expired, they continue themselves in office by their own authority. They convene the* Senate *in order to obtain a levy of troops to oppose the incursions of the* Æqui *and* Sabines. *A sharp debate, in which* Valerius *and* Horatius *exert themselves in opposing the measures of the* Decemvirs; *who nevertheless carry their point.* §. IV. Valerius *and* Horatius, *to secure themselves from being insulted by the* Decemvirs, *keep guards about their persons. Many of the* Senators *and other principal citizens retire into the country.* Appius *confiscates their estates.* §. V. Fabius *with two other of the* Decemvirs *leads an army against the* Sabines. *Five other* Decemvirs *lead five legions against the* Æqui. Appius *and* Oppius *stay with a body of troops in* Rome. *Nothing succeeds in the two camps, the soldiers being resolved not to conquer.* Sicinius Dentatus, *that old soldier, who had been in* 120 *battles, publickly gives out at* Rome, *that the misfortunes of the campaign are owing to the incapacity of the Generals.* Appius *hereupon contrives, in concert with the* Decemvirs *who command against the* Sabines, *to get him treacherously murdered. The discovery of this murder disposes the soldiers to revolt.*

§. I. THOUGH the Laws contained in the TEN TABLES had been approved in all their parts, both by the Nobles and the *Plebeians*; yet many persons were of opinion, that several regulations, which would fill two other Tables, ought to be added to the former, in order to make a compleat body of *Roman* Laws. This notion prevailing, it occasioned a proposal of continuing the Decemviral government for one year more: The Senate and the People with equal readiness, tho' for different reasons, consented to the motion. The People were extremely desirous to keep back the restoration of the Consular authority, and at present they found but little want of the protection of their Tribunes, because the Decemvirs admitted, in some sort, of appeals, allowing causes which had been determined by one of them, to be reheard by another. And as for the Senators, they were glad at any rate to be rid of the Tribunes, those *Plebeian* Magistrates so odious to them, and whose functions they now conceived hopes of entirely abolishing. Before the holding of the Comitia for electing new Decemvirs, the Senate fell into divisions about that dignity. Some aspired to it out of ambition; others, who had been the warmest opposers of its establishment, courted the office now, but it was only in order to exclude those whose behaviour gave cause to suspect them of some ill designs. Y. of *R.* 302, Bef. *J.C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

Appius at firſt pretended to be weary of a charge ſo difficult and laborious, and to be very averſe to burthen himſelf with it a ſecond time. But his well known and avowed intimacy with the *Duilii* and *Icilii*, the leading men among the People; the pains he took to make himſelf agreeable to the *Plebeians*; his affability and moderation, ſo contrary to the pride of the *Claudian* family; all this gave great uneaſineſs to his competitors, and rendered him ſuſpicious to his Collegues. Theſe latter, to make ſure of his excluſion, appointed him to preſide at the new election; and as it was the cuſtom at every election for the preſident to give out the names of thoſe who ſtood for the office in queſtion, they imagined, that *Appius*, after the declarations he had made, could not have the aſſurance to put his own name in the liſt of candidates: Beſides, excepting an inſtance or two of ſome ſhameleſs Tribunes of the People, it was a thing unheard of, that he who preſided at an election of Magiſtrates, ſhould offer himſelf for one. *Appius* nevertheleſs, contrary to all rules of decency, propoſed himſelf for firſt Decemvir; and the People, who were now entirely devoted to him, readily gave him their ſuffrages. The other perſons choſen to the Government were ſuch as *Appius* had favoured and recommended. The firſt of the number was *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been three times Conſul, a *Patrician* indeed of manners hitherto unblameable. After him were named *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*. *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, Senators very little eſteemed in their own body, but all devoted to the ſervice of *Appius*, who by his private brigues carried the Decemviral dignity in their favour from the *Quinctii*, and even from his own uncle *Claudius*, as likewiſe from all his Collegues in the firſt Decemvirate. But what moſt ſurpriſed and alarmed the Senate, was, that *Appius*, forgetting his own glory and that of his anceſtors, was not aſhamed, out of complaiſance to the late Tribunes, to whom he had ſold his faith, to propoſe three *Plebeians* for Decemvirs, pretending it was but juſt, that there ſhould be ſome perſons in that College to take care of the intereſts of the People. Thus he brought in *Q. Petilius*, *Cæſo Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*, all three *Plebeians*, excluded by their birth from thoſe prime Magiſtracies.

V. of *R.* 303. Bef. *J. C.* 449. a Decemvirate

§. II. AND now *Appius* ſeeing himſelf by means of his diſſimulation and cabals, once more at the head of the Decemvirate, turned his thoughts wholly to make his domination perpetual. He immediately aſſembled his new Collegues, who were all obliged to him for their dignities, and throwing off the maſk of a Republican, repreſented to them, that being entruſted with a commiſſion wherein the Conſular authority and that of the Tribunes were united, nothing was more eaſy than to retain this ſovereign power during their whole lives; that the ſure means thereto was to aſſume to themſelves the cognizance of all affairs, not ſuffering them to be carried before either the Senate or the People; to convene thoſe two bodies as ſeldom as poſſible; and above all to keep firmly united among themſelves: That they ought to have a mutual complaiſance for each other; that the whole College ought to intereſt itſelf warmly for the particular affairs of each Decemvir; and he added, that he thought they ſhould all bind them-

D. Hal. B. 10.

themselves by the most solemn oaths, never to interrupt one another in the execution of their particular designs. As this proposal of *Appius* agreeably flattered the ambition of his Collegues, they readily came into it, and took the oaths that he required. A new conspiracy against the public liberty.

Y. of R. 303. Bef. J. C. 449. 2 Decemvirate

These Magistrates entered into possession of their dignity on the *Ides* of *May*; and to strike immediate terror and respect into the People, they appeared in public each with twelve Lictors bearing axes among their fasces, like those that used anciently to go before the Kings of *Rome*, and afterwards before the Dictators; so that the *Forum* was filled with an hundred and twenty Lictors. The People could not see this train and parade of tyranny without indignation. The comparison they made between the moderation of the Consuls, and the haughty behaviour of the *Decemvirs*, soon led them to regret their old Government. They complained in private, that now ten Kings were set up over them instead of two Consuls. But these reflections came too late, and it was not in their power to undo their own work. The *Decemvirs* began to reign imperiously, and with a despotic authority. Beside their Lictors, they had each of them by way of guard, a band of fellows without house or home, most of them infamous for crimes, or loaded with debts. But what was still more deplorable, there followed in the train of these new Magistrates a crowd of young *Patricians*, who preferring licentiousness to liberty, made their court, in the most abject manner, to the dispensers of favours; and to provide for their own pleasures, did not blush to be Ministers to those of the *Decemvirs*. There was no longer any safe asylum for beauty and virtue. Those unbridled youths, under shelter of the sovereign power, tore the daughter out of the bosom of her mother with impunity. Nor was property in lands or goods any more secure from the invasions of those creatures and supporters of tyranny; upon the most frivolous pretensions they took possession of their neighbours estates that lay convenient for them. In vain was application made to the *Decemvirs* for redress; the complainants were treated with contempt, their complaints rejected, and favour and self-interest sat in the place of law and justice. If any citizen, warmed with a remaining spark of the ancient liberty, was so bold as to express his resentment, he was beaten with rods like a slave; others were banished; some were even put to death; and confiscation always followed the execution.

The people, groaning under so cruel a tyranny, turned their eyes to the Senate, from whence they hoped for liberty. But most of the Senators, dreading the fury of the Decemvirs, were retired into the country. Those who staid in the city were not displeased to find that the severity of the present government made that of the Consuls regretted; and they flatter'd themselves the People would gladly give up their Tribunes, if they could but be delivered from the domination of the Decemvirs.

C. Claudius, a Consular person and *Appius*'s uncle, deeply concerned to see his nephew make himself the tyrant of his country, went several times to his house, with an intention to reprove him, and to put him in mind how much he shamed the memory of his ancestors by so odious a conduct:

V. of R. 303. Bef. J.C. 449. 2 Decemvirate

But *Appius* guessing at the design of these visits, constantly eluded them, and the venerable old man found by experience, that tyrants never own either relations or friends.

In the mean time the Decemvirs drew up two tables of Laws to be added to the ten that had been promulgated the year before. Among those additional Laws there was one prohibiting alliances between *Patricians* and *Plebeians* by inter-marriage; a prohibition which *Dionysius* conjectures to have been made with a view to prepetuate the divisions between the two orders in the Republic; the Decemvirs being apprehensive, that if the Nobility and Commonalty should ever unite, they would turn against them all that animosity which they had used to express against each other.

§. III. THE body of *Roman* Law being now compleated, and the sole end for which the Decemvirate had been instituted being thereby accomplished, it was reasonably hoped, that the tyranny which the public groaned under would shortly cease, and the Decemvirs, as soon as their year was expired, be succeeded by Consuls. But the *Ides* of *May* came, and not the least appearance of any *Comitia* for an election of new Magistrates. The Tyrants then shewed themselves bare-faced, and in spite both of Senate and People retained the Government, without any other title but possession and violence. All who gave them the least umbrage were proscribed; and many citizens voluntarily banished themselves from their country, taking refuge among the *Latines* and the *Hernici*.

V. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 3 Decemvirate

Every body secretly deplored the loss of liberty, but not one citizen in the whole Republic was so generous as to attempt to break her chains. The *Roman* People seemed to have lost that courage which had formerly made them so much feared and respected by their neighbours. The nations that had submitted to the dominion of the *Romans*, began now to despise them, and they disdained to be subject to a city which had lost her own liberty. The *Sabines*, after several incursions in flying parties upon the territories of the Republic, gathered their forces together into one body, and advancing along the *Tyber*, encamped near *Eretum*, about twelve miles from *Rome*; and the *Æqui*, having first ravaged the lands of *Tusculum*, came and pitched their camp near the *Algidus*. These two armies, which seemed to threaten *Rome* with a siege, much alarmed the Decemvirs. It was absolutely necessary to raise troops; but in what method to proceed in the enrollments, whether in a way of gentleness or severity; and whether they should inlist all indiscriminately or only those who were least disaffected to the Government; these were difficulties which at first perplexed them. Nor were they less unresolved, whether to apply to the Senate, or to the People, for a decree to levy an army in legal form, or whether they should act in this affair by their own sole authority. At length, after many councils held among themselves on this matter, they determined to convene the Senate, believing it easier to engage this body than the other to favour their pretensions; and not doubting but the People, having lost with their Tribunes the privilege of *opposition*, would readily obey a decree of the Magistrates, when it had the sanction of the Senate's authority.

It was a great ſurprize to the People to hear proclamation made in the *Forum* for the Senators to meet. *Thanks to our enemies*, ſaid they, *for this ſingle ſpark of our ancient liberty.* But when the Decemvirs repaired to the Senate-houſe, they found no body there except their own creatures, who came prepared to act the parts which had been aſſigned them. I

Y. of R. 304. Bef. J. C. 448. 5 Decemvirate

The other Senators had thrown up all care of the public affairs; and were retired, as was ſaid before, to their country houſes. The Decemvirs ſent meſſengers thither to them, appointing another Aſſembly for next day. Moſt of them returned to *Rome*, and came to the Senate-houſe; but with views widely different from thoſe of the uſurpers.

Appius in a ſtudied diſcourſe having laid open the neceſſity of taking arms, to repel the incurſions of the *Æqui* and the *Sabines*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, without waiting till it came to his turn to give his opinion, preſently ſtood up. He was the Son of that *Valerius* who was ſlain at the head of the *Romans* fighting againſt *Herdonius*, and grandſon of the famous *Valerius*, ſurnamed *Publicola*, one of the chief founders of the public liberty. *Appius* fearing that a man of that family and of the ſame character with his anceſtors, would propoſe ſomething contrary to the intereſt of the Decemvirs, ſternly commanded him to ſit down and hold his peace, telling him, that he ought to wait 'till Senators older than himſelf, and more conſiderable in the Republic, had declared their opinions firſt. "You ſay "very well (replied *Valerius*) had I been going to ſpeak upon the buſi- "neſs which you have propoſed; but I have matters of much greater mo- "ment to lay before this Aſſembly, and what the Senate, if I miſtake not, "will think to be much more worthy of its immediate attention. Whence "is it that you have the preſumption to impoſe ſilence upon me, a Senator, "a *Valerius*, ſtanding up for the liberty of the Commonwealth? And "yet if you perſiſt in this your inſolence, your accuſtomed inſolence, to "what *Tribunes* ſhall I have recourſe? You have deprived us of that "ſuccour which the Laws had provided for every citizen under oppreſſion. "But is it indeed come to this? And does *Valerius*, to preſerve his rights, "want the aid of the *Tribunitian* power? Well then, ſince you and your "Collegues have uſurped that power, together with the ſovereignty, "ſhall I appeal to you Decemvirs? Shall I implore the aſſiſtance of "you *all*? To what purpoſe, when my deſign is to lay open that con- "ſpiracy which you have *all* formed againſt the public liberty? Yet "to you, *Quintus Fabius*, who have been honoured with three Conſulates, "to you alone I *will* appeal. Riſe, *Fabius*, if you have not loſt that ſpirit "which was once your glory, riſe and ſuccour the oppreſſed! 'Tis on you "that the Senate turns its eyes."

D. Hal. B. 11.

Fabius, confounded and overwhelmed with ſhame, had not power to anſwer. But *Appius* and the reſt of the Decemvirs, ſtarting up in anger from their ſeats, cried out once more to *Valerius*, commanding him ſilence, and adding threats to their injunctions: So extraordinary a proceeding raiſed a tumult in the Aſſembly. Many of the Senators were filled with indignation at the haughty manner of the Decemvirs; but no body was ſo high-

ly

A. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 3 Decemvirate. *D. Hal.* B. 11.

ly provoked at it as *M. Horatius Barbatus*. He was grandson of that *Horatius* who had been Conful with *Poplicola*. As he had inherited his grandfather's ardent zeal for liberty, and was an intimate friend of *Valerius*, he could no longer bear the inſolence of *Appius* and his Colleagues. He ſtood up and loudly called them the *Tarquins* and tyrants of their country:

D. Hal B. 11. *Livy*, B. 3.

"You talk to us of a war begun againſt us by the *Sabines*, as if the "*Roman* People had greater enemies than yourſelves. I would gladly "know by what authority you convened this Aſſembly, and by what "right you take upon you to preſide in it. Is not the time of your Ma"giſtracy expired? Do you not know that the Decemviral power was "given you but for one year? We choſe you to eſtabliſh ſuch laws as "were fit for a free State to ſubmit to, and you have left no appearance of "that equality which was the ſole object the *Romans* had in view. You "have ſuppreſſed the Aſſemblies both of the People and of the Senate. "There is no longer any mention made of elections, either of Conſuls, "or of Tribunes: All the annual Magiſtracies are aboliſhed. It is not "the name of *King* that makes a tyrant. You *Decemvirs* have totally ſub"verted our Government, to build upon its ruins your own empire and "domination. But know, that the blood of *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who "formerly drove the *Tarquins* out of *Rome*, yet runs in the veins of their "deſcendants. We have the ſame courage and the ſame zeal for the li"berty of our country. The Gods, Protectors of this city, will grant "us the ſame ſucceſs; and I hope the People, no leſs jealous of their free"dom than their anceſtors, will never deſert us in ſo juſt a cauſe."

D. Hal. B. 11.

Horatius was going on with his diſcourſe, when the Decemvirs with loud clamours all came and ſurrounded him, threatening to have him thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock if he did not inſtantly hold his peace. But when they perceived that the Senate in general expreſs'd an uncommon reſentment at this tyrannical invaſion of the liberty of ſpeech, they preſently repented of their raſhneſs. *Appius* to ſooth the minds of the Senators, having firſt requeſted and obtained a moment's ſilence, aſſured them, that the Decemvirs were far from having the leaſt thought of hindering any one of the *Conſcript Fathers* from freely delivering his opinion: That if he had impoſed ſilence upon *Valerius*, it was only to oblige him to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that every man ſhould ſpeak in his turn, unleſs he was particularly applied to by him who preſided in the Senate: That whatever *Horatius* might imagine to the contrary, the right of the Decemvirs to exerciſe this authority did ſtill ſubſiſt: That their Commiſſion had not been limited by the People to one year, or to any fixed period of time, but was to laſt till the Tables of Laws were compleated and paſſed in due form; after which they would lay down their Magiſtracy, and give an account of their adminiſtration. Then turning to his uncle *C. Claudius*, he deſired him to ſpeak his mind with freedom. He perhaps flattered himſelf, that *Claudius*, out of affection for a near relation, or moved by a zeal for the glory and intereſt of his family, or pleaſed with the honour of being the firſt whoſe opinion was aſked,

would take upon him to answer the severest parts of *Horatius*'s invective. But the Decemvir addressed himself to a true *Roman*, one who would have sacrificed his own children to the preservation of the public liberty. V. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 3 Decemvirate

Claudius observed to the Assembly, that two affairs of different natures were then to be considered of; a war abroad, and a remedy for the dissentions at home with relation to the Government: That as to the war, the late incursions of the enemies were wholly owing to the encouragement which the intestine divisions in the Republic gave them: That therefore the first thing to be done, was to settle peace and union in the city, after which the very appearance of the standards of the legions would be enough to frighten away the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, over whom the *Romans* had already so often triumphed: But that he doubted whether the People would range themselves under the banners of the Decemvirs, whom they justly looked upon as private men, who had usurped the Sovereign power. Then directing his speech to his nephew: "Know you not, *Appius*, "how odious your conduct is to all good men? The voluntary exile to "which our most illustrious Senators have condemned themselves, does "it not sufficiently shew that they look upon you as a tyrant? The Se"nate very impatiently bears your robbing them of their authority; the "People demand their right of *Appeal*, and that of *Oppesition* which you "have deprived them of; all our citizens call upon you, some for their "estates, which have been made a prey to your ruffians, others for their "daughters, whom you have forced away to satisfy your criminal pas"sions. The whole city, the whole nation detest a Magistracy, which "has destroy'd their liberty, abolished the use of *Comitia*, usurped the "legal authority of the Consuls, and suppress'd the functions of the "Tribunes. Restore to the Commonwealth the power with which she "intrusted you but for one year; restore to us our ancient form of Go"vernment; restore yourself to yourself. Call to mind your former "virtue, and generously quit, together with an unwarrantable power, "the very name of Decemvir, which you have made so odious. I "conjure you to this by our common ancestors, by the *Manes* of "your father, that illustrious citizen, who left you so noble an example "of moderation, and of zeal for the public liberty; I conjure you espe"cially, by your own preservation, and the care of your life, which you "must unavoidably lose by some ignominious punishment, if you obsti"nately persist to hold any longer the unjust Empire which you have u"surped over your fellow-citizens."

Thus spake *Claudius*, and the Senate at first conceived hopes that the Decemvirs would be induced to lay down their magistracy. But *Appius* disdained to give his uncle any answer. *M. Cornelius*, one of his Collegues, taking upon him to speak, and applying himself directly to *C. Claudius*, told him proudly, that those who had the Government of the Republic, did not stand in need of his advice to direct their conduct. That if he thought he had a right to give particular counsels to his nephew, he might go to him at his house; that the only affair in question now was the war with

Y. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 3 Decemvirate

with the *Æqui* and *Sabines*; "Tell us, therefore, *ſaid he*, your opinion "on this point, for on this only it was aſked, and don't waſte our time "in digreſſions that are nothing to the purpoſe."

Claudius, yet more provoked at the ſcornful ſilence of *Appius*, than at his Collegue's inſolent anſwer, roſe up again, and turning to the Senate: "Since my nephew will not condeſcend to ſpeak to me, either in his own "houſe, or in full Senate; and I am ſo unhappy as to ſee the tyrant of my "country ariſe out of my own family, I declare, *Conſcript Fathers*, that "I am reſolved to retire to *Regillus*. I baniſh my ſelf from *Rome*, and "make an oath never to enter it again but with our liberty. However, "to fulfil the obligation I lie under of giving my opinion, with relation "to the preſent buſineſs, I don't think that any levy of troops ought to "be made, 'till Conſuls are firſt choſen to lead them."

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *L. Lucretius*, all Conſular perſons, and the principal men in the Senate, declared themſelves of the ſame opinion. *M. Cornelius*, apprehending that the authority of thoſe great men would draw the reſt of the Senate after them, interrupted the order of gathering the ſuffrages, and aſked the opinion of his brother * *L. Cornelius*, with whom he had before concerted the ſpeech he ſhould make in caſe of ſuch an exigence. This Senator then roſe up, but made no attempt to juſtify either the authority or conduct of the Decemvirs. Taking a more artful turn, he only repreſented to the Aſſembly, how expedient he thought it would be to defer the election of new Magiſtrates, till the enemy was driven out of the territory of *Rome*. "Have thoſe, "*ſaid he*, who are ſo warm for the abdication of the Decemvirs, had any "promiſe from the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, that they will put a ſtop to the "progreſs of their arms, 'till we have changed the form of our Govern-"ment? You know, *Conſcript Fathers*, the tedious delays which our "elections require: Firſt, there muſt be a *Senatus-conſultum* to appoint "the *Comitia* by *Centuries*. This Aſſembly cannot be held 'till ſeven and "twenty days after notice given. When the new Magiſtrates are "named, and have taken poſſeſſion of the Government, they muſt pre-"fer a petition for the levies to another Aſſembly of the People; and be-"fore all theſe things can be done, and the neceſſary troops can be raiſed to "repel the enemy, who will warrant us that we ſhall not ſee them at the "gates of *Rome*, and in a condition to lay ſiege to the city? And what "ſhall we do in this caſe? Doubtleſs we ſhall ſay to the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, "*A little patience if you pleaſe. Suſpend your attacks till we have choſen "other Magiſtrates.* Caius Claudius *has perſuaded us not to paſs any De-"cree for raiſing forces, unleſs new Generals be firſt elected to command "them. Be gone therefore out of our territory, and when you hear that the* "Roman *People have created Conſuls, and that we have made all neceſſary "preparations for war, you may then return and ſue to us for peace.* "Strange infatuation! that ſuch follies ſhould ever enter into the minds of

* He had been Collegue to Q. *Fabius* in the third Conſulate of the latter.

"men

" men. Nor ſurely leſs ſtrange is our ſtupidity, that we can hear theſe Y. of *R.* 304.
" triflers without indignation, as if we were conſulting for the ſafety of Bef. *J. C.* 448.
" our enemies, not the preſervation of our country. My opinion, *Con-* 3 Decemvirate.
" *ſcript Fathers*, is, that our Decemvirs immediately inliſt the legions, *D. Hal.* B. 11.
" and march againſt our enemies. Let us drive them from our frontiers,
" let us force them, by the terror of our arms, to beſeech us to grant
" them peace; and when we have ſecured ourſelves abroad, then let
" us employ our thoughts upon our affairs at home: Revoke by your
" authority that of the Decemvirs, if they will not of their own accord
" diveſt themſelves of it: Call them to an account for their adminiſtration;
" elect new Magiſtrates in their room; and let the Republic return again
" to her ancient conſtitution: But permit me to tell you, that in matter
" of Government, we muſt regulate our proceedings by the times, and
" never hope to make the times ſubſervient to our deſires and projects."

The creatures of the Decemvirs declared loudly for this opinion, and the greater part of the Senators came into it, ſome as thinking it neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture, and others out of fear of the Tyrants. Nay ſome of the oldeſt Senators took the ſame ſide, in hopes that after the war was finiſhed, the abdication of the Decemvirs would quietly follow of courſe, *Livy*, B. 3. and ſo the Government return naturally into the hands of the Conſuls; and that prudent Magiſtrates by their moderation might perhaps gradually accuſtom the People to do without their Tribunes.

Appius, who with a ſecret pleaſure ſaw that the majority were of the opinion of *Cornelius*, did then only for form ſake deſire that of *Valerius*; on whom he had impoſed ſilence at the beginning of the Aſſembly. *Valerius* riſing up, ſpoke to this effect, " You ſee, *Conſcript Fathers*, the crafty and de- *D. Hal.* B. 11.
" ceitful management of theſe Decemvirs. My mouth was ſtopt ſo long as
" they apprehended that what I had to offer might make ſome impreſſion
" upon the Aſſembly to the diſadvantage of their pretenſions: but now
" when the majority has declared for the opinion of *Cornelius*, why now
" truly they condeſcend to aſk me mine, imagining, doubtleſs, that no-
" thing which I can ſay, be it ever ſo reaſonable, will be of any effect. I
" ſhall nevertheleſs deliver my thoughts with freedom, and you are ſtill
" maſters to determine as you ſhall judge to be moſt for the good of the
" Republic.

" I declare then, in the firſt place, that I heartily ſubſcribe to what *C.*
" *Claudius* has ſo wiſely repreſented to you concerning the expediency of
" creating new Magiſtrates before we take the field. But ſince *L. Corne-*
" *lius*, the avowed advocate of Tyranny, has endeavoured to turn ſo ju-
" dicious a counſel into ridicule, upon pretence that the delays requiſite
" for the election of thoſe Magiſtrates would waſte the time that ſhould
" be employ'd in repelling the enemy, I think myſelf obliged to ſhew
" you the weakneſs and fallacy of this wretched reaſoning. To convince
" you that ſuch it is, do but call to mind the meaſures which the Republic
" took about ten years ago, againſt the ſame enemies, in the Conſulate
" of *C. Nautius* and *L. Minucius*.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

"You know, that while *Nautius* was on one ſide fighting againſt the "*Sabines*, *Minucius*, on the other, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up by the "*Æqui* in the narrow paſſes of ſome mountains. There was a neceſſity of "raiſing a new army to relieve him; the Tribunes (according to cuſtom) "oppoſed all levies of troops, unleſs the Senate would admit the Law "concerning the partition of the lands. In this extremity, as neither par- "ty would abate any thing of its pretenſions, recourſe was had to a Dicta- "tor, a Magiſtrate ſuperior both to the Senate and the Tribunes of the "People, *L. Quinctius* was choſen; he was ſent for out of the country; "he came to *Rome*; he raiſed a new army, and in a fortnight's time "brought off that of *Minucius*, and triumphed over the enemy. What "hinders, in the preſent exigence, to follow ſo wiſe and ſo recent an exam- "ple? Let us chuſe an *Inter-rex*, as was the practice upon the demiſe of "the Kings, and has ever been the practice when the State happened to be "left, as it is now, without legal Magiſtrates. Let him name a Dictator. "Theſe things may be done in leſs than a day. The Dictator will raiſe "troops by the ſupreme power belonging to his dignity; we ſhall march "againſt our enemies without delay; and at our return from the campaign, "that Magiſtrate, whoſe power cannot laſt longer than ſix months, will "give us an opportunity to proceed at leiſure, and according to the "uſual forms, upon the election of Conſuls. If on the other hand you in- "truſt the command of your armies with the Decemvirs, do you imagine "that theſe ambitious men who have uſurped a tyrannical power, and in "ſpight of all our laws refuſe ſo obſtinately to deliver up the Faſces, "will eaſily be brought to lay down their arms? Believe rather they will "turn them againſt you yourſelves, and make uſe of them to perpetuate "their tyranny. I demand therefore, that, in the extreme danger wherein "the public liberty now is, the propoſal I make to name a Dictator be "examined, and the opinions and votes of the Senate taken thereupon."

Almoſt all the Senators who were to ſpeak after *Valerius* declared for this motion, as did alſo many of thoſe who had before voted for the continua- tion of the Decemvirate. But *Cornelius* cried out, that the affair upon which the Senate had met with was already decided, and that nothing new ought now to be propoſed. A warm diſpute hereupon aroſe, with much clamour and tumult. *Appius*, taking advantage of the diſorder to accom- pliſh his deſires, ſtept forth into the midſt of the Aſſembly, and ſpoke thus: "You were called together, *Conſcript Fathers*, to deliberate con- "cerning a war with the *Æqui* and *Sabines*. *Claudius*, *Cornelius*, and "*Valerius*, have given different opinions. The voices of the Aſſembly "have been all taken, and the opinion of *Cornelius* has prevailed." He added with a contemptuous ſmile, "As for *Valerius* and his friends, if ever "they attain to the Conſulſhip, let them, if they pleaſe, reviſe and make "void Decrees, which you in your wiſdom have thought fit to paſs." This ſaid, he ordered the Secretary to read aloud the *Senatus-conſultum* (which he had already made him draw up in writing) empowering the Decemvirs to raiſe Troops and to conduct the war. He then diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and withdrew.

§. IV. THE new powers which by this Decree were granted to the Decemvirs, not only in some manner confirmed their authority, but made it more formidable than ever. They employed it to revenge themselves of their personal enemies, and they reckoned as such all those who did not submit to be their slaves. The most timorous among the citizens became as submissive and complying as the tyrants could wish: Others, less fearful, only quitted all attention to public affairs, and turned their thoughts to live in quiet: But the men of courage and spirit held private Assemblies to concert measures for restoring liberty to the Commonwealth. At the head of these were *Valerius* and *Horatius*. They gathered together in their houses a great number of their friends and clients to secure them against the violence of the *Decemvirs*; and they never appeared in the city without a powerful attendance strong enough to repel the insults they had reason to expect. As for *C. Claudius*, he left *Rome*, as he had declared in full Senate he would do, and retired to *Regillus*, the native city of his ancestors. Other Senators and many of the principal Citizens of *Rome*, who could not endure the Tyranny of the *Decemvirs*, and yet found themselves unable to destroy it, sought an asylum in the country, or among the neighbouring nations. *Appius* enraged to see so convincing a proof given of the aversion which the best men in the Republic had to his Government, placed guards at the city gates: But finding that this precaution only increased the number of the malecontents, and fearing a general revolt, he removed that guard, leaving every body free to retire that would: But to be revenged of those who withdrew, he confiscated the Effects they had in *Rome*; with which he paid and rewarded his ruffians.

A. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

§. V. AND now the Decemvirs began to raise troops for the war. The People, destitute of their Tribunes, were forced to list themselves. Ten legions were soon compleated: They were divided into three bodies. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, with whom two other of the Decemvirs, *Q. Petilius* and *M. Rabuleius*, were joined in commission, marched against the *Sabines* at the head of three legions. *M. Cornelius*, *L. Minucius*, *M. Sergius*, *T. Antonius*, and *C. Duilius*, all Decemvirs, led five legions against the *Æqui*. *Appius* staid at *Rome* with *Oppius*, and kept with him a body of troops which he placed as a garison in the Capitol, to maintain his authority against the enemy at home, which was much more formidable than the enemy abroad. Thus mere private men under the title of Decemvirs got possession of the whole strength of the State, which under their dominion retained nothing but the bare name of a Commonwealth.

The People who composed the legions, that is to say, the centurions and soldiers, having a quick sense of their loss of liberty, would not conquer, for fear of increasing the power of the Decemvirs. The two armies suffered themselves to be defeated almost without fighting. The legions appointed against the *Sabines*, after some slight losses near *Eretum*, made a hasty retreat in the night, and pitched their camp in the territory of *Rome* between *Fidenæ* and *Crustumeria*. And as for those who were to act against the *Æqui* (posted upon the *Algidus*) they lost their camp and

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

baggage, and fled for refuge to *Tuſculum*. The news of theſe defeats was received at *Rome* with the ſame joy that would at another time have been ſhewn for a compleat victory.

Appius, attentive to all events, ſent recruits and proviſions to his Collegues. He exhorted them, by letters, to keep the ſoldiers in awe by the terror of puniſhment, unleſs they judged this method to be dangerous in the preſent conjuncture. In that caſe, *he added*, that they would not want opportunities during the campaign to deſtroy the moſt mutinous by private ways; and he himſelf ſet them an example.

Sicinius Dentatus, that renowned *Plebeian*, who had been in 120 engagements, filled the ears of the multitude with the faults which he affirmed the Decemvirs had committed in the management of this war. *Appius*, to get him out of *Rome*, pretended an earneſt deſire to conſult him upon the operations of the campaign. He ſent for him, diſcourſed with him ſeveral times, admired his wiſdom, and engaged him to go to the army at *Cruſtumeria* and aſſiſt the Generals with his Counſels. And the ſooner to induce him to make the campaign, he dignify'd him with the character of Envoy

D. Hal. B. 11

or Legate, which among the *Romans* (according to *Dionyſius*) not only gave him who was honoured with it the authority of a General, but made his Perſon ſacred and inviolable, as that of a Prieſt.

Sicinius, free from diſtruſt, and with the ſincerity of a brave ſoldier, gladly embraced an opportunity of ſerving his country. He repaired to the camp with all ſpeed. The Decemvirs, inſtructed by *Appius*, received him with outward marks of joy, and treated him with diſtinction. Nothing was undertaken without his advice; but this ſeeming deference concealed a real deſign of making away with him. An occaſion ſoon offered.

D. Hal. ibid.

Sicinius, with his accuſtomed frankneſs, having told the Decemvirs, that he thought they ſhould remove their camp into the enemy's territory, for many good reaſons which he laid before them, they commiſſioned him to go and view the ſituation of the country, and mark out the ground for a new encampment; and they appointed him a hundred choſen men light-armed to be his guard; but this guard conſiſted only of the Decemvirs ruffians, who had ſecret orders to diſpatch him. *Sicinius* having led them into the narrow paſſages of ſome mountains, they took that opportunity to fall upon him. He no ſooner perceived their baſe deſign, but ſetting his back againſt a rock, that he might not be attacked behind, he received them with a courage that ſtruck terror into the boldeſt of them. Calling up all his ancient valour, he ſlew ſeveral of the aſſailants, and wounded others: And now not one of them durſt venture near him: They ſtood at a diſtance and threw their darts at him. But as even this did not effect their purpoſe, the villains climbed up to the top of the rock, and thence knock-

Livy, B. 3.

ed him on the head with ſtones. They then went back to the camp, and gave out that they had fallen into an ambuſh, in which they had loſt their captain, and part of their comrades. At firſt they were believed; but when a band of ſoldiers, who, with the Decemvirs permiſſion, went to fetch the body of *Sicinius* in order to its burial, came to the place of action,

they

they perceived that the ſlain were all *Romans*; that they were all fallen with their faces towards him, and that none of them were ſtripped either of their arms or cloaths. All theſe circumſtances laid together, made them ſuſpect that the brave veteran had been murdered by his guard. This ſuſpicion prevailing throughout the camp, raiſed loud complaints and a general diſcontent. The whole army with great fury demanded that the aſſaſſins ſhould be brought to juſtice. But the Decemvirs helped them to make their eſcape; and, becauſe the ſoldiers ſeemed reſolved to have the body of *Sicinius* immediately conveyed to *Rome*, they with all expedition gave it an honourable funeral at the public expence. Theſe proceedings of the Generals made it but too evident, that *Sicinius* had not been murdered without their privity; and the diſcontent which ſo odious a treachery excited in this army roſe to ſuch a height, that the greater part of the ſoldiers began to think in earneſt of revolting from the Decemviral Government. A new attempt of *Appius*, which was ſtill more hateful, and which filled up the meaſure of his extravagant enormities, produced in the city and in the other army, a yet greater deteſtation of the preſent tyranny.

A. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

CHAP. XXIX.

§. I. Appius (*at* Rome) *falls in love with* Virginia, *a beautiful young woman, the daughter of a* Plebeian. *The wicked ſtratagems, which he employs to force her from her parents, that he may gratify his paſſion, occaſion the abolition of the Decemvirate, and reſtoration of the* Conſulſhip. Valerius *and* Horatius *are choſen* Conſuls. *Revenge is taken on the late* Decemvirs.

§. I. IT has been already ſaid, that *Appius*, by agreement with his Collegues, ſtaid at *Rome* with a body of troops to keep the inhabitants in obedience to the Decemvirs. As he was one day going to his Tribunal, he accidentally caſt his eyes on a young virgin of uncommon beauty, who was reading her book in one of the publick ſchools. (In theſe times it was cuſtomary at *Rome* for young perſons of that ſex, as well as of the other, to purſue their proper ſtudies in ſchools that were purpoſely erected for them in the *Forum*.) Her charms, and the blooming graces of youth, immediately drew his attention. He could not help beholding her with a ſecret pleaſure: His curioſity increaſed the next day; he thought her more lovely than before; and as he was obliged to paſs often by the ſchool, he inſenſibly conceived a moſt violent paſſion for her. Upon enquiry after her family and condition, he learnt, that ſhe was by birth a *Plebeian*; her name *Virginia*; that ſhe had loſt her mother, *Numitoria*; that her father, *Virginius*, then ſerved in the poſt of Centurion in the army employ'd againſt the *Æqui*, and that he had promiſed his daughter to *Icilius*, who had been Tribune of the People, and who was to marry her at the end of the campaign. This

Y. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 3 Decemvirate

This account, ſo unfavourable to *Appius*'s paſſion, ſerved only to increaſe it. He would gladly have married *Virginia*, but he had a wife already; and had this not been the caſe, the laſt laws of the twelve tables, of which he was the chief framer, prohibited all inter-marriages of *Patricians* with *Plebeians*; ſo that he had no room to hope for the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, but by the ſcandalous means of debauching the young maid.

The innocence and modeſty of *Virginia* reſtrained him from opening his diſhoneſt purpoſe directly to her ſelf. He thought it more proper to begin the work by means of one of thoſe women of intrigue, who make a private market of the beauty and charms of youth. He loaded her with favours, and having let her into his deſires, ordered her not to name him, but to ſay only, that *Virginia*'s lover was a man in power, who could do much good or much hurt to others, according to his pleaſure. This woman applied herſelf to *Virginia*'s nurſe, made her rich preſents, and richer promiſes; and having thus paved the way, came at length to the ſubject of her errand. But the nurſe, equally faithful and prudent, not only rejected the propoſal with horror, but kept now a more watchful eye upon her charge than ever. *Appius* learned with grief, that it was impoſſible either to deceive or to corrupt her.

D. Hal. B. 11. *Livy*, B. 3.

However, his paſſion growing ſtill more furious by the difficulties it met with, he had recourſe to another ſtratagem more bold and impudent, and which, if it ſucceeded, would put *Virginia* wholly in his power. For the execution of this new ſcheme he employ'd a client of his, named *M. Claudius*, a man without ſhame or fear, and one of thoſe who introduce themſelves to the ear of the great, by the ſole merit of a baſe complaiſance for their pleaſures. This Miniſter of the Decemvir's paſſion, taking with him a band of fellows like himſelf, entered the public ſchool where VIRGINIA was, and ſeizing her by the arm, would force her away to his own houſe, under pretence that ſhe was the daughter of one of his ſlaves. He was already dragging her all in tears through the *Forum*, when the People, hearing a great cry, flock'd about him, and being moved with ſo piteous a ſight, obliged him to let go his hold. The Villain perceiving that he could not execute his firſt deſign, pretended, that he had not meant to uſe any violence, but to proceed in due courſe of law; and he cited her to appear immediately before the Decemvir. *Virginia* by the new Laws was obliged to follow the claimant to the tribunal of juſtice, where *Appius* was that day deſignedly alone upon the bench. The multitude all attended her, ſome out of curioſity to ſee the iſſue of ſo ſtrange a buſineſs, and others out of affection to *Icilius*, who during his Tribunate had made himſelf very agreeable to the People. *Claudius* was going inſtantly to open his claim; but the People full of indignation cried out, that he ought to wait 'till *Virginia*'s relations, who had been ſent for, were come. To this the Judge conſented; and *Numitorius*, the uncle of the young woman, arrived ſoon after with a great number of his kinſmen and friends.

Silence

Silence being then made, *Claudius* ſet forth, that *Virginia* was born in his houſe; that ſhe was privately ſtolen away by a ſlave her mother, who, to conceal her theft, had pretended to be delivered of a dead child: But that it had ſince been diſcovered that ſhe had ſold this girl to *Virginius*'s wife, who was barren, and who, being uneaſy at having no child, had made *Virginia* paſs for her daughter: That he would ſoon produce undeniable teſtimonies of what he advanced; that in the mean while, it was but juſt that a ſlave ſhould go with her maſter; and that he would give good ſecurity for her appearance again, if *Virginius*, at his return, ſtill pretended to be her real father. *A. of R.* 304. *Bef. J.C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

§. II. *NUMITORIUS* preſently ſaw that there was ſomebody of much greater weight and power than *Claudius* at the bottom of this contrivance; but he prudently concealed his ſuſpicions, and repreſented to the Decemvir with a great deal of calmneſs, that his niece's father was abſent in the ſervice of his country; that it was highly unjuſt to diſpute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not preſent to aſſert it; that *Virginius*, upon notice, would not fail to be at *Rome* in two days, 'till whoſe return it was but fitting that her uncle ſhould have the care of her. *Numitorius* offered to give any ſecurity whatſoever for producing her again; but he ſaid it was not reaſonable to truſt the daughter of *Virginius* in the houſe of ſuch a one as *Claudius*, where her honour would be in danger even more than her liberty. He added, that what he demanded was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that during a law-ſuit, and before a definitive ſentence, the plaintiff ſhould not diſturb the defendant in his poſſeſſion. *D. Hal.* B. 11. *Livy*, B. 3.

The whole Aſſembly ſhewed by their applauſes, that they thought this requeſt to be perfectly juſt. *Appius* having cauſed ſilence to be proclaimed, and affecting the impartiality becoming a Judge, declared that he ſhould always be the protector of ſo reaſonable a Law, and which he himſelf had inſerted in the twelve tables: But that in the preſent diſpute there were ſome particular circumſtances which alter'd the caſe; that here were two perſons claiming, one as a father, the other as a maſter; that if he who pretended to be the father of *Virginia* were preſent, he indeed ought to be allowed the poſſeſſion of her till the deciſion of the conteſt, but that he being abſent, the perſon who claimed her as his ſlave ought to have that poſſeſſion, giving good ſecurity, however, to produce her again at the return of him who was called her father. This ſaid, he ordered VIRGINIA to be delivered up to *Claudius*.

All the people preſent exclaimed againſt ſo iniquitous a Decree; and nothing was to be heard but cries of indignation, ſhrieks and lamentations. The women with tears in their eyes gathered round *Virginia*, and placed her in the midſt of them, as if they meant to defend her. In this inſtant ICILIUS, to whom ſhe had been promiſed in marriage, came running into the *Forum* with fury in his eyes, and loudly demanding who he was that durſt to lay violent hands upon a free woman, and what were his pretenſions? *Appius* who perceived him breaking through the crowd, ordered a Lictor to oppoſe his paſſage, and to tell him that the affair was already judged.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

judged. But nothing could ſtop the enraged lover; he forced his way up to the Tribunal, and taking *Virginia* in his arms, "No, *Appius*, *he cried*, "nothing but death ſhall ſeparate me from her. If thou wouldeſt have "thy vile artifices concealed, thou muſt murder me. Aſſemble all thy "Lictors, and if thou wilt, thoſe of thy Collegues too; bid them pre- "pare their rods and axes; but to my laſt breath I will defend her ho- "nour. Have you deprived the *Romans* of the protection of their Tri- "bunes, that you may ſubject their wives and daughters to your lewdneſs? "Go on to exerciſe your rage in ſcourging and ſlaughtering the *Roman* "Citizens, but let modeſty and chaſtity eſcape your tyranny. *Virginia* "is mine, ſhe is promiſed to me, and I expect to marry a virgin pure "and unſpotted. I will receive her from no man's hands but her father's. "If in his abſence any attempt be made to do her violence, I will implore "the aid of the *Roman* People for my wife; *Virginius* will demand the "aſſiſtance of his fellow-ſoldiers for his daughter; and both Gods and "Men will be on our ſide."

The People, equally moved with his misfortune and his courage, fell upon the Lictors who were forcing away *Virginia*, diſperſed them, and obliged *Claudius* himſelf to ſeek refuge at *Appius*'s feet. The Aſſembly was full of noiſe and confuſion. The tumult increaſed by the arrival of thoſe who flocked to the *Forum* from all parts of the city. *Appius* quite ſtunn'd at ſeeing to what a degree the People were incenſed againſt him, was for ſome time in doubt what meaſures to take. At length, having cauſed ſilence to be made: "It is well known (*ſaid he*) *Icilius* only wants "an opportunity of reſtoring the Tribuneſhip by means of a ſedition. But "that he may have no pretence of complaint, I am willing to wait for "*Virginius*'s return till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give him "notice. It is not above four hour's journey from hence to the camp. I "will prevail upon *Claudius* to yield up ſomewhat of his right for the "ſake of the public peace, and to let the girl remain in liberty 'till the "return of the man ſhe imagines to be her father. But in caſe *Virginius* "does not appear to-morrow, I would have *Icilius* know, that I ſhall not "want any aſſiſtance from my Collegues to put my decree in execution, "or to keep in awe ſuch ſeditious ſpirits as he.

Claudius, feigning to admit unwillingly of this delay, requeſted that at leaſt *Icilius* might give ſecurity for producing *Virginia* on the morrow. The People all around immediately held up their hands, and every man offered eagerly to be his ſecurity. *Icilius* touched with the affection of his fellow-citizens, broke into tears, while he returned them thanks. "To "morrow, *ſaid he*, if there be occaſion, we will make uſe of your aſſiſt- "ance. To-day, I hope they will be ſatisfied with my ſecurity and that "of all *Virginia*'s Relations."

Appius, though intoxicated with his paſſion, durſt not refuſe ſuch Bail: But he privately diſpatched a meſſenger to his Collegues who com- manded the army, intreating them to arreſt *Virginius* upon ſome pretence or other, and to keep him in cloſe priſon. He thought that, the Father

not appearing at the time appointed, he might then with a good colour deliver up the daughter into *Claudius*'s hands: But his courier arrived at the camp too late. *Numitorius*'s ſon, and a brother of *Icilius* had been beforehand with him; and *Virginius*, upon the firſt notice of his daughter's danger, pretending the ſudden death of ſome relation, had obtained leave to return to *Rome*, and was already gone. And he had the good fortune to eſcape two Parties of horſe, one which, upon the receipt of *Appius*'s Letter, the Decemvirs ſent after him to ſtop him, and the other, which *Appius*, with the ſame deſign, had placed in the road that led from the city to the camp.

V. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 3 Decemvirate

He appeared the next morning in the *Forum* pierced to the heart with grief, and leading by the hand his daughter all drowned in tears: She was accompanied by her kinſwomen, and by a great number of other ladies. *Virginius*, as he paſſed along, addreſſed himſelf to his fellow-citizens with an air of dignity, that ſeemed to *demand* their aſſiſtance, rather than to *implore* it. "To what purpoſe, *ſaid he*, do we every day "expoſe our lives in war to defend our wives and children from a fo-"reign enemy, if our Tyrants at *Rome* exerciſe upon them all the vio-"lence that can be ſuffered in a city taken by aſſault?" *Icilius*, quite furious with love and reſentment, inveighed loudly againſt *Appius*, without any reſerve: But the ſilent tears of the whole train of women affected the multitude more than any words or exclamations.

§. III. *APPIUS* heard with extream ſurpriſe that *Virginius* was in the *Forum*. Full of rage and vexation he repaired inſtantly thither, with a numerous * guard of his dependants and creatures. Having aſcended his Tribunal, he bid *Claudius* open his demand, and proceed in his action. *Claudius* then repeated what he had ſaid the day before, and at the ſame time produced the ſlave, whom he had ſuborned, and who, out of fear of her maſter, declared, that ſhe had ſold *Virginia* to *Virginius*'s wife. The

* Mr. *Vertot*, B. 5. P. 71. quotes *D. Hal.* as ſaying, B. 11. that *Appius*, to prevent all reſiſtance, ordered down the troops [2 legions] that were in the Capitol, and that they took poſſeſſion of the *Forum*. And he ſoon after quotes *Livy*, as telling us, that the multitude were attacked by *Appius*'s ſoldiers. There is nothing either in *Dion. Hal.* or *Livy*, from whence it can be gathered, that *Appius* employed any ſoldiers on this occaſion. It is true, *Dion. Hal.* repreſents him ſaying to the People, that the troops in the Capitol were not placed there only for defence againſt a foreign enemy, but alſo to prevent riots in the city. And *Livy* makes him inſinuate to the People, in order to terrify them, that he has brought down ſome armed men from the Capitol. But we do not find in either of thoſe two Hiſtorians, that theſe armed men ever appeared. *D. Hal.* ſays, p. 680, that *Appius* came to his Tribunal, μετὰ πολλῆς ῥώμης, but it was ἑταίρων καὶ πελατῶν, (a great company of his friends and clients) as appears by the context. And *Livy* having mentioned the reſiſtance which *Appius*'s Lictors met with when they would have ſeized *Icilius*, adds, *Quum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipſe cum agmine Patriciorum juvenum per turbam viatoni in carcerem duci jubet.* *Appius*, the moſt deſpotic Magiſtrate that had appeared in *Rome* ſince *Tarquin*, did not venture to exerciſe ſo avowed a tyranny, as to employ his armed ſoldiers to attack unarmed citizens. This is evident, not only from what the Hiſtorians ſay of thoſe who aided and abetted him, but from his being worſted in the conflict with his adverſaries.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

claimant added, that he had many other credible witneſſes to produce, if there were occaſion; and that he humbly hoped, his being the Judge's client would not be thought a good reaſon for refuſing him that juſtice, which every other man would obtain in the like caſe: And he concluded, with intreating the *Decemvir* not to ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by his compaſſion to the prejudice of truth and right.

D. Hal. B. 11.

The friends and relations of *Virginia*, to deſtroy this impoſture, repreſented, that her mother *Numitoria* could have had no temptation to practiſe ſuch a fraud as was pretended; that ſhe was married very young, and to a man almoſt as young as herſelf; that ſhe bore a child in a very few years after her marriage; that if ſhe had proved barren, and had been minded to introduce a ſtranger into her family, ſhe would never have taken the child of a ſlave, and certainly not a girl, when ſhe might as eaſily have had a boy. That as to thoſe many credible witneſſes which *Claudius* talked of producing, it was highly improbable that a tranſaction which required ſo much ſecrecy, ſhould be imparted to many perſons, when one was ſufficient for the purpoſe. That granting *Numitoria* to have been guilty of ſo ſtrange a folly, it was yet ſtranger that an affair intruſted with ſo many confidents ſhould remain ſo long a ſecret. That it was impoſſible to account why *Claudius* himſelf ſhould be ſo profoundly ſilent in this affair for fifteen years, and ſhould never declare his pretenſions till the young woman was become marriageable, and appeared in that wonderful degree of beauty.

At theſe words all eyes were turned upon *Virginia*; the modeſty of her countenance, her tears, her youth, her innocence, and, above all, her amazing beauty, which clouded as it was with exceſſive grief, had yet a ſurpaſſing luſtre, fill'd every breaſt with the moſt tender compaſſion. Nor could they help reflecting with extreme concern and terror, that if the laws of liberty were thus violated in the perſon of this young maid, there could be no longer any ſecurity for wives or daughters againſt the like diſhonour. For every body was already convinced, that the allegations of *Claudius* and his witneſs were mere impoſture, and the wicked contrivance of ſome dignified villain, who thought himſelf at liberty to do whatever he pleaſed.

But to thoſe arguments, ſhewing the improbability of what *Claudius* had alledged, *Virginius* added, that he had witneſſes of unqueſtionable credit ready, (whom he named, and who he deſired might be ſtrictly examined) who would teſtify, ſome, that they had ſeen *Numitoria* big with child, others, that they had been preſent when ſhe was delivered of this daughter, and others, that they had ſeen her give ſuck to young *Virginia*, which ſhe could not have done, had ſhe been barren, as *Claudius* pretended.

Virginius was ſtill going on with his plea, when *Appius* perceiving the impreſſion that was made upon the Aſſembly by thoſe unanſwerable reaſons which had been offered, and being determined at any rate to accompliſh his enterprize, interrupted him, and commanded ſilence, ſignifying, that

that he himſelf had ſomething to ſay. All the People being curious and anxious to know what it was, were preſently ſtill, and liſtened to him with attention. V. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 5 Decemvirate

The Decemvir having firſt caſt his eyes on all ſides to obſerve his ſtrength, and how his friends were poſted, "*Virginius*, ſaid he, I muſt "acquaint you, and all who are here preſent, that this is not the firſt "time I have heard of this affair. I was told of it long before my electi- "on to the Decemvirate. *Claudius*'s father, at his death, deſired me to be "guardian to his ſon; (his anceſtors, you know, were always clients of "our family.) Intimations were ſoon after given me, that I ought to claim "this young ſlave in right of my ward. Hereupon I examined into the "matter, and found the fact to be exactly as *Claudius* has repreſented it. "However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this "nature, but choſe rather to leave it for him to manage when he ſhould "come of age, when he might either take back the girl, or accept of "a ſum of money for her from the parties who had bred her up. "Our civil feuds, and the hurry of public buſineſs, hindered me after- "wards from giving any attention to the concerns of *Claudius*. He has "applied himſelf of late, I ſuppoſe, to examine into the ſtate of his af- "fairs, and he finds this girl to belong to him, as part of his inheritance. "I can ſee nothing unjuſt or unreaſonable in the demand he makes, to have "the daughter of his ſlave reſtored to him. It would have been better "indeed if the thing could ſome way or other have been compromiſed. "But ſince a ſuit has been commenced upon it, I am obliged in conſci- "ence to give teſtimony in his favour; and upon what I myſelf know, "I do, as Judge, pronounce him lawful maſter of this girl."

Virginius, provoked to the higheſt pitch at ſo unjuſt and cruel a ſentence, no longer kept any meaſures with the Decemvir. Holding up his hand at him, "*Appius*, I promiſed my daughter to *Icilius*, and not to thee. "I educated her for honourable marriage, and not to be a prey to an in- "famous raviſher. Is this then your way and manner? Is the lawleſs "luſt of ſavage beaſts to prevail among us? How the citizens *here* will "bear with theſe things, I know not; but I truſt that thoſe who are *in* "*arms* will not endure them." *Livy*, B. 3.

The People at theſe words ſet up a loud cry full of indignation, and they ſeemed at firſt as if they would oppoſe the execution of *Appius*'s decree. But the Decemvir with a threatening voice told them, that he was not unacquainted with the ſeditious meetings which had been held the night before, nor with the plots there laid to cauſe an inſurrection, but that he wanted neither power nor reſolution to chaſtiſe thoſe who ſhould dare to diſturb the public peace; that the ſoldiers in the Capitol had not been placed there only for defence againſt the foreign enemy: And he adviſed them therefore to be careful of their behaviour, and to retire quietly to their own houſes. "And you, *ſaid he*, (*ſpeaking to one of his Lic-* "*tors*) go put aſide the crowd, and make room for a maſter to lay hold "of his ſlave." *D. Hal.* *Livy*, B. 3.

Y. of R. 304. Bef. J. C. 448. 3 Decemvirate

The multitude terrify'd at these menaces, and the wrathful manner in which they were uttered, instantly gave back, and left the unhappy *Virginia* standing by herself, a helpless prey to injustice. *Virginius*, who then saw that there was no other remedy, turning towards the Decemvir, in humble manner thus addressed him: "Pardon, APPIUS, the unguarded words which escaped from me in the anguish of a fatherly grief, and allow me, if you please, before *Claudius* takes away the girl, privately to ask, in her presence, some questions of her nurse, that I may be set right in this matter, and, in case *Virginia* be not really my daughter, may return to the camp in less affliction."

Appius readily granted him this request, upon condition however, that it should be in *Claudius*'s sight, and without stirring out of the Forum. *Virginius*, pierced to the heart with the sharpest sorrow, took his daughter, half dead, in his arms; he wiped away the tears in which her face was all bathed, embraced her, and drawing her near to some shops which were on the side of the Forum, chance directed him to a butcher's knife: Having instantly seized it, "My dear daughter, this is the only way to save thy honour and thy liberty:" As he said these words he plunged the knife into her heart: Then drawing it out again all smoaking with her blood, he turned towards the Tribunal, and with a furious voice cried out, "By this blood, APPIUS, I devote thy head to the infernal Gods."

The Decemvir, from his Tribunal, called out in the greatest fury, to seize him; but he with the knife in his hand made his way through those who would have stopt him, and being favored by the Multitude, got out of the city, mounted his horse, and took the road to the camp. In the mean while, *Numitorius* and *Icilius* raised a great commotion in *Rome*; they staid by the dead body of *Virginia*, shewed it to the eyes of the People, and besought them not to let her death go unrevenged. Crowds flocked to the *Forum* from all parts; they uttered bitter exclamations against the Decemvirs, and demanded the re-establishment of the ancient government and of the Tribunes. As for *Appius*, he was now returned to his own house. He had waded through an ocean of wickedness, to reach a prize which escaped him for ever, in the very moment he thought to take possession of it. He had been a spectator of the murder of her, whom he loved to excess, a murder of which he himself was the cause; and by his last stroke of tyranny had made sure of the extreme hatred and indignation of the *Roman* People. Stung with these reflections, he seemed to have quite lost his reason. Instead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he sent his Lictors to seize *Icilius* and carry away the dead body from the *Forum*. The People opposed the execution of his orders, and, being now urged to fury, fell upon his Lictors, broke their faces, and drove them out of the *Forum*. *Appius* hereupon getting together, as fast as he could, a great number of his friends and clients, came in person to support his authority. But *Valerius* and *Horatius*, those sworn enemies of the Decemvirs, having had notice of his motion, had put themselves at the head of a band of brave young men, marched them into the *Forum*, and placed them

them round the body of *Virginia*. At first the two parties discharged their fury against each other in mutual reproaches and invectives; but they soon often came to blows. *Appius* was worsted and repulsed. In this perplexity not knowing what else to do, he got up into the Temple of *Vulcan*, and there took upon him to act the part of a Tribune of the People, demanding that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should be thrown head-long from the *Tarpeian* rock, as disturbers of the public peace. But the multitude hissed at so senseless a discourse; and in the mean time *Valerius*, having caused the body of *Virginia* to be carried to the top of a flight of steps, where the People might see it, was from the same eminence inveighing against *Appius*. Most of the Decemvir's auditors soon left him to go to *Valerius*, who thereupon assuming the authority of a Magistrate, commanded the Lictors to pay no more attendance on a private person. And now *Appius* terrified at the defection of many of his Creatures whom he saw changing sides, believed his life to be in danger; hiding therefore his face with his robe he fled, and took refuge in a neighbouring house. At this juncture *Oppius* the *Patrician* Decemvir rushed from another side into the Forum to succour his Collegue. But he came too late. Force had got the better of authority. He judged therefore that the wisest method in the present exigence was to assemble the Senate; and this in a great measure quieted the People; for they hoped that the Decemvirate would speedily be abolished. But those of the Fathers who happened to be in *Rome* were most of them friends to the present Government; they only ordered the People to behave themselves peaceably, and commissioned some young members of their body to go to the camp near the *Algidus*, to prevent the sedition which *Virginius* might excite there. In the mean time *Valerius* and *Horatius* caused the body of *Virginia* to be laid in an open litter, and to be carried in great pomp through all the high streets, in order to excite the compassion of the citizens, and increase their detestation of the Decemvirs. Men and women, old and young, married and unmarried, all ran out of their houses to see this funeral procession, and they all bewailed her fatal beauty, and her untimely death. The women with tears in their eyes threw, some of them flowers upon the litter, others the ribbons from their heads to adorn it, others cast their girdles, their fillets, wreaths of their hair upon it. The men also contributed, every one, some little present.

Y. of. *R* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

The whole city would have revolted immediately from the Government, had not the Decemvirs been actually commanding armies, and had not *Valerius* and *Horatius* (who managed this business, and who hoped to compass their point without effusion of blood) thought it more adviseable to wait and see what *Virginius*'s return would produce in the army near the *Algidus*.

§. IV. HE entered the camp, attended by near 400 citizens, and still holding in his hand the bloody knife with which he had killed his Daughter. The soldiers at this strange sight flocked to him from all quarters. *Virginius* got upon a small eminence, from whence he might the more easily be heard: His face was drowned in tears, and grief for a while tied his tongue. At length

Y. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 3 Decemvirate. *Livy*, B. 3.

length breaking his mournful silence, he related to them the whole tragical story, and then raising his hands to heaven, "I call you to witness, "immortal Gods, that *Appius* alone is guilty of the bloody deed I was "forced to commit. And you, my fellow-soldiers, I conjure you not "to drive me out of your company as a parricide and the murderer of "my daughter. I would willingly have sacrificed my own life to have "preserved hers, if she could have lived with her honour and her liber-"ty. But finding that the tyrant was determined to make her a slave, that "he might have an opportunity to dishonour her, pity alone made me "cruel: I rather chose to lose my daughter, than keep her with shame; "but I would not have outlived her one moment, had I not hoped to "revenge her death by your assistance."

The centurions and soldiers, filled with compassion for his misfortune, and with indignation against the Decemvir, all assured him, that they would not fail him in any thing he should undertake against *Appius*. Nay they resolved to extend their resentment to all the Decemvirs, and to shake off the yoke of a dominion that was now grown into an avowed tyranny.

The Decemvirs who commanded the army being informed of *Virginius*'s return, and of the disposition of the soldiers, fear for him with design to secure him. No obedience was paid to their orders. The troops were all eager to return to *Rome*; nothing but the military oath withheld them. They thought they could not leave their Generals without offending the Gods, and dishonouring themselves. *Virginius*, who burnt with impatience to revenge himself of *Appius*, quickly removed their scruple, by assuring them, that a *Roman* could never be under any obligation to obey usurpers and tyrants; that the Decemvirs were notoriously such, and that therefore to submit to them would not be obedience and piety, but madness and superstition. There needed no more to satisfy the conscience of the soldiers. They immediately flew in a kind of fury to their arms, snatch'd up their ensigns, and under the conduct of their respective Centurions took the way to *Rome*. The Decemvirs, startled at so general a desertion, ran to stop them: But wherever they turned themselves, they found only exasperated spirits who breathed nothing but vengeance. If the Decemvirs spoke to them in gentle terms, they received no answer. If they pretended to threaten or command, the soldiers sternly answered, *We are men, we have swords in our hands.*

D. Hal. B. 11.

Livy, B. 3.

The army entered *Rome* about evening, without making the least disturbance, and without so much as a soldier's stirring out of his rank. As they passed along they assured their friends and relations, that they were returned only to destroy tyranny. All the troops marched quietly through the city to mount *Aventine*, fully resolved not to separate till they had obtained the deposal of the Decemvirs, and the restoration of the Tribuneship.

§. V. *APPIUS*, terrified with remorse of conscience, and with the revolt of the army, durst not appear in public. But *Oppius*, his Colleague, had recourse in this distress to the authority of the Senate, which he convened with all expedition.

The

The Senators thought it by no means adviſeable to proceed in a way of ſeverity, becauſe they themſelves had given occaſion to the ſedition. The reſult of their debate was to commiſſion *Sp. Tarpeius*, *C. Julius*, and *P. Sulpitius*, all three Conſulars, to go to mount *Aventine* and demand of the ſoldiers, *By whoſe orders they had left their camp? what their intent was in poſſeſſing themſelves of mount Aventine? and why, paſting the war begun againſt the enemy, they had invaded their own country.* A.V. of *R.* 304. Anſ. *J.C.* 448. Decemvirate

The ſoldiers did not want an anſwer, but they wanted a ſpeaker, for as yet they had not choſen themſelves a Head; and no one man among them would venture to act as Chief in this revolt. They remained for ſome time in ſilence, but at length they all cried out with one voice, *Let* Valerius *and* Horatius *be ſent to us, we will give an anſwer to the Senate by them.* *Livy*, B. 3.

As ſoon as the three Commiſſioners were gone, *Icilius* took notice to the ſoldiers how much they had been puzzled, even in an affair of no great importance, for want of a Head; that the anſwer they had fallen upon, tho' pertinent enough, had proceeded rather from caſual agreement, than previous and public counſel; and he adviſed them therefore to chuſe ten perſons to be over them, and to manage for them. Inſtantly they named him the firſt to that honour, but he excuſed himſelf, deſiring them to reſerve their good opinion of him to happier times. "As nothing, ſaid "*he*, can give me pleaſure while my daughter is unrevenged, ſo it is ad- "viſable for you, in ſuch a ſeaſon of trouble as this, to chuſe thoſe men to "be your directors and agents who are moſt obnoxious to the parties you "are to treat with. If you think me capable of being uſeful to you, I "ſhall not be leſs ſo in a private capacity." The army hereupon appointed ten other Centurions to be their Governors, with the title of Military Tribunes.

The example of this army was followed by that employed in the war againſt the *Aequi*: For *Numitorius* and *Icilius* had gone thither, and had ſpirited up the ſoldiers to deſert their Generals. With colours flying they marched ſtrait towards *Rome*, and having advice, by the way, of the ſteps taken by the troops on mount *Aventine*, they in like manner, at the inſtigation of *Icilius*, (a man ſkilful in popular affairs) choſe themſelves *ten Military Tribunes*, to govern and conduct them. (What moved *Icilius* to give this counſel was an apprehenſion, that, without ſuch election, the ten Tribunes of the other camp might be thought to have a kind of right to be appointed the *Ten Tribunes of the Commons* for the next Comitia that ſhould be held for naming thoſe Magiſtrates, and he himſelf had a view to be one of the College.) Theſe troops entered the City, and marched through it in the ſame good order, and with the ſame peaceable behaviour, as had been obſerved by the other, whom they preſently after joined. And then the united armies commiſſioned their twenty Military Tribunes to elect two out of their number to be ſupreme over all. The choice fell upon *M. Oppius* and *Sextus Manlius*.

The Senate in the mean while, anxious for the Commonwealth, ſat every day to conſider of ſome effectual remedy for the preſent evil. (Such deſertions

Y. of R. 304. Bef. J. C. 448. 3 Decemvirate

sections were of dangerous example; and the frontiers were left exposed to the invasions of the enemy.) But the time which should have been employed in sage deliberation, was wasted in strife and wrangling. The Decemvirs were incessantly reproached with the murder of *Siccius*, the lust of *Appius*, and the miscarriages in the war. At length it was concluded to send *Valerius* and *Horatius* to mount *Aventine*; but then these two Senators, finding that their mediation was become necessary, protested that they would not move a step so long as the Decemvirs, whom they called usurpers, remained Masters of the Government.

The Decemvirs, on the other hand, declared that they would not resign their authority till they had proposed to the People the two last Tables of Laws, and had got them pass'd; and that this was the only term fixed for the expiration of their Magistracy. Nay, *L. Cornelius*, yet a warm partisan of the present Governours, advised against entering into any negotiation with the two armies, till they were returned to their former respective camps, upon which condition he was for offering the soldiers a general pardon, with an exception however to the Authors of the desertion.

D. Hal. B. 11.

Livy, B. 3.

The soldiers on mount *Aventine* receiving accounts from *M. Duilius* (who had been formerly a Tribune) of what pass'd in the Senate, came to a resolution to remove their camp to the *Mons Sacer*, a place which would put the Senators in mind of the steady resolution of the *Commons*, and make them sensible of the absolute necessity of restoring the Tribuneship, in order to a re-union. Thither they marched, fortified themselves there, and observed the same good discipline for which their ancestors had been so much admired. In this decampment they were followed by such numbers of the Citizens, with their wives and children, that *Rome* was in a manner deserted: "What have we to do, *said they*, in a City where neither chastity nor liberty is safe." The *Conscript Fathers* astonished as they passed to the Senate-house to see the streets so thin of people, and that, except a few old men, there was scarce any body in the Forum, came now for the most part into the sentiments of *Horatius* and *Valerius*. They declared that it was madness in the Decemvirs to think of retaining their authority, when they had no subjects to govern. "What! *said they*, "will you administer justice to empty houses and bare walls? Are "you not ashamed to see that all the citizens in the Forum scarce "equal the number of your Lictors? In short, you must resolve either "to have no *Comitia*, or to allow them *Tribunes*. They extorted "from our fore-fathers that *Plebeian* Magistracy, of which they had not "then experienced the benefit; and do you imagine, that when they have "tasted the sweets of it, they will ever consent to part with it, and espe- "cially since your Government has not been so moderate and gentle, as "to make them feel no want of protection and succour?"

The Decemvirs finding that there was no remedy, promised at length to be wholly governed by the Senate; they only desired, that they might not be sacrificed to the hatred of their enemies, and reminded the *Fathers*, that

that it concerned them nearly not to accustom the People to shed the blood of *Patricians*. Y. of R. 304. Bef. J. C. 448. 3 Decemvirate

§. VI. *VALERIUS* and *Horatius* having brought this affair to the point they wanted, repaired to the army, and were received by the soldiers as their protectors. The People, by the mouth of *Icilius*, demanded the restoration of their Tribunes, their privilege of appeal, and an amnesty for all who had left the camp without permission from their Generals. But first of all they required that the Decemvirs should be delivered into their hands, and they loudly threatened to burn them all alive.

Valerius and *Horatius* were not much more favourable to those Magistrates than the People themselves; but they prosecuted the design of destroying them with more art. At the same time that in general terms they exhorted the multitude not to be governed by cruel thoughts, (bidding them remember that they had more occasion for a shield than a sword) they insinuated to them, that when they were in possession again of their rights, and when their Tribunes, their Laws and Assemblies were restored to them, they would then have it in their power to do justice to themselves.

The People being satisfied that no *Tribunes* whatsoever could have more Zeal for the interest of the Common than those two Persons, trusted every thing to their management. *Valerius* and *Horatius* returned immediately to the Senate; and, in the account they gave in public of the demands of the People, omitted their Threats against the Decemvirs. They even seemed to hint, that the People consented that every thing which had passed under the Decemvirate should be buried in oblivion. The Decemvirs hearing no mention made of their punishment, readily yielded to all that was asked; only *Appius*, cruel by nature, and judging of other men's hatred to him by his own them, said aloud, "I am not ignorant of the "fate I am to expect. The attack is only deferred till my enemies have "got arms in their hands. Nothing but my blood will satisfy their ma-"lice. Be it so: I am ready nevertheless to resign the Decemvirate, and "I care not how soon I do it." Hereupon the Senate made a Decree, *That the Decemvirs should instantly depose themselves; that the Pontifex Maximus should hold the Comitia for electing Tribunes, and that no notice should be hereafter taken of the desertion of the soldiers from their Generals, or the retreat of the Citizens to the Mons Sacer.* Then the Decemvirs immediately repaired to the *Forum*, and there publicly laid down their authority, to the great joy of the City. The news of their abdication was presently carried by *Valerius* and *Horatius* to the Camp. "Return soldiers, *said they*, "to your country, your Household-Gods, your wives and children; and "may this return be happy to you and to the Commonwealth." The army immediately took up their ensigns, and exulting with joy returned to *Rome*. But before they separated they marched a second time, accompanied by the People, to mount *Aventine*, where they made an election of their Tribunes, *A. Virginius* the father of the hapless *Virginia*, *Numitorius* her uncle, and *Icilius*, to whom she had been betrothed, were the first chosen. *C. Sicinius*, *M. Duilius*, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *P. Villius*, *Livy*, B. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 11.

Y. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 6o Consulship.

P. Vilius, and *C. Oppius*, were appointed their Colleagues. An *Inter-Rex* was afterwards created, who held an Assembly by *Centuries*, and, according to the votes of the People, named *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* to the Consulate.

§. VII. THE Administration of these Consuls was wholly popular, and the *Plebeians* obtained from them what they could hardly have hoped from their very Tribunes themselves. We have already seen that the *Patricians* and Senators pretended they were not subject to the Decrees of the People convened by *Tribes*. The Commons, on the other hand, maintained, that the sovereignty of the State lying essentially in the general Assembly of the *Roman* People, all the Citizens of every rank whatsoever ought to be subject to it, since they had a right to give their votes in it, each in his tribe. This dispute was often renewed between the two orders in the Republic. The present Consuls taking advantage of the absolute Authority they had in the Government, got this important affair decided in the People's favour; and by an Act passed in an Assembly *by Centuries* it was declared, *That all Decrees made in the Comitia by Tribes should have the force of Laws with relation to all the Citizens.*

The *Lex Valeria* touching appeals to *the Assembly of the People* was confirmed anew, and strengthened with another, forbidding the future creation of any Magistrate, from whose judgments an appeal should not lie to that Assembly, and making it lawful for any person to kill the man who should attempt such a creation. To these laws were added a Regulation importing, that the *Senatus-consulta*, which were often suppressed or altered by the Consuls, should for the future be transmitted to the *Ædiles*, and preserved in the Temple of *Ceres*.

§. VIII. THOUGH the *Patricians* in general greatly disliked all these Regulations, yet, because hitherto they saw no particular person of their Party attacked, they made no opposition to them. But the Scene quickly changed. The liberty of the People, and the Power of the Tribunes being now firmly re-established, the latter thought the favourable time come for prosecuting the Decemvirs, and all the accomplices of their tyranny. *Appius* was the first accused. Upon a Summons from *Virginius* (who was appointed to be the accuser) he came into the *Forum*, attended by a crowd of young Nobles, who had been his Ministers and his Guard during his Decemvirate. Their Appearance brought afresh into the People's minds all the instances of his horrible abuse of power.

Then *Virginius* began, "Long speeches, *O Romans*, are for clearing "up of doubtful cases. I shall not waste your time in expatiating upon "the crimes of a man whose cruelty reduced you to the necessity of "taking arms to rescue yourselves from it: Nor will I suffer him to add "to his wicked deeds the impudence of defending them. *Appius*, I shall "pass over the whole series of your flagitious practices during the space "of two years. There is one crime only, from which if you do not in-"stantly clear yourself, I order you to be led to prison.

" What have you to ſay for the ſentence you paſſed againſt *Virginia?* Y. of *R.* 304.
" Why did you, contrary to law, refuſe a perſon, whoſe liberty was Bef. *C.* 448.
" brought into diſpute, the poſſeſſion of that liberty till the ſuit was de- 60 Conſulſhip.
" termined ?"

Appius had no hope of aſſiſtance either from the Tribunes or the People; nevertheleſs when the Officer laid hold of him to drag him away, he cried out, *I appeal:* The ſound of theſe ſacred words (the guardians of liberty) tho' from a man who had ſo lately violated the laws of liberty, cauſed an univerſal ſilence. He then reminded the People of the merit of his anceſtors, and of his own unhappy affection to the *Commons*, when to the great diſpleaſure of the *Senate* he relinquiſhed the Conſulſhip, to make way for the Decemvirate and the eſtabliſhment of the new Laws? Laws which were ſtill in force, while he the Legiſlator himſelf, contrary to the tenor of them was condemned to Priſon. He added, that as to his merits and demerits, it would appear what they were when his trial ſhould come on; that at preſent he pleaded the common rights of a *Roman* Citizen, and only demanded the time neceſſary for preparing his defence: That if without being heard he was now ſentenced to priſon, he appealed to the Tribunes, and exhorted them not to follow the example of thoſe they hated: That if the Tribunes confeſſed they had come to an agreement among themſelves to aboliſh the right of appeal, he appealed from them to the People, and implored the protection of the Laws juſt made, by joint conſent of Conſuls and Tribunes, to confirm that privilege. " What Citizen, *ſaid he*, can
" hope for any benefit from thoſe Laws, if *Appius Claudius* can reap none?
" Your conduct with regard to me will make it appear, whether this right
" of appeal, of which you ſeem ſo jealous, be only the appearance of a
" privilege, a thing ſubject to the cabals and private views of the Tribunes,
" or whether it be the real and firm ſupport of liberty."

Virginius, in anſwer, ſaid, that *Appius* was the ſingle man who had nothing to do with laws or any ſocial compact, nor ought to have any benefit from them. That having made himſelf perpetual Decemvir, his Tribunal had been the retreat and ſtrong-hold of all wickedneſs; that regardleſs of Gods and men, and always ſurrounded by hangmen inſtead of Lictors, he had, contrary to all laws and privileges, deſpoiled, ſcourged and murdered his fellow-citizens; that then, turning his mind from ſlaughter to luſt, he had not been aſhamed to tear a *Roman* maid of free condition out of her father's arms, deliver her into the hands of the vile miniſter of his pleaſures, and reduce the father to the cruel extremity of killing his daughter, to preſerve her honour: That when the uncle and the perſon to whom ſhe was betrothed were taking up the body of the expiring virgin, he had commanded them both to priſon, being more vexed at the diſappointment of his intended rape than touched with concern for the murder. That ſurely it was but fitting that ſo infamous a wretch ſhould go to that priſon which he himſelf had built, and had inſolently named the *Habitation of the Commons of Rome*. " Appeal therefore, *ſaid he*, as often as you will; unleſs you inſtantly
" plead, I order you to jayl as a criminal condemned." *Livy*, B. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 11.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

The commitment of a *Patrician* of ſuch high rank, ſeemed to many perſons, even among the Commons, an exceſſive ſtretch of *Tribunitian* power; yet no body oppoſed it. *Appius* was that minute led to priſon, and *Virginius* appointed him a day for making his defence.

Livy, B. 3.

His uncle, *C. Claudius*, who had always been againſt the Decemvirs, and who had particularly deteſted the pride and inſolence of his nephew, haſtened however to his aid as ſoon as he heard of his diſgrace. It has been already ſaid, that to avoid being an eye-witneſs of the tyrannical Government of the Decemvirs, and of the miſeries of *Rome*, he had retired to *Regillus*. He was no ſooner come back to *Rome*, but he appeared in the *Forum* in a habit of mourning, and attended by all his relations and friends. He went from citizen to citizen, and beſought each of them in particular not to fix ſuch an ignominy upon the *Claudian* family, nor to ſuffer ſuch a ſhame to themſelves; as that the founder of their laws ſhould lie in a dungeon with villains and robbers; but rather to forgive one of the *Claudii*, for the ſake of ſo many of the name as interceded for him, than out of hatred to one, to reject the prayers of ſo many. He added, that the People having fortunately recovered their liberty by their courage, there was now nothing wanting to the happineſs of the Republic, but the reſtoring of union between the two orders in the State, and that this would be beſt done by clemency.

Many of the citizens were moved to pity by the intreaties and interceſſions of *Claudius*. But *Virginius* on the other hand begged them to have compaſſion for him and his daughter, and to have regard to the prayers, not of the *Claudian* family which had tyrannized over them, but of *Virginia*'s relations, three Tribunes, who being created for the ſuccour of the People, ought in their neceſſity to receive ſuccour from them. *Virginius* prevailed.

Appius died in priſon before the day came for his trial; and *Dionyſius* tells us, that tho' the Tribunes gave out that he had ſtrangled himſelf, it was much ſuſpected that he had been diſpatched by their orders. *Livy*, without mentioning a word of the Tribunes, barely relates, that *Appius*, to avoid the infamy of a publick puniſhment, put an end to his own life in priſon.

The trial of *Sp. Oppius*, one of the *Plebeian* Decemvirs, followed next. *Numitorius*, *Virginia*'s uncle (who was now a Tribune) proſecuted him, as an accomplice of *Appius*, whoſe injuſtice in her affair he had not oppoſed, tho' at that time in *Rome*. Nor was this the only crime laid to his charge. A veteran, who had ſerved 27 years, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, ſtripping off his robe, expoſed his ſhoulders, which had been torn with rods by the Decemvirs Lictors; and he offered to ſubmit himſelf to the ſame treatment again, if *Oppius* could aſſign any good reaſon for his cruelty. The accuſed was condemned by the unanimous ſuffrages of the People; he was thrown into priſon, and *Dionyſius* tells us, that he died there the very ſame day. The other eight Decemvirs ſought their ſafety in flight, and baniſhed themſelves. Their effects

were confiscated and sold, and the produce carried by the Quæstors into the public treasury. *Marcus Claudius*, the instrument employed by *Appius* to get *Virginia* into his power, was condemned to death; but as he laid all the crime upon *Appius*, *Virginius* was contented with his exile, doubtless in consideration that the wretch had acted in compliance with the will of a Magistrate from whom he could have no appeal. Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 60 Consulship.

Thus was revenge taken for the innocent blood of the unfortunate *Virginia*, whose death, (like that of *Lucretia*,) procured liberty to the *Roman* People.

Tho' the punishment of the Decemvire was owned to be just; yet the Senate could not help being under some Consternation at the death and exile of so many members of their body. Neither was it possible to foresee what bounds the Tribunes, who were so closely united with the two Consuls, would put to their revenge: They seemed to be so many new Decemvirs, who were going to re-establish the late tyranny. *Duilius*, who was one of the Tribunes, but more moderate than the rest, dispelled the fears of the Senate by this public declaration: "Enough, *said he*, has "been done for the Security of our liberty, and the punishment of our "enemies. During the remainder of this year, I will not suffer, that "any person be prosecuted or imprisoned for past faults, which being "already expiated, ought therefore to be no longer remembered."

CHAP. XXX.

§. I. *The* Consuls *take the field.* Valerius *defeats the* Æqui *and* Volsci, *and* Horatius *the* Sabines. *Nevertheless the* Senate, *dissatisfied with their too popular administration, refuse them a* Triumph. *They obtain it of the People.* §. II. *The* Tribunes *purpose to get themselves perpetuated in the* Tribuneship, *and* Horatius *and* Valerius *in the* Consulate. Duilius, *one of the College, defeats both these projects. By his influence, joined with the* Senate's, *five new* Tribunes *are chosen; after which, finding that he cannot prevail with the Tribes to fill the other five places with new Magistrates, he dismisses the Assembly, referring the completion of the whole number of ten* Tribunes *to the five already elected. These five, among those they associate with them in their office, name two* Patricians. Trebonius Asper, *one of the* Plebeian Tribunes, *shortly after gets a Law passed, forbidding the* Tribunes *the practice of* Co-optation. §. III. *In the* Consulate *of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus *and* Agrippa Furius *the old dissentions are renewed; insomuch that though the* Æqui *and* Volsci *ravage the country to the very gates of* Rome, *the* Tribunes *oppose the necessary levies of troops to repulse them: But* Quinctius *gets the better of this opposition, by a speech he makes to the People. The* Consuls *rout the enemy.* §. IV. *The* Roman *People dishonour themselves by a judgment they give in a cause referred to their arbitration by the cities of* Ardea *and* Aricia.

§. I.

Y. of R. 304. Bef. J.C. 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

§. I. AND now the main affair of the Republic was to revenge herſelf of her Enemies abroad, who had taken advantage of her late inteſtine diviſions and anarchy to invade and pillage the *Roman* territory. *Valerius* was appointed to march againſt the united forces of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, and *Horatius* againſt the *Sabines*. But before the Conſuls left *Rome*, the two laſt tables of laws, which had not yet been eſtabliſhed in due form, received the proper ſanction, and, being engraven in braſs, were fixed up in the *Forum*.

Each Conſul obtained a compleat victory. Nevertheleſs the Senate being diſſatisfy'd with theſe Magiſtrates, on account of their exceſſive popularity, and the little regard they had ſhewn for the honour or intereſt of their own order (even leſs than the Tribunes) decreed only one day's *ſupplications* (or ſolemn thankſgivings) in the name of both; but the People, of their own motion, prolonged the ceremony all the next day.

Livy, B. 3. In the mean time, the Generals returned and appeared with their legions in the *Campus Martius*; and hither they ſummoned the Senators. Of this ſeveral of the chief among them very much complained, as if the Senate was held in the midſt of arms, with a view to keep it in awe. The Conſuls hereupon removed the Aſſembly to the *Flaminius Meadows*, and there preſented their petition for a TRIUMPH. Many of the *Fathers* ſtood up and warmly oppoſed their requeſt; but *C. Claudius* eſpecially ſpoke with great bitterneſs on this occaſion. Directing his ſpeech to the Conſuls,

D. Hal. B. 11. "Did you not ſolemnly promiſe us, *ſaid he*, that the abdication of the "Decemvirs ſhould be followed by a general pardon? And yet no ſooner "had we obliged thoſe Magiſtrates to depoſe themſelves, but ſome of "them were murdered, and others conſtrained to baniſh themſelves from "their country to ſave their lives. *Appius*, the head of the *Claudian* fa- "mily, the chief of the Decemvirs, was ſtrangled in priſon, without "the leaſt form of juſtice, and without ſo much as being heard in the "Aſſembly of the People, leſt moved to pity by the tears and deſolation "of a family that has deſerved ſo well of the Republic, they ſhould have "overlooked his faults. Our Conſuls, the heads and protectors of the "Senate, they, who ought to have expoſed their very lives for the pre- "ſervation of its dignity, have baſely connived at the murder of the "unfortunate *Appius*, and proſecuted no body for it."

The Senate, exaſperated ſtill more againſt the Conſuls by this diſcourſe of *C. Claudius*, declared them unworthy of the honours they ſued for, and they were given to underſtand that they ought to be well content if they eſcaped puniſhment. *Valerius* and *Horatius*, provoked at ſo ignominious a refuſal, carried their complaints before the Aſſembly of the People, and the Tribune *Icilius* there demanded the TRIUMPH in their behalf. Many Senators went to the *Forum* to prevent the effects of this cabal, and *C. Claudius* was one of them. Though he had always been averſe to the Government of the Decemvirs, yet he could never pardon the two Conſuls for having

having delivered up his nephew to the fury of the Tribunes. With great vehemence he cried out to the People, that it was over the Senate, and not over the enemy that the Conſuls deſired to triumph; that they ſought a reward for a particular favour done to the Tribune, not for any worthy deed, any real merit; that the Commons had no right whatſoever to beſtow the honours of the TRIUMPH; that this was a prerogative which belonged to the Senate only; and that the Republic would never be free and quiet any longer, than while the two Orders in the State forbore to encroach upon the rights and privileges of each other. Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

But, notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, the People decreed the TRIUMPH to the Conſuls; and that it was afterwards thought a legal one may be well concluded from its having a place in the Capitoline Faſti. *Livy*, B. 3.

§. II. THE Tribunes did not ſtop here. The power they had in the Commonwealth by their good underſtanding with the two Conſuls, encouraged them to form the deſign of getting themſelves continued in the Tribuneſhip after the expiration of their year; another conſpiracy againſt the public liberty, little different from that of the Decemvirs. But to prevent any ſuſpicion that their aim was to make themſelves ſole maſters of the Government, they were alſo for having the People continue *Valerius* and *Horatius* in the Conſulate.

They alledged that all the Senators had entered into a plot againſt the rights and immunities of the People, and that the new laws would be in great danger of being annulled, if, before they were ſolidly eſtabliſhed, other Conſuls of quite contrary diſpoſitions to thoſe of the preſent ſhould be choſen to the Government.

By good fortune for the Republic, there happened to be one Tribune of ſo much moderation and ability, as to bring this ambitious project to nothing. It was the ſame *Duilius* who had lately put a ſtop to the proſecutions againſt the adherents of the Decemvirs. He repreſented to the two Conſuls, that the People's liberty was gone, if the high Offices of the Republic were truſted above a year in the ſame hands. *Valerius* and *Horatius* gave him their word, that they would never accept of a continuance in the Conſulate. *Duilius*, to make the more ſure of them, aſked them publickly, and in a full Aſſembly, what reſolution they would take, if the *Roman* People, in conſideration of their good ſervices in the reſtoration of the public liberty, ſhould think fit to continue them in their dignity. Both of them declared, that for the preſervation of the ſame liberty, they would refuſe any prolongation of the ſovereign power, as being contrary to the laws. *Duilius* having got this declaration from them, gave them great praiſes, which were a kind of new tie upon them, and at the ſame time ſerved to prejudice the People againſt the deſigns of the other Tribunes. *Duilius* then held the Aſſembly for chuſing Tribunes; it was his right to preſide in it, and upon this occaſion he acted in concert with the Senate. By means of their credit and the union of their followers, five new Tribunes were quickly choſen, in ſpite of the cabals of the old ones. Theſe latter uſed all their endeavours to get the other five vacant places filled

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

filled with five of their number; and by their influence and management, they ſo far prevailed, as to hinder any of the other candidates from having the neceſſary number of voices. *Duilius* nevertheleſs carried his point, by referring the nomination of the five Tribunes yet wanting to the five actually choſen, according to the direction of a law, which expreſly provided, that, *If upon a day of election the full number of Tribunes could not be choſen, thoſe who were elected ſhould have power to name their Collegues.* He then diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, depoſed himſelf, and the new Tribunes entered upon the exerciſe of their office.

Livy, B. 3.

Their firſt buſineſs was to name their Collegues, among whom every body was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee *S. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*, both *Patricians*, old Senators, and even Conſulars; which was directly contrary to the inſtitution of the Tribuneſhip, which admitted none but *Plebeians*. There is no accounting for ſo extraordinary an event, unleſs we will look upon thoſe two *Patricians* as deſerters from their order, who had got themſelves adopted into *Plebeian* families to capacitate them to be raiſed to a Magiſtracy which had the greateſt ſhare in the Government. But this is only a conjecture; hiſtory gives us no authority for it. *Livy*, on the contrary, inſinuates that the five firſt Tribunes followed the intentions of the Senate in the choice of their Collegues: And perhaps the Senators foreſeeing what fatal conſequences muſt follow to the public liberty, if the ſame Tribunes were perpetuated in their office, privately joined with *Duilius* to get ſome *Patricians* into the Tribuneſhip, with intent to counterbalance the power of the *Plebeian* Tribunes, and, in the election for the enſuing year, keep them from renewing a propoſal, which was looked upon as a ſtep to the deſtruction of the Public Liberty.

Y. of *R.* 305. Bef. *J. C.* 447. 61 Conſulſhip.

The Conſuls choſen in the room of *Valerius* and *Horatius*, were *Lartius Herminius* and *T. Virginius*. Theſe Magiſtrates being no zealots for either party, their Government was entirely pacific. But *L. Trebonius*, one of the Tribunes, extremely angry at the management of *Duilius*, (in the late election of Tribunes) which had opened a way for *Patricians* into that College, made heavy complaints of it to the People. He gave himſelf entirely up, during the whole year, to croſs the Senate in every thing, whence he acquired the Surname of * *Aſper*. And in order to prevent, for the future, any Tribunes, (gained over by the Senate) from doing as *Duilius* had done, he propoſed a law which he got paſſed, and which from his name was called *Lex Trebonia*, by which it was ordained, *That whoever ſhould hereafter hold the Comitia for electing* Tribunes of the Commons, *ſhould not diſſolve the Aſſembly till the number of* TEN *Tribunes was compleated by the votes of the People.* This decree took from the Tribunes that were firſt choſen, the right of naming their Collegues, which the *Romans* in thoſe days called *Co-optatio*.

* *Crabbed.*

Livy, B. 3.

Y. of *R.* 306. Bef. *J. C.* 446. 62 Conſulſhip.

§. III. *M. GEGANIUS* and *C. Ixilius* ſucceeded *Herminius* and *Virginius* in the Conſulate. The People began now to complain, and not without cauſe, that the young *Patricians* treated them injuriouſly; and though the graver and wiſer part of the Senate did not approve of the haughty

haughty and outrageous behaviour of thoſe youths, yet they would not abandon them to the fury of the Tribunes. They thought it better, ſays *Livy*, if the bounds of equity muſt be tranſgreſſed, and one party muſt over-bear the other, that their own People ſhould have the aſcendant. So difficult a matter is it to act with moderation in the maintenance of liberty, every one, under pretence of *levelling*, exalting himſelf in proportion as he lowers another. While men are endeavouring to get free from the fear of others, they make themſelves be feared; to avoid oppreſſion, they oppreſs; as if there was a neceſſity that we muſt either *do* injuſtice, or *ſuffer* it. Y. of *R.* 306. Bef. *J. C.* 446. 62 Conſulſhip.

The Conſuls found means to quiet the cabals of the Tribunes on this occaſion without employing invectives againſt them, or ſuffering the Majeſty of the Senate to be offended. There was neither contention at home nor war abroad when they reſigned the faſces to * *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Furius*. But this calm did not laſt long. The young Nobles could not forbear inſulting the *Plebeians*, nor theſe ſubmit to be inſulted. The aggreſſors were cited to appear before the People; fierce contentions and ſcuffles always followed. The report of theſe new diſſentions were to the *Æqui* and *Volſci* as the ſignal for taking arms. They aſſembled their forces, fell firſt upon the *Latine* territory, and meeting with no reſiſtance, advanced ſo near to *Rome* as to drive off the cattle that were grazing before the *Eſquiline* gate. The Conſuls would have raiſed troops to repulſe theſe invaders, but the People, at the inſtigation of their Tribunes, refuſed to liſt themſelves. Hereupon the Conſul *Quinctius*, a man illuſtrious by ſeveral victories, reſpected for the purity of his manners, and the wiſdom of his counſels, having convened a general Aſſembly of the People, ſpoke to them to this effect. Y. of *R.* 307. Bef. *J. C.* 445. 63 Conſulſhip. * 4th time Conſ.

"Though I am not conſcious, O *Romans*, of any crime by me com-
"mitted, it is yet with the utmoſt ſhame and confuſion that I appear
"in your Aſſembly. You have ſeen it— Poſterity will know it —In
"the fourth Conſulſhip of *Titus Quinctius*, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* (ſcarce
"a match for the *Hernici* alone) came in arms to the very gates of *Rome*,
"and went away again unchaſtiſed. The courſe of our manners indeed,
"and the ſtate of our Affairs have long been ſuch, that I had no reaſon
"to promiſe myſelf much good; but could I have imagined, that ſo
"great an ignominy would have befallen me this year, I would by death
"or baniſhment (if all other means had failed) have avoided the ſtation
"where I now am. What? Might *Rome* then have been taken, if thoſe
"men who were at our gates had not wanted courage for the attempt?—
"*Rome* taken, while I was Conſul! — Of honours I had ſufficient ——
"Of life enough — more than enough —Three Conſulſhips— I ſhould
"then have died.

"But who are they whom our daſtardly enemies thus deſpiſe? the
"Conſuls; or you, *Romans*? If *we* are criminal, depoſe us, puniſh us
"yet more ſeverely. If *you* are in fault—— may neither Gods nor men
"puniſh *your* faults! only may *you repent*.

V. of *R.* 307. Bef. *J. C.* 445. 63 Conſulſhip.

"No, *Romans*, the confidence of our enemies is not owing to "*their* courage, or to their belief of *your* cowardice: They have been "too often vanquiſhed not to know both themſelves and you. Diſcord, "diſcord is the ruin of this city. The endleſs diſputes between the Se- "nate and the People are the ſole cauſe of our misfortunes. While we "will ſet no bounds to our domination, nor you to your liberty; while you "impatiently endure *Patrician* Magiſtrates, and we *Plebeian*, our enemies "take heart, grow elated and preſumptuous.

"In the name of the immortal Gods, what is it, *Romans*, you would "have? You deſired Tribunes: For the ſake of peace we granted them. "You were eager to have Decemvirs: We conſented to their creation. "You grew weary of thoſe Decemvirs: We obliged them to abdicate. "Your hatred purſued them when reduced to be private men; and we "ſuffered you to put to death or baniſh *Patricians* of the firſt rank in the "Republic. You inſiſted upon the reſtoration of the Tribuneſhip: We "yielded. We quietly ſaw Conſuls of your own faction elected. You "have the protection of your Tribunes, and the privilege of *appeal*: "the *Patricians* are ſubjected to the decrees of the *Commons*; under pre- "tence of equal and impartial laws, you have invaded our rights; and "we have ſuffered it, and we ſtill ſuffer it. When ſhall we ſee an "end of diſcord? When ſhall we have one intereſt, and one common "country? Victorious and triumphant, you ſhew leſs temper than we "under our defeat. When you are to contend with *us*, you can ſeize the "*Aventine* hill, you can poſſeſs yourſelves of the *Mons Sacer*. The *enemy* "is at our gates, the *Æſquiline* is near being taken, and no body ſtirs to "hinder it. But againſt *us* you are valiant, againſt *us* you can arm with "all diligence. Come on then, beſiege the Senate-Houſe, make a camp "of the *Forum*, fill the jails with our prime Nobles; and when you have "atchieved theſe glorious exploits, *then* at leaſt ſally out at the *Æſquiline* "gate with the ſame fierce ſpirits againſt the enemy. Does your reſolu- "tion fail you for this? Go then, and behold from our walls your lands "ravaged, your houſes plundered and in flames, the whole country laid "waſte with fire and ſword. Have you any thing here to repair theſe "damages? Will the Tribunes make up your loſſes to you? They'll "give you words as many as you pleaſe; bring impeachments in abun- "dance againſt the chief men in the State; heap laws upon laws; Aſſem- "blies you ſhall have without end: But will any of you return the "richer from thoſe Aſſemblies? You imagine, perhaps, that thoſe flat- "terers, thoſe popular men, who will neither let you live in quiet at "home, nor take arms againſt our foreign enemies, are animated by a "zeal for your intereſts. It is honour, it is profit to themſelves they "ſeek. When domeſtic peace and unanimity reign, they find, they "have no buſineſs, they are of no conſideration; and they had rather "be leaders in tumults and ſeditions, than not buſtle about, and make "a figure. *Romans*, beware of ſuch friends; undeceive yourſelves. Do "but reſume your former ſpirit and manners, and there is no puniſh-

"ment

" ment to which I will not ſubmit, if I do not, in a few days, diſperſe " and put to flight the invaders of our country, the pillagers of our " lands. This terror of war, (with which you ſeem to be ſo grievouſly " ſtruck) ſhall quickly be removed from *Rome* to their own cities."

Y. of *R.* 397. Bef. *C.* 355. 63 Conſulſhip.

Never, ſays *Livy*, were the People more pleaſed with the flattering ſpeeches of a Tribune, than they were with the reproachful one of this generous Conſul. The Senate was no leſs charmed with his conduct; the wiſeſt and moſt eminent men of that body declared, that other Conſuls had either betrayed the dignity and rights of the Senate, to win favour with the People, or, by the rough imprudent meaſures they had taken to keep the People under, had only exaſperated them to a higher pitch: But that *Quinctius*, without forgetting the honour of the Senate, had wiſely ſuited his diſcourſe to the times, and had ſhewn that he had nothing at heart but the union of the two orders, and the majeſty of the *Roman* name.

Conſuls and Tribunes, Senate and People, all concurred unanimouſly in taking arms. The contention now was, who ſhould appear moſt forward, ſo that the levies were quickly made; each cohort choſe its Centurions, and had two Senators placed at the head of it; and all things were done with ſo much expedition, that the army, that very day, marched ten miles on its way. The next, the Conſuls came in ſight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* fought with great courage and reſolution, but victory declared for the *Romans*. The firſt advantage gained was by the *Roman* cavalry under *S. Sulpitius*, one of the Conſuls Lieutenants. They put the enemies horſe to the rout, and then falling upon the main body of their infantry, both terrify'd and diſorder'd it. *Quinctius* (who commanded the right wing of the *Romans*) ſoon after forced the *Volſci*, who faced him, to give ground. But *Agrippa Furius* in the left wing met with a more obſtinate reſiſtance from the *Æqui*. Impatient of being leſs ſucceſsful than the other Generals, he ſnatched ſome of the enſigns from the officers who bore them, and threw them into the midſt of the enemies battalions. By this he turned the ſcale in his favour. His ſoldiers, by the vigorous effort they made to recover thoſe enſigns, rendered the victory compleat on the ſide of the *Romans*. The Conſuls inſtantly marched to the enemy's camp, entered it without oppoſition, and found there, beſide thoſe effects which the *Æqui* and *Volſci* had carried off, out of the territory of *Rome*, a very rich booty.

Livy remarks it, as a thing extraordinary, that the Conſuls, at their return, did not demand a triumph, nor the Senate make them the offer of one. He conjectures, that *Quinctius* and *Furius* were aſhamed to aſk, in recompence of one victory, an honour which the fathers had refuſed to *Valerius* and *Horatius*, for the reward of two; leſt if they ſhould obtain their requeſt, it might be thought that more regard was ſhew'd to perſons than to merit.

V. of *R.* 307. Bef. *J. C.* 445. 63 Conſulſhip.

§. IV. THIS would have been a glorious year for the Republic, if the *Roman* People had not diſhonoured themſelves by an iniquitous judgment in a cauſe that was referred to their deciſion. They were choſen at this time arbitrators in a diſpute between the inhabitants of *Ardea* * and thoſe of *Aricia*, concerning a large tract of land, to which each of thoſe cities laid claim. The tribes were aſſembled, the cauſe was heard, and the votes were juſt going to be taken, when one *Scaptius*, a very old man of the meaneſt of the People, having aſked and obtained leave to ſpeak, pretended to have known the diſtrict in queſtion about forty-ſeven years; that it formerly belonged to *Corioli*, and conſequently now to the *Romans*, who, he ſaid, ought therefore to make no ſcruple of ſeizing it. This motion gave the Conſuls a great deal of concern, when they found it favourably liſtened to. They uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the People from taking a ſtep which muſt caſt a blemiſh on the *Roman* probity: But they ſtrove in vain; the People adjudged the territory to themſelves.

* In *Latium*.

CHAP. XXXI.

§. I. *The Commons of* Rome (*in the* Conſulate *of* M. Genucius *and* C. Curtius,) *demand that* Plebeians *may be admitted into the* Conſulſhip, *and that the law prohibiting* Patricians *and* Plebeians *from inter-marrying may be repealed.* §. II. T. Quinctius *and the majority of the* Senate *think it better to comply than to come to a rupture with the People, which otherwiſe ſeems unavoidable.* Claudius, *to hinder the debaſing of the* Conſulſhip, *makes this new propoſal, that inſtead of* Conſuls, *a certain number of* MILITARY TRIBUNES *be choſen partly out of the* Senate, *and partly from among the Commons; and that theſe new Magiſtrates be inveſted with* Conſular *power. This project is approved by* Senate *and People; and ſix* MILITARY TRIBUNES (*three of each order*) *are to take the place of two* Conſuls. §. III. *But when the day of election comes, the People will not give their voices to any but* Patricians; *and only* three Military Tribunes *are elected. Theſe are obliged ſoon after to abdicate on account of ſome defect in their inauguration; and two* Conſuls *are choſen to govern the Republic the remainder of the year.* §. IV. *Under the ſucceeding adminiſtration of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus (*a fifth time* Conſul) *and* M. Geganius (*a ſecond time*) *the* CENSORSHIP *is eſtabliſhed.*

§. I. BY the late victory ſo ſuddenly obtained over the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, the People became ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and the need which the Senate had of them. This made them carry their * pretenſions farther than ever. They grew every day more untractable

* According to *Tacitus*, (*Annal.* B. 11.) the People obtained this year the right of naming the Quæſtors, a prerogative which the Conſuls had hitherto enjoyed. *Plutarch* attributes the choice of the Quæſtors to the People, from *Poplicola*'s time.

and

and more enterprizing, *C. Canuleius*, one of the Tribunes, propoſed, that, by a decree of the People, the Law (in the twelve tables) which forbad *Patricians* to intermarry with *Plebeians*, ſhould be repealed: And, ſoon after, nine of the Tribunes moved, that a new law ſhould be made, qualifying *Plebeians* to ſtand for the Conſulſhip. *M. Genucius* and *Caius Curtius*, the preſent Conſuls, thought to defeat theſe projects by leading the Citizens into the field. The *Ardeates* had revolted on account of the unjuſt proceeding of the People of *Rome* in their affair, and it was ſaid, that the *Veientes* had begun hoſtilities. There was a rumour alſo, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were preparing to renew the war. Countenanced by theſe alarms, the Senate ordered troops to be raiſed with the ſame diligence as the laſt year. But then *Canuleius* in the moſt peremptory manner proteſted, that, while he had breath, no levies ſhould be made, unleſs the laws propoſed by him and his Collegues were firſt received. This ſaid, he ſtrait went out of the Senate-Houſe and convened the People. The Conſuls full of indignation inveighed in the ſharpeſt terms againſt the Tribunes, whoſe madneſs, they ſaid, was no longer to be endured; that they raiſed a war within the city, more dangerous than that without it; that no domeſtick peace could be maintain'd in a State which had Senators and Tribunes; that the *Conſcript Fathers* muſt abſolutely reſolve either to reſign their own authority, or aboliſh that *Plebeian* Magiſtracy. "What "a deteſtable project is this of *C. Canuleius*? He is for mingling, by "ſhameful marriages, the blood of the Nobles with that of the Com-"mons. If he brings this about, thoſe who are born of ſuch marriages "will hardly know, whether they belong to the *Patrician* or *Plebeian* "Body, and the Auſpices, publick and private, will be confounded. And "as if it was not enough to deſtroy all diſtinction of birth, and to break "thro' all rights both divine and human, the Collegues of *Canuleius*, thoſe "other diſturbers of the public quiet, have the boldneſs to lift their eyes "to the very Conſulſhip itſelf. We are now juſt on the point of ſeeing "that great dignity fall a prey to the *Canulei* and the *Icilii*. But let thoſe "*new men* be aſſured, that the Gods, protectors of this Empire, will ne-"ver ſuffer it; and that we ourſelves will rather die a thouſand deaths, "than bear ſo great an infamy."

A. of R. 308. Bef. *C.* 144. 64 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 4. c. 1. & ſeq.

While the Conſuls were thus exaſperating the Senate againſt the Tribunes, the Tribunes were exciting the anger of the People againſt the Conſuls. Theſe left the Senate-houſe, and repaired to the Forum. "What an inſult "upon us! cried *Canuleius*. If we are not ſo rich as the *Patricians*, are we "not citizens of *Rome* as well as they? Inhabitants of the ſame country? "Members of the ſame community? The nations bordering upon *Rome*, "and even ſtrangers more remote are admitted not only to marriages with "us, but to what is of much greater importance, *the freedom of the city*. "Are *we*, becauſe we are Commoners, to be worſe treated than ſtrangers? "And

Y. of R. 308. Bef. J. C. 444. 64 Consulship.

"And when we demand that the People may be free to bestow their offices and dignities on whom they please; do we ask any thing unreasonable or new? Any thing more than a restitution of the People's natural right? What occasion then for all this uproar, as if the universe was falling to ruin? (They were just going to lay violent hands upon me in the Senate-house.) What? must this Empire then be unavoidably overturned, must *Rome* of necessity sink at once, if a *Plebeian*, worthy of the offices, should be raised to the Consulship? The *Patricians*, if not persuaded, if they could, would deprive you of the common light. It certainly offends them to see that you breath, that you speak, that you have the shapes of men.—Nay, but to make a Commoner a Consul would be, *say they*, a most enormous thing.—*Numa Pompilius*, however, without being so much as a *Roman* citizen, was made King of *Rome*. The elder *Tarquin*, by birth not even an *Italian*, was nevertheless placed upon the throne. *Servius Tullius*, the son of a captive woman (no body knows who his father was) obtained the Kingdom as the reward of his wisdom and virtue. In those days no man in whom virtue shined conspicuous was rejected or despised on account of his birth and descent. And did the state prosper the less for that? Were not those strangers the very best of all our Kings? And supposing now that a *Plebeian* should have their talents and merit, must not he be suffered to govern us because he is a *Plebeian*? Shall we rather have Consuls resembling the *Patrician* Decemvirs, the most detestable of mortals, than such as resemble the very best of our Kings; who were *New Men*?

"But we find, that upon the abolition of the regal power, no Commoner was chosen to the Consulate. And what then? Before *Numa*'s time there were no Pontifices in *Rome*. Before *Servius Tullius*'s days there was no *Census*, no division of the People into Classes and Centuries. Who ever heard of Consuls before the expulsion of *Tarquin the Proud*? Dictators, we all know, are of modern invention; and so are the offices of Tribunes, Ædiles, Quæstors. Within these ten years we have made Decemvirs, and we have unmade them. Is nothing to be done but what has been done before? That very law forbidding marriages of *Patricians* with *Plebeians*, is not that a new thing? Was there any such Law before the Decemvirs enacted it? and a most shameful one it is in a free State.

"Such marriages, it seems, will taint the pure blood of the Nobility. Why, if they think so, let them take care to match their sisters and daughters with men of their own sort. No *Plebeian* will do violence to the daughter of a *Patrician*. Those are exploits for our prime Nobles. There is no need to fear that we shall force any body into a contract of marriage. But to make an express Law prohibiting marriages of *Patricians* with *Plebeians*, what is this, but to shew the utmost contempt of us, and to declare one part of the community to be impure

" and

" and unclean? Why don't they lay their wiſe heads together to hinder " rich folks from matching with poor?

" They talk to us of the confuſion there will be of families, if this " Statute ſhall be repealed. I wonder they don't make a Law againſt " a Commoner's living near a Nobleman, or going the ſame road that he " is going, or being preſent at the ſame feaſt, or appearing in the ſame " market-place. They might as well pretend, that theſe things make " confuſion of families, as that inter-marriages will do it. Does not every " body know that the children will be ranked according to the quality of " the father, let him be *Patrician* or *Plebeian*? In ſhort, it is manifeſt " enough, that we have nothing in view but to be treated as men and " citizens; nor can they who oppoſe our demand have any motive to do " it but the love of domineering.

" I would fain know of you Conſuls and *Patricians*, Is the ſovereign " power in the People of *Rome* or in you? I hope you will allow, that " the People can at their pleaſure either make a Law, or repeal one. And " will you then, as ſoon as any Law is propoſed to them, pretend to liſt " them immediately for the war, and hinder them from giving their ſuf- " frages by leading them into the field?

" Hear me, Conſuls: Whether the news of the war you talk of be " true, or whether it be only a falſe rumour ſpread abroad for nothing but " a colour to ſend the People out of the City; I declare, as Tribune, that " this People, who have already ſo often ſpilt their blood in our country's " cauſe, are again ready to arm for its defence and its glory, if they may " be reſtored to their natural rights, and you will no longer treat us like " ſtrangers, in our own country. But if you account us unworthy of your " alliance by inter-marriages, if you will not ſuffer the entrance to the " chief offices in the State to be open to all perſons of merit indifferently, " but will confine our choice of Magiſtrates to the Senate alone, Talk of " wars as much as ever you pleaſe; paint in your ordinary diſcourſes the " league and power of our enemies ten times more dreadful than you do " now; I declare that this People whom you ſo much deſpiſe, and to " whom you are nevertheleſs indebted for all your victories, ſhall never " more liſt themſelves; not a man of them ſhall take arms, not a man of " them ſhall expoſe his life for imperious Lords, with whom he can nei- " ther ſhare the dignities of the ſtate, nor in private life have any alliance " by marriage."

V. of R. 308. *Bef J.C.* 444. 64 Conſulſhip.

After long ſpeeches made on both ſides, the Conſuls and Tribunes fell to altercation. *Genuleius* aſked the Conſuls, what reaſon could be aſſigned, why a *Plebeian* might not attain to the Conſulſhip? It was anſwered, (perhaps with truth, ſays *Livy*, but to little purpoſe, on the preſent occaſion) " That no *Plebeian* had a right to the auſpices; and that the *Decemvirs* had " prohibited marriages between perſons of different Orders, that the au- " ſpices being taken only by *Patricians*, whoſe blood was pure and unmix- " ed, there might be no prophanation of that religious Rite." No words can expreſs the indignation of the People at this anſwer: To hear that they

V. of R. 308. Bef. J. C. 444. 64 Conſulſhip.

they were excluded from taking the auſpices as men hateful to the Gods on account of their birth!

The fury of the multitude roſe to ſuch a height, that the Senate found it neceſſary to let *Canuleius*'s law concerning marriages paſs. They hoped that this conceſſion would induce the other Tribunes to give over entirely the purſuit of the law relating to the Conſulſhip, or at leaſt to ſuſpend it till the concluſion of the war: But their hope proved vain: Thoſe Tribunes, tho' the alarm from abroad daily increaſed, ſtill oppoſed the muſters, and puſhed their point with the ſame zeal as before: Nay, they all publickly ſwore *by their Faith*, (the moſt ſolemn oath then in uſe among the *Romans*) that they would not be diverted from their purpoſe by any perſuaſion whatſoever.

§ II. THESE violent proceedings greatly diſtreſs'd the Conſuls. They ſaw plainly that they muſt yield the victory either to the Commons at home, or to the enemy abroad. They held private councils at their own houſes, with the Senators of their party. *C. Claudius*, who had received from his anceſtors an hereditary hatred, as it were, to the faction of the People, ſpoke firſt, and gave it as his opinion, that the Senate ſhould rather have recourſe to arms, than yield the dignity of the Conſulſhip to the People; and that without diſtinction they ought to treat as public enemies all perſons, let them be private men or Magiſtrates, who ſhould attempt to change the form of the Government. But the two *Quinctii*, who abhorred all thoughts of ſhedding *Roman* blood, put the Senate in mind of the ſolemn engagement they had entered into with the *Commons* to hold the perſons of the Tribunes ſacred and inviolable, and they adviſed them rather to yield up part of their prerogatives, than run the hazard of a civil war.

All the reſt of the aſſembly declared themſelves of his opinion. *C. Claudius* riſing up again. "I yield, *ſaid he*; the ſentiment of ſo many "wiſe and worthy men is not to be contradicted: But ſince you think it "proper to admit *Plebeians* into the Government, let us endeavour to ſa-"tisfy this reſtleſs People, without debaſing the Majeſty of the Conſul-"ſhip. And in order to this, I propoſe, that inſtead of Conſuls, we e-"lect ſuch a number of *Military Tribunes* as ſhall be agreed upon, to be "choſen one half out of the Senate, the other from among the *Plebeians*, and "that theſe Magiſtrates be inveſted with Conſular power. The People "by this means will be ſatisfied; and the Conſulate in more favourable "times may reſume its ancient Splendor and Majeſty." Great praiſes were given to *Claudius*; and the whole Aſſembly agreed to the propoſal. Then addreſſing his ſpeech to *M. Genucius*, firſt Conſul: "In order to ſucceed "in this deſign, *ſaid he*, I would adviſe you to convene the Senate, ſend "for the Tribunes of the People, and, when the Aſſembly is formed, "declare that you invite all who love their country to ſpeak their minds "freely with relation to the new laws demanded by the People. Then "gather the opinions; and, inſtead of beginning with *T. Quinctius*, me, "or any of the ancient Senators, begin with *Valerius* and *Horatius*. When "theſe

D. *Hal.* B. 11.

" theſe have delivered their ſentiments, then aſk ours. For my " part I ſhall declare my thoughts freely, and oppoſe the preten-ſions of " the Tribunes with all my might, as indeed I think it my duty to do. " But if you are willing to have *Military Tribunes*, let your brother *T.* " *Genucius* make the motion. He is the fitteſt Perſon to make it; and I " can aſſure you, it will not be in the leaſt ſuſpected if it comes from " him."

A. of R. 308, *Bef. J. C.* 444. 64 Conſulſ.

All approved of this Scheme. The Conſuls ſoon after convened the Senate; and when they had recommended concord and moderation to the Aſſembly, invited the Tribunes to give their reaſons in behalf of the new laws. *Canuleius* inſtead of ſpeaking to the matter in queſtion, ran wholly into bitter complaints againſt the two Conſuls, for holding ſecret Aſſemblies, from which, *he ſaid*, all the Senators who were friends to the People had been excluded, and particularly *Valerius* and *Horatius*, than whom there were not wiſer men, nor men of more merit in the Republic.

The Conſul *Genucius* replied, that they had indeed aſſembled ſome of the older Senators, but only to conſult with them, whether it would be better inſtantly to propoſe the new laws to the Senate, or to defer it till the end of the campaign: That if they did not invite *Valerius* and *Horatius* to that council, it was purely to avoid making the People ſuſpect that theſe Senators had changed their party. " And to convince you, " *added Genucius*, that my Collegue and I are impartial, we ſhall give " you this proof of it. Tho' it be the cuſtom for the Conſuls to aſk " the opinions of the oldeſt Senators firſt, yet, as you do not believe " them to be friends to the People, we will now change that method, " and begin with *Valerius* and *Horatius*." Then addreſſing himſelf to *Valerius*, he invited him to declare his opinion.

Valerius made a long preamble expatiating upon his own ſervices to the Republic, and upon thoſe of his anceſtors. He then turned his panegyrick upon the People, and recounted their merit. He added, that no city could be called free, where the citizens were not all upon an equality with regard to rights and privileges; and that he ſaw no reaſon why the *Plebeians* ſhould be excluded from the Conſulate. However, he at the ſame time declared, that he thought the conſideration of this affair ought to be deferred to the end of the war; and he exhorted the Tribunes of the People to deſiſt from their oppoſition to the levies which the Conſuls demanded. On the other hand, he exhorted the Conſuls to make it their firſt buſineſs, as ſoon as the war ſhould be happily concluded, to procure a *Senatus-conſultum*, for empowering the Aſſembly of the People to decide upon the affair in queſtion; and he was for having the two parties come immediately to a formal written agreement to do as he adviſed. *Horatius*, whoſe opinion was aſked next, ſpoke much to the ſame effect.

This advice raiſed a murmur in the Aſſembly, for it was not thoroughly liked either by thoſe who were againſt the law, or by thoſe who

Y. of R. 308. Bef. J.C. 444. 6. Conſulſhip.

were for it. The firſt were pleaſed with the motion for poſtponing the affair, but they could not digeſt the propoſal of refuſing it after the end of the war. On the other hand, the favourers of the People, tho' glad to find that thoſe two eminent Senators held the law to be reaſonable, were yet uneaſy at the thoughts of any delay in paſſing the *Senatus-conſultum*.

The Conſuls then aſked the opinion of *C. Claudius*, who was looked upon as the main pillar and ſupport of the *Patrician* faction. He pronounced with great ſpirit a ſtudied harangue againſt theſe new pretenſions of the People. He enumerated all their deviations from the excellent manners and inſtitutions of their forefathers, and concluded againſt ſuffering the new propoſal to be brought into deliberation, either now, or at any time hereafter.

Claudius's ſpeech did not fail to produce a commotion in the Aſſembly. The Conſul *M. Genucius*, to put a ſtop to it, called upon his brother *Titus* to give his opinion. This Senator declared, that it was with the greateſt concern he beheld the Commonwealth afflicted with two ſcourges at the ſame time, a foreign war, and domeſtic feuds; that he found there was no avoiding one of two evils, the ſtrengthening of the enemy by a continuation of the inteſtine broils in the Republic, or the hurting of the conſtitution by new conceſſions to the People: That the caſe being ſo, he was of opinion rather to yield up part of the prerogatives of the Nobility to the *Plebeians*, than abandon the territory of *Rome* to be ravaged by ſtrangers. He added, "But ſince the ancient Senators are ſo averſe to the thoughts of "ſeeing the Conſular dignity in the hands of *Plebeians*, a medium may "perhaps be found to ſatisfy both parties. What if we ſhould ſuppreſs "for a time that dignity, and create, in the room of two Conſuls, ſix "MILITARY TRIBUNES, who ſhall have the ſame functions and the ſame "authority? Let three of the number be *Patricians*, and the other three "be *Plebeians*. Next year the Senate and People may decide in a general "Aſſembly, whether they will reſtore the Conſulſhip, or continue to "elect Military Tribunes."

Livy, B. 4. *D. Hal.* B. 11. *Zonaras.*

This propoſal (of which *Claudius* was the true author) was approved by plurality of voices. *T. Genucius* had the praiſes both of the Senate and the People for his happy thought; the Senators were glad to have excluded the *Plebeians* from a dignity which they hoped to re-eſtabliſh with all its prerogatives in more favourable times; and the People, without diſturbing themſelves about an empty Name, could not contain their joy at ſeeing themſelves at length admitted to ſhare in the government of the Commonwealth.

§. III. SOME days after, an Aſſembly was held for the election of theſe new Magiſtrates. Several of the chief *Plebeians*, and eſpecially thoſe who had been Tribunes, appeared in the *Forum* cloathed in white, and ſollicited the People for their voices; but the multitude, ſatisfied with having it in their power to raiſe *Plebeians* to the Government, would give their votes to none but *Patricians*, ſo that only three Military Tribunes

bunes were chosen, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *T. Cerelius* or *Cloelius* *. "Where, adds *Livy*, shall we now find in any one man, "that moderation, that equity, that greatness of soul, which were then "universally conspicuous in a whole People?" *Dionysius*, on the contrary, imputes their behaviour on this occasion, to nothing but that levity so natural to the multitude, in all ages and Nations. Y. of R. 309. Bef. J.C. 443. 1 Mil. Trib. *D. Hal. ibid.*

But these new Magistrates were obliged to abdicate within three months after their election, upon account that *C. Curtius*, who had presided at it, gave notice, that in taking the *Auspices*, (a ceremony which always preceded the elections of the curule Magistrates,) the due forms had not been strictly observed. The *Romans* were very scrupulous in the least circumstances that concerned their religion; but perhaps the *Patricians* created this scruple only with a view to restore the Consular Office. The Military Tribunes had no sooner resigned their authority, but an *Inter-rex* was named, that the Commonwealth might not remain without a Head. The main question now was, whether Consuls or Military Tribunes should be appointed to the Government: The Senators failed not to declare for the former; the People at first for the latter: But as they knew themselves resolved to chuse none but *Patrician* Governors, they soon grew indifferent; and the Tribunes themselves chose rather to proceed to an election where they could not be candidates, than to one where they were sure to suffer the disgrace of being rejected as unworthy. And thus by the joint consent of the Senate and People, the † *Inter-rex* appointed Consuls, for the remaining part of the year. *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, brother to one of those *Patricians* who had abdicated the Military Tribuneship, were the persons named. † *Livy*, B. 4.

Nothing considerable happened during the Government of the late Military Tribunes, or during the present Consulship. The union between the two orders in the Republic kept the neighbouring powers quiet; and even the *Ardeates* submitted, and renewed their alliance with *Rome*. The Senate gave them good words concerning the restitution of their lands in due time; but they could not reverse a decree of the People.

§. IV. IN the following Consulate of *M. Geganius* and ‖ *T. Quinctius*, the CENSORSHIP was erected. This new dignity, which at first seemed of but small importance, became in time, by the power annexed to it, the pinnacle of honour, and the most formidable Magistracy in the Republic. Y. of R. 310. Bef. J.C. 442. 66 Consulship. ‖ 5th time Cons.

As the spirit of conquest was what chiefly prevailed in this nation, King *Servius Tullius*, in order to have a sure supply of men and money, decreed, as has been already shewn, that every five years an enumeration should be made of all the *Roman* citizens, with an exact valuation of

* *Livy* makes the first Military Tribunes to take place in the year 310. The Fast. Cap. in 309.

† *D. Hal.* says, that the Assembly of the People chose these Consuls.

Y. of *R.* 310. Bef. *J. C.* 442. 66 Conſulſhip.

every man's wealth. The Prince or Magiſtrate by this means could know immediately how many inhabitants *Rome* had, that were capable of bearing arms, and what contributions might be raiſed for the expence of war.

But the Conſuls, (almoſt continually employ'd in foreign wars) not having had leiſure in more than ſeventeen years to make that enumeration (which was called the *Cenſus*,) it was propoſed for the eaſe of the Conſuls, that two Magiſtrates ſhould be created, who, with the title of CENSORS, ſhould every five years take that general review of the whole *Roman* People.

The Tribunes, tho' always upon their guard againſt every thing offered by the Senate, did not oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of this new Magiſtracy. Nay they did not ſo much as demand that the *Plebeians* ſhould be allow'd a ſhare in it. The reaſon of this might be, that they thought the powers and prerogatives of the Cenſorſhip would be inconſiderable, or that the *Commons* gained a ſufficient advantage by the diminution that was made of the Conſular authority, the conſtant object of their envy and emulation.

Livy, B. 3.

Papirius and *Sempronius*, the Conſuls of the preceding year, were the firſt Cenſors; and this dignity was unanimouſly conferred upon them, to make them amends for the ſhort duration of their Conſulate, which they did not enter upon till after the abdication of the *Military Tribunes*.

While the Conſuls performed the Cenſorial functions, their whole buſineſs in that article had been to take an exact account of the names, eſtates, ages, and conditions of all the maſters of families, and the names and ages of their children and ſlaves. But as men generally ſtudy how to enlarge their own authority, the Cenſorſhip was no ſooner diſmembered from the Conſulſhip, and made a diſtinct Magiſtracy, than the Cenſors began to take upon them the reformation of manners. The Senators and Knights in proceſs of time became ſubject to their cenſure as much as the meaneſt of the People.

When the Cenſors made their general review, the citizens of all ranks trembled at the ſight of their tribunal; the Senator, through fear of being *expelled* the Senate; the Knight, with apprehenſion of being *deprived of the horſe* which the Republic kept for him; and the Commoner, with dread of being *removed* from a higher tribe to a lower, or quite *diſabled* from giving his vote in the Aſſemblies, or condemned to pay a fine. So that this wholſome terror was the ſupport of the ſumptuary laws, the bond of concord, and as it were the guardian of modeſty and virtue *.

* After the ſecond *Punic* war the Cenſors were always created out of ſuch perſons as had been Conſuls, though it ſometimes happened otherwiſe before. Their ſtation came in time to be reckoned more honourable than the Conſulſhip, though their authority in matters of State was not ſo conſiderable: And the badges of the two offices were the ſame, only that the Cenſors were not allowed the Lictors to walk before them, as the Conſuls were.

The

The Cenſorſhip continued no longer than to the time of the Emperors, who performed the ſame duty at their pleaſure: And the *Flavian* family, *i. e. Veſpaſian* and his ſons took a pride (as Mr. *Walker* * obſerves) to be called Cenſors, and put this among their other titles upon their coin. *Decius*, the Emperor, entered on a deſign of reſtoring the honour to a particular Magiſtrate, as heretofore, but without any ſucceſs. † *Kenn. Antiq.* P. 2. B. 3. Ch. 7.

* Of Coins and Medals.

† Vide Trebell. Poll. in Decio.

CHAP. XXXII.

§. I. *The* Romans *put an end to a civil war among the* Ardeates. §. II. *And the next year make them ſome amends for the wrongs they had done them on occaſion of their conteſt with the* Aricians. §. III. Sp. Mælius, *a* Roman *Knight, and Corn-merchant, aſpires to the ſovereign power. His deſigns are diſcovered by* Minucius, *Superintendant of proviſions, in the* Conſulate *of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus (*now a ſixth time* Conful) *and* Agrippa Menenius. Quinctius, *on this occaſion, names his brother* Quinctius Cincinnatus *Dictator, who appoints* Servilius Ahala *to be his General of the Horſe.* Mælius *is ſlain by* Servilius. *Three of the* Tribunes, *provoked at this action, ſtir up the People to mutiny; and the* Patricians, *to pacify them, conſent to the creation of* Military Tribunes *for the next year.*

§. I. WHILE the Conſuls were thus removing from themſelves ſome part of the burden which had been annexed to their office, a neighbouring city found them new employment abroad. The *Ardeates* were involved in a civil war, occaſioned by a diſpute between two private citizens of *Ardea*, one of a noble family, the other of a *Plebeian*, who had both fallen in love with the ſame young woman. She herſelf was *Plebeian*, and her guardians were for giving her to a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious widow, was fond of matching her with a man nobly born. It became a party quarrel, and roſe to ſuch a height, that the *Plebeians* left the City in great numbers, encamped on a hill in the neighbourhood, and from thence ſent out parties that pillaged and laid waſte the lands of the Nobility. The mutineers were joined by the *Volſci*, and having choſe themſelves a Commander, named *Cluilius*, laid ſiege to *Ardea*. The Nobles applied to the *Romans*. The Senate ſent an Army to their relief, under the command of the Conſul *Geganius*, who inveſted the beſiegers, reduced them to ſurrender their arms, and made them paſs under the yoke. Y. of *R.* 310. Bef. *J. C.* 442. 66 Conſulſhip.

But though *Geganius* returned to *Rome* with all the glory of a Conqueror, his triumph being attended with uncommon pomp and ſolemnity, yet his Collegue *Titus Quinctius*, who had continued in *Rome*, was, for his admirable conduct in the civil government, and his impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, more eſteemed and reſpected than he. No body ever knew better than *Quinctius* how to temper ſeverity with mildneſs. *Livy*, B. 4.

The

The Senators thought him ſometimes too ſevere to the People, and yet the People were perfectly ſatisfied with his goodneſs to them. It is eaſy to imagine, that during ſuch a wiſe adminiſtration, the People did not think of changing the form of Government, and creating Military Tribunes.

Y. of *R.* 311. Bef. *J. C.* 441. 67 Conſulſhip.

§. II. *M. FABIUS* and *Poſthumius Ælutius*, being choſen Conſuls for the new year, made it their buſineſs to bury in oblivion the remains of that infamy which the *Roman* People had brought upon themſelves by the unjuſt judgment formerly paſſed in relation to the *Ardeates*. They prevailed on the Senate to paſs a decree for ſending a colony of *Romans* to *Ardea*, to defend and re-people the city, much depopulated by the civil war. It was agreed, but ſecretly, for fear of the Tribunes, that no lands except thoſe formerly in diſpute, ſhould be divided among the new colony, and even of thoſe only a ſmall part, and that the reſt ſhould be reſtored to the *Ardeates*. This was in reality a diſannulling of the judgment of the People by an act of power. And accordingly *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Clelius* and *M. Ælutius*, the Commiſſioners for making the diſtribution, were (after a faithful diſcharge of their truſt) cited to appear before the People. But theſe three *Patricians* avoided the proſecution, by declaring themſelves Citizens of *Ardea*, and continuing there.

Y. of *R.* 312. Bef. *J. C.* 440. 68 Conſulſhip.

The new year of *C. Furius* and *M. Papirius* was as peaceful as the foregoing; not but that ſome Tribunes of the Commons, always reſtleſs, endeavoured to revive the pretenſions of the People, relating to the partition of the lands: They even threatned, according to their old cuſtom, to oppoſe the raiſing of ſoldiers: But as there were no wars then to be carried on, this menace was fruitleſs and deſpiſed.

Y. of *R.* 313. Bef. *J. C.* 439. 69 Conſulſhip.

§. III. ALL was quiet, when the next year, in the Conſulate of *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Menenius*, there happened a dreadful famine, which occaſioned ſeditions, by means whereof a private man had like to have got poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power. The Senate imputed this ſcarcity of corn to the lazineſs and negligence of the *Plebeians*, who intoxicated with the ſeditious harangues of the Tribunes, were always ſauntering in the Forum, and inſtead of cultivating their lands, waſted their time in idle reaſonings about ſtate affairs. On the other hand the multitude (who always grumble at thoſe who are at the helm,) imputed the dearth intirely to the want of care in the Conſuls. At length the People, with the Senate's approbation, appointed *L. Minucius*, an active, prudent man, to be principal purveyor and ſuperintendant of proviſions. *Minucius* ſent his agents into the neighbouring countries all round to buy corn; but with little ſucceſs. A *Roman* Knight, whoſe name was *Sp. Mælius*, one of the richeſt private men in the Commonwealth, had been beforehand with him at the markets in *Hetruria*, and had bought up moſt of the grain in that Province.

Mælius, yet more ambitious than rich, flattered himſelf, that in ſo general a calamity the People would ſell their liberty at an eaſy rate. Corn was every day diſtributed by his order among the meaner people and the poor;

poor; and by an extraordinary liberality (ever ſuſpected, and eſpecially in a Commonwealth) he made all thoſe his creatures whom he fed at his own expence. His houſe quickly became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, thoſe who had ruined themſelves by debauchery, and ſuch as being deſtitute of all notions of honour or religion, would gladly ſee the Government quite ſubverted, provided they could but any way better their own circumſtances in the change,

During this public calamity new Conſuls were choſen, * *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Menenius*; but *Minucius* was continued in his office. His commiſſion frequently obliging him, either by himſelf or his agents, to have ſome intercourſe with the emiſſaries of *Mælius*, he found out, that this ambitious Knight, under cover of that liberality, which drew crowds of People to his gate, formed Aſſemblies in his houſe; nay *Minucius* got information, that great quantities of arms were often carried thither by night.

Y. of *R.* 314. Bef. *J. C.* 438. 70 Conſulſhip. * 6th time Conſ.

He afterwards learnt that there was a conſpiracy laid to change the form of the Government; that *Mælius* aſpired to the Royalty; that the People were to take arms in his favour; and that even ſome Tribunes had conſented to ſell the public liberty.

Minucius, having diſcovered the whole ſecret of this conſpiracy, immediately gave an account of it to the Senate. Heavy reproaches were thrown upon the Conſuls of the preceding year, and on thoſe of the preſent, for that ſo important a diſcovery ſhould be firſt made by the Purveyor General, whereas the Conſuls ought not only to have been acquainted with *Mælius*'s wicked deſigns more early, but before this time to have puniſhed him. *Quinctius* replied, that as to the latter, the Conſuls were unjuſtly blamed; that they wanted neither courage nor reſolution to puniſh ſo horrid an attempt; but that every body knew the Conſular Authority was in a manner annihilated by the exceſſive Power uſurped by the Tribunes; that an appeal to the People would put a ſtop to all proceedings againſt the guilty; and that, if ever the buſineſs was brought before a general Aſſembly, *Mælius* would infallibly eſcape from juſtice, by the favour of the multitude, who were devoted to him; that, in the preſent danger, the Republic ſtood in need of a Magiſtrate, not only firm and reſolute, but above the laws; and that therefore he would name to the Dictatorſhip his brother *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, a man whoſe prudence and ſteady courage were anſwerable to that ſupreme authority. *Cincinnatus* would have declined the office, on account of his great age, being now paſt fourſcore; but the Conſuls and the whole Senate declaring that no man was ſo fit for it as he, and inſiſting upon his charging himſelf with the care of the Commonwealth in this critical juncture, he at length acquieſced, praying to the Gods, that the public weal might not ſuffer through his infirmities,

He named *Servilius Ahala* to be his General of the Horſe, and the next day placed guards in all parts of the city, as if ſome foreign enemy had been at the gates of *Rome*. This precaution ſurpriſed all who knew nothing of the conſpiracy; every body enquired the reaſon of ſo ſtrange a novelty,

Y. of *R.* 314. Bef. *J.C.* 438. 70 Conſulſhip.

novelty, and why a Dictator ſhould be named in the midſt of Peace. But *Mælius* plainly ſaw, that the power of that ſupreme Magiſtrate was wholly bent againſt him; and therefore, to ſtrengthen himſelf by the aſſiſtance of the multitude, he was now more liberal and bountiful than ever.

The Dictator, finding that nothing but a ſtroke of authority could cruſh ſo dangerous a plot, cauſed his Tribunal to be carried into the Forum, and aſcended it guarded by his Lictors armed with their axes. He then ſent *Servilius*, his Maſter of the Horſe, to cite *Mælius* to appear before him. *Mælius*, ſurprized and in doubt what courſe to take, delayed to obey, and ſought to make his eſcape. *Servilius* commanded a Lictor to arreſt him; which the Lictor having done, *Mælius* cried out, that the Senate wanted to deſtroy him only out of jealouſy, and becauſe he had conſecrated his eſtate to the relief of the poor; he implored the aſſiſtance of the multitude, and conjured his friends not to ſuffer him to be murdered in their preſence. The People hereupon, encouraging one another, reſcued him out of the Lictor's hands. *Mælius* threw himſelf into the crowd, to eſcape; but *Servilius* purſued him, overtook him, and with a ſtroke of his ſword killed him out-right. Then, all ſprinkled with the blood of the ſlain, he preſented himſelf before the Dictator; "*Mælius* (*ſaid he*) "refuſed to obey your ſummons, and endeavoured to raiſe a rebellion; "he has by this hand received his due puniſhment." *'Twas greatly done*, replied the generous old man, *you have ſaved the liberty of the Commonwealth.*

He then convened a general Aſſembly of the People, laid before them the crimes of *Mælius*, and pronounced that he was juſtly ſlain. The Knight's houſe, by the Dictator's order, was raſed to the ground. Prodigious quantities of corn were found there, which *Minucius* ſelling to the People at low rates, they made no oppoſition to a Decree which ordered a ſtatue to be erected to his honour, as the reward of his vigilance.

But three of the *Tribunes*, who were doubtleſs the confidents and accomplices of *Mælius*, could never forgive either *Minucius* or *Servilius* the death of that ambitious Corn-merchant; they made loud complaints of the murder; and the Tribunes in general were ſo much provoked againſt the Senate, that they obſtinately oppoſed the election of Conſuls: The *Patricians*, to avoid a tumult, were forced to conſent that *Military Tribunes* ſhould be choſen to the Government, for the next year.

Some *Tribunes of the Commons* flattered themſelves, that they ſhould have a great ſway in this election; but notwithſtanding all their cabals, the People, contented with being allowed to ſtand candidates, gave their votes to *Patricians* only. *Mamercus Æmilius*, *Julius Iulus*, and *L. Quinctius*, the ſon of the Dictator who had juſt taken off *Mælius*, were the perſons elected.

Y. of *R.* 315. Bef. *J.C.* 437. 2 Mil. Trib.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

§. I. Fidenæ *revolts from the* Romans, *and puts itſelf under the protection of* Tolumnius, *King of the* Veientes. *The* Romans *name a* Dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, *who defeats the enemy in a pitched battle, wherein* Cornelius Coſſus, *a legionary* Tribune, *kills* Tolumnius *and ſtrips him of his armour.* §. II. Sp. Mælius, *a* Tribune *of the Commons, commences a proſecution againſt* Servilius *and* Minucius, *for the death of* Mælius *the corn-merchant.* §. III. *The* Veientes *and* Fidenates *renew the war.* Fidenæ *is taken by the* Romans. *A law is paſſed reſtraining the office of Cenſor to* 18 *months duration.* §. IV. *The* Senate *is obliged to humour the* People, *by ſuffering* Military Tribunes *to be created. However none but* Patricians *are choſen. The rich* Plebeians *complain of the poorer ſort, for their having conſtantly refuſed to elect any of* them *to that Magiſtracy. The* Senate, *fearing leſt ſome of the chief* Plebeians *ſhould get into the* Military Tribuneſhip, *contrive, on occaſion of a war with the* Æqui, *to get two* Conſuls *choſen to the* Government; *but theſe diſagreeing, through jealouſy, the* Senate *judge it neceſſary to have a* Dictator. *The* Conſuls *refuſe to name one. The* Senators *raſhly apply to the* Tribunes *to interpoſe in the affair. The* Tribunes *threaten the* Conſuls. Poſthumius Tubertus *is named* Dictator. *He defeats the enemy.* §. V. *The* Æqui *obtain a truce for eight years.* Rome *being afflicted with a famine and a plague, the* People *have recourſe to foreign ſuperſtitions; which are ſoon prohibited.* §. VI. *The* Veientes *make incurſions on the* Roman *lands. Diſputes ariſing between the* Senate *and People about the prerogative of proclaiming war, the* Romans *do not take the field 'till the next year, when the* People *prevail to have* Military Tribunes *in the Government, but they chuſe only* Patricians. *Theſe not acting in concert are defeated by the enemy.* Mamercus Æmilius, *raiſed to the Dictatorſhip, gives the* Veientes *a total overthrow, and takes their camp, as alſo* Fidenæ, *which had again revolted from the* Romans.

§. I. THE tranquillity of the new adminiſtration was diſturbed by the defection of *Fidenæ*, a city about five miles diſtant from *Rome*, on the ſide of *Sabinia*. It had been originally founded either by the *Hetrurians* or *Albans*, and had been a *Roman* colony ever ſince *Romulus*'s time. The *Fidenates* had frequently revolted; and now again, throwing off the yoke, they put themſelves under the protection of *Tolumnius*, King of the *Veientes*. Nor did the *Fidenates* ſtop at rebellion only, but they murdered four Ambaſſadors whom the *Romans* ſent to them to aſk the reaſon of their conduct. It was eaſily foreſeen, that ſo enormous a proceeding muſt be followed by a bloody war, and this determined the Republic to chuſe Conſuls, rather than Military Tribunes, for the enſuing year. Y. of *R.* 315. Bef. *J.C.* 437. 2 Mil. Trib.

Y. of *R.* 316. Bef. *J.C.* 436. 71 Conſulſhip.

M. Geganius (a third time) and *L. Sergius* were elected. It fell to the latter to conduct the war. But though he gained ſome advantage over the enemy, it coſt the *Romans* dear, and they did not think fit to continue at the head of the army a General, who was ſo prodigal of *Roman* blood. The Senate ordered a Dictator to be created, and *Mamercus Æmilius* was nominated by the Conſuls. The very report of the election of a General whoſe merit was ſuperior to his employment abated the confidence of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*, who durſt not appear in the field, 'till they were joined by the *Falliſci*. The Dictator defeated theſe confederates in a pitched battle. *Tolumnius* was ſlain in the action by *Cornelius Coſſus*, a legionary Tribune, who ſtripped him of his Armour and royal robes. And theſe ſpoils, called *opima ſpolia*, *Cornelius* afterwards carried on his ſhoulders in the Dictator's triumph, and then depoſited them in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. They were the ſecond of the ſort known in *Rome*. The firſt were born by *Romulus*, who killed King *Acron* in ſingle combat.

Livy, B. 4.

Y. of *R.* 317. Bef. *J.C.* 435. 72 Conſulſhip

§. II. IN the following year (of the Conſuls, *M. Cornelius* and *L. Papirius*) one *Sp. Mælius*, a Tribune of the People, and a relation of the famous Corn-merchant, cited *Minucius* and *Servilius Ahala* to anſwer for what they had done againſt his kinſman; *Minucius* for having brought a falſe accuſation againſt him, and *Servilius* for having put to death a *Roman* Citizen, before condemnation.

Livy, B. 4.

If we may credit ſome Hiſtorians, theſe proſecutions were fruitleſs, and the Tribune only brought himſelf into contempt by them: But others, and the greater number, relate that *Servilius* was condemned to baniſhment, and afterwards recalled. As for *Minucius*, we do not find that he ſuffered any thing from the reſentment of the proſecutor.

§. III. THE chief concern of the *Romans*, at this time, was to preſerve themſelves from the plague, with which they were grievouſly afflicted. And it raged with greater fury, in the following Conſulſhip of * *Julius Iulus* and *L. Virginius*. While *Rome* was in this diſtreſs, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* came and encamped almoſt cloſe to the city, on the ſide of the gate *Collina*. The Senate, being terrify'd at ſo near an approach of the enemy, thought it neceſſary to nominate a Dictator; and the Conſuls pitched upon *Quintus Servilius Priſcus*, who commanded all thoſe, whoſe health would permit them, to march out of the city. Upon this the enemy immediately retired: But *Servilius* came up with them near *Nomentum*, routed them, and afterwards took the city of *Fidenæ* by ſap. However, this being looked upon as a civil war, becauſe *Fidenæ* was a *Roman* Colony, the General was not granted a triumph, tho' he probably aſſumed then the name of *Fidenas*. This ſucceſs was followed by a Cenſus of the *Roman* People, which, after the eſtabliſhment of the Cenſors, never failed to be renewed every five years.

Y. of *R.* 318. Bef. *J.C.* 434. 73 Conſulſhip. * A third time.

Faſt Cap. *Livy*, B. 4.

Y. of *R.* 319. Bef. *J.C.* 433. 74 Conſulſhip.

It is not agreed, whether *Rome* in the beginning of the year 319 was governed by the former Conſuls, *Julius Iulus* and *L. Virginius*, or by new ones, *M. Manlius* and *Q. Sulpicius*, or by three Military Tribunes.

But be that as it will, it is certain that theſe Tribunes or Conſuls were ſo little concerned in the events of the year, that they were ſoon forgotten. A rumour being ſpread abroad, that all the nations of *Hetruria* were to take arms in favour of the *Veientes*, *Mamercus Æmilius*, a man illuſtrious both in peace and war, was raiſed a ſecond time to the Dictatorſhip, a dignity in which he had before acquired great glory againſt the ſame enemies. But the news of this dreadful league proving falſe, and *Æmilius* finding himſelf deceived in his hopes of ſignalizing his ſecond Dictatorſhip by a new victory, reſolved however to leave ſome monument of his zeal for the public liberty. He obſerved to the People in a general Aſſembly, that their Anceſtors, in order to preſerve their freedom, had eſtabliſhed in the Republic no Officer whoſe authority was to laſt above a year; but that this wiſe precaution had not been remembered in the late creation of Cenſors, who were allowed a five years Magiſtracy; that it was a grievous thing to be ſubject five years (a great portion of a man's life) to the cenſure of the ſame perſons: And that a Law therefore ought to be made for ſhortening the duration of that office to eighteen months. Y. of *R.* 319. Bef *J.C.* 433. 74 Conſulſhip.

This diſcourſe was received with great applauſe, eſpecially by the People, and the next day the Law, with their approbation, was paſſed and publiſhed in form. Then *Æmilius*, "To convince you, *Romans*, that I am "in earneſt, when I expreſs ſo great a diſlike to Magiſtracies of long con- "tinuance, I now reſign my own." The multitude with acclamations of joy, and with expreſſions of the greateſt eſteem and affection, conducted him back to his houſe. But *C. Furius* and *M. Geganius*, the preſent Cenſors, ſhewed a moſt extravagant reſentment of the injury which they pretended was done them, by this abridging of the duration of the Cenſorſhip. *Æmilius* had no ſooner abdicated his authority, but in virtue of the power belonging to their office, they ſtruck his name out of the roll of his Tribe, took from him, as from a ſcandalous wretch, the privilege of voting, and loaded him with a tribute eight times greater than he uſed to pay. But this perſecution, inſtead of diſhonouring him, gave him a new luſtre; all the ſhame fell upon the perſecutors. The Senators themſelves, notwithſtanding they diſliked the new law, were yet more diſpleaſed with the ſevere and arbitrary conduct of the Cenſors; making this natural reflection, that tho' they might themſelves be for a time poſſeſſed of the ſame power, they ſhould probably be much longer ſubject to it. And, as for the People, full of indignation, they would have torn *Furius* and *Geganius* to pieces, if *Æmilius* had not been ſo generous as to ſave them. *Livy*, B. 4.

§. IV. THE Tribunes of the Commons, by renewing their ordinary harangues againſt the electing of Conſuls, prevailed to have Military Tribunes choſen for the next year; nevertheleſs in ſpite of all their intereſt and intrigues, the People ſtill prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Nobility, as to their capacity for government, and the command of armies, gave their voices again to three *Patricians*, *M. Fabius*, *M. Foſlius*, and *L. Sergius*. Nothing remarkable happened in their year except a plague, which ceaſed in the following year of *L. Pinarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius*. And then Y. of *R.* 320. Bef. *J.C.* 432. 3 Mil. Trib.

Y. of *R.* 321. Bef. *J. C.* 431. 4 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 4.

ambition raiſed ſome freſh diſturbances at *Rome*. The wealthy *Plebeians* complained of the inferior ſort, as not well enough affected to their intereſts, having never choſen any but *Patricians* to be Military Tribunes, notwithſtanding the law, which allowed them to chuſe three *Plebeians* to that dignity. They met at the houſes of the Tribunes of the Commons, to conſult upon this matter; and there they came to this concluſion, that the neglect which had been ſhewn them was owing to the various arts uſed by the Nobles to gain the People's favour in elections, and it was reſolved, to propoſe a law, forbidding any pretenders to the ſuperior offices to go about, as had been the cuſtom, in garments of an extraordinary whiteneſs, (whence they were called Candidates) to ſollicit the People's votes: A matter which, as *Livy* tells us, would in his days have been thought of ſmall moment, and ſcarce worthy of a ſerious debate, but which at this time raiſed a very warm contention between the two parties. The Tribunes prevailed, the law was paſſed, and the preſent animoſity of the People againſt the *Patricians* gave reaſon to believe that the former would no longer refuſe their voices to the chief *Plebeians* for the Military Tribuneſhip. The Senate to avert this danger turned their thoughts to get Conſuls choſen for the next year. The formidable preparations which the *Æqui* and *Volſci* made for war at this time favoured the deſign. As there were no *Plebeians* who had ever commanded armies, and none but old Captains and the chief men of the Senate were fit for that employment, the People were indifferent, whether Conſuls or Military Tribunes were choſen this year. Thus the Senate being left maſters of the election, the Conſulſhip was reſtored, and *T. Quinctius*, the ſon of *Lucius*, and *C. Julius Mento* attained that dignity. A better choice could not have been made, with reſpect either to birth or capacity in the art of war: But jealouſy and diviſion ariſing between them, it is ſaid * they were beaten near the *Algidus*. The Senate, to prevent the Conſequences of their defeat, reſolved to have recourſe to a Dictator. But the two Conſuls, on whom the nomination of him depended, though they differed in all other reſpects, united to croſs the Senators in this particular. They were probably offended at the diffidence ſhewn of their abilities; but whatever was the cauſe of their noncompliance with the Senate's deſire, they continued obſtinate in their determination, 'till expreſſes upon expreſſes bringing accounts of the miſchievous progreſs of the enemies arms, *Q. Servilius Priſcus*, a Conſular perſon, turning to the Tribunes of the People who were then in the Senate-houſe, exhorted them to interpoſe their authority, and oblige the Conſuls to name a Dictator. Thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates joyfully laid hold of ſo fair an occaſion to extend their power, and having withdrawn a while to conſult, returned with this declaration, *That it was the pleaſure of the Tribunes, that the Conſuls ſhould obey the Senate, or be led to priſon, if they*

Y. of *R.* 322. Bef. *J. C.* 430. 75 Conſulſhip.

* *Livy* ſpeaks doubtfully, and ſeems here to be much in the dark. He gives no account of what became of the Conſuls army after the defeat; nor how the Generals came to be ſo ſuddenly in the Senate houſe after it.

perſiſted in their diſobedience. Hereupon the two Magiſtrates ſubmitted, upbraiding the Senators however, that it was by them the Conſular authority was betray'd and ſubjected to the yoke of the Tribunitian power. The *Conſcript Fathers* indeed ſeem to have been ſo much exaſperated againſt the two Magiſtrates, and ſo intent upon vanquiſhing their obſtinacy, as not to be duly ſenſible of the breach they made in their own authority. After ſome diſpute between the Conſuls about the perſon who ſhould be Dictator, they drew lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to *T. Quinctius*; and he named his father-in-law *Poſthumius Tubertus*, who appointed *L. Julius Iulus* to be his General of the Horſe. Y. of *R.* 322. Bef. *J.C.* 430. 75 Conſulſhip.

Poſthumius was an old Captain, of great valour and experience, but naturally harſh and ſevere. The knowledge of his temper and the power of life and death, which the Dictatorſhip gave him, made all who were ſummoned run obediently to range themſelves under his enſigns. He ſoon marched againſt the enemy, defeated them in a bloody engagement, took their camp, and then, having led back his army to *Rome*, and had the honours of a TRIUMPH, laid down the Dictatorſhip.

§. V. THE next year, in which *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius* were Conſuls, the *Æqui* being humbled by former loſſes, deſired to enter into alliance with the Republic, on the ſame foot with the *Latines* and *Hernici*. But their Envoys perceiving that the *Romans* were not inclined to an union, upon any other terms, than a ſubmiſſion at diſcretion, they propoſed only a truce, which was granted for eight years. The *Volſci* at this time quarrel'd among themſelves, and from diſputes and reproaches came to ſeditions and battles. By this means *Rome* was left in perfect tranquillity, and nothing remarkable was done there during the preſent Conſulſhip, but the ſettling, by a law, the value of the oxen and ſheep, paid by way of fines for diſobedience to Magiſtrates; and the fines were ordered to be paid in money for the future, each ox valued at 100 Aſſes of braſs, and each ſheep at 10. The Tribunes were the firſt projectors of this new regulation; but the Conſuls, having notice of the deſign, propoſed the law themſelves, by which they gained the favour of the People. Y. of *R.* 323. Bef. *J.C.* 429. 76 Conſulſhip.

L. Sergius and *Hoſtus Lucretius* paſſed their Conſulſhip in greater inaction than their Predeceſſors. The Republic enjoy'd a profound peace. But the next year, when *T. Quinctius* (a ſecond time) and *Cornelius Coſſus* were raiſed to the Conſulate, a calamity more grievous than war fell upon *Rome*, and almoſt upon all *Italy*. An extream drought occaſioned a famine, which was followed by a dreadful plague, that ſpared neither man nor beaſt. The *Romans*, naturally ſuperſtitious, having in vain exhauſted all the virtue of medicine, had recourſe to ſupernatural aids. A foreign worſhip was introduced into the city; the temples and the very ſtreets were crowded with people, ſacrificing to Deities unknown: And they were not aſhamed, in order to conjure away the diſtemper, to apply to charms, and all thoſe idle ſuperſtitions, which the weakneſs of man has invented. The Senate, who were well apprized of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the *Ædiles* to put a ſtop to this diſorder; and it was forbid Y. of *R.* 324. Y. of *R.* 325. *Livy*, B. 4.

by

by a public edict, to practiſe any ceremony not legally admitted into the Commonwealth.

§. VI. THE *Veientes* after their defeat near *Nomentum*, in the year 318, had obtained a truce for 8 years, but before this time was expired, they had ravaged the lands of the Republic. The Senate therefore in the Y. of *R.* 326. Conſulſhip of *L.* * *Papirius* and *Servilius Ahala* thought it proper to re- Bef. *J. C.* 426. venge this injury. The only queſtion was in what manner war ſhould be 79 Conſulſhip. declared againſt them. The Senate pretended that their Decree would be * A ſecond time. ſufficient: On the other hand the People urged that to determine affairs of peace and war was their peculiar province. This was not diſputed, but the Senators alledged that the queſtion at preſent was not about a new war, but about a war already begun, and only ſuſpended by a truce. The Tribunes carried their point by threatening to hinder the levies, if the Conſuls did not apply themſelves to the People to obtain a declaration of war againſt the *Veientes*. Theſe diſputes produced theſe two effects, they delay'd the vengeance of the *Romans*, and made the People inſiſt upon having the government of the Republic placed the next year in the hands of Military Tribunes, and not of Conſuls.

Y. of *R.* 327. Four *Patricians* were choſen, *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, *M.* Bef *J. C.* 425. *Poſthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, and they took their employments by 5 Mil. Trib. lot. *Coſſus* ſtay'd at *Rome*, the other three marched againſt the *Veientes*. But theſe Generals not acting in concert, when they came to an engagement with the enemy, the *Roman* army was routed. However, it happened very fortunately, that the nearneſs of the camp ſaved the troops from ſlaughter, and their diſgrace was greater than their loſs. But as it had not been uſual for them to ſuffer any diſgrace, the whole city was in conſternation at the news of this ſhameful action. The People demanded to have the Generals depoſed, and at the ſame time to have a Dictator named. A difficulty aroſe in relation to this laſt demand. It had been the prerogative of the Conſuls to nominate a Dictator, and there were no Conſuls now in being. The Augurs being conſulted thereupon, declared that *Coſſus*, who had had no ſhare in the late diſaſter, might lawfully name a Dictator. Accordingly he named *Mamercus Æmilius*, that great man, who had been in the ſame poſt twice before, and whom the Cenſors had degraded, and ſunk to a level with the loweſt of the People. *Æmilius* appointed *Coſſus* to be his general of the Horſe.

In the mean time the inhabitants of *Fidenæ* maſſacred the *Roman* colony there, and revolted a ſeventh time to the *Veientes*, who paſſed the *Tyber*, and encamped near the city. The Dictator with his infantry attack'd them furiouſly; but his left wing was a while amazed and terrified by the enemy's new manner of fighting. The *Fidenates* opened one of the gates of their city, and ſent out ſome ſoldiers with lighted torches in their hands, and dreſſed in habits like thoſe uſually given the furies. Theſe ran like *Florus*, B. 1. mad enthuſiaſts thro' the *Roman* battalions, and threatened them with fire c. 12. and ſword at the ſame time. But the Dictator upbraided his men with cowardice, "What, *ſaid he*, are you as much afraid of ſmoke as a ſwarm

"of

" of bees? Make use of your swords to wrest these torches out of the " enemies hands, and then go and set fire to their city with them." The *Romans* recovered their courage, and *Cossus* with his cavalry falling upon the enemy at the same time, the latter were entirely defeated: Both *Fidenæ* and the camp of the *Veientes* were taken and plundered, and the prisoners were partly distributed by lot to the *Roman* Officers, and the rest sold for the benefit of the public. This glorious expedition being finished in sixteen days, *Æmilius* led back his troops to *Rome*, had the honours of a triumph, and then laid down his Dictatorship, leaving it a question, whether his bravery or his moderation were the greater. V. of *R.* 327. Bef. *J. C.* 425. 5 Mil. Trib.

CHAP. XXXIV.

§. I. Military Tribunes *are chosen to the Government the two following years; but the choice falls only on* Patricians. *The* Tribunes *of the Commons use their utmost endeavours to dissuade the People from this preference of the Nobles to them, in the elections. The* Senate *to counterplot them, before the new elections come on, contrive to send away the principal of the* Plebeians *into the field against the* Volsci. *In their absence* Appius Claudius (*son of the* Decemvir) *one of the* Military Tribunes, *holds an Assembly for electing* Consuls, *and* C. Sempronius *and* Q. Fabius *are chosen.* §. II. Sempronius *brings the whole* Roman *army into danger of being cut to pieces by the* Volsci. *An Officer of horse, named* Tempanius, *by his bravery and prudence, prevents the defeat of the* Romans. *He arrives at* Rome *before the* Consul, *and gives testimony in favour of his conduct.* §. III. *The People condemn* Posthumius (*one of those* Military Tribunes, *who by their division had lost a battle in the year* 327,) *in a fine.* Tempanius *is made one of the* Tribunes *of the Commons. His General* Sempronius *being prosecuted by the People for his misconduct, he takes his part, and engages the* Tribune Hortensius, *the accuser, to drop the prosecution.*

§. I. THE two following years were spent in making truces with the *Veientes* and *Æqui*, and in other negotiations, and in celebrating the great games of the Circus. The Government was in each of these years committed to four *Military Tribunes*. The Tribunes of the Commons prevailed so far, but they had still the mortification to see *Patricians* only elected. Y. of *R.* 328. Bef. *J. C.* 424. Y. of *R.* 329. Bef. *J. C.* 423.

It is impossible to express the rage and indignation of these *Plebeian* Magistrates. They reproached the People with ingratitude. They told them plainly that great recompences were necessary to encourage men to great

A. Sempronius, L. Furius, L. Quinctius, L. Horatius,	Y. of *R.* 328.		Ap. Claudius, Sp. Nautius, L. Sergius, Sex. Julius,	Y. of *R.* 329.

actions,

Y. of R. 329. Bef. J.C. 423. actions, and that for their parts they would throw up all care of the *Plebeian* intereſt, if their zeal and labours were never to be rewarded with honours. That it was much better to repeal the law which qualified *Plebeians* for the Tribuneſhip, than to ſee it thus rendered fruitleſs in all the elections by the cabals of the *Patricians*; and that it would be leſs ſhame to the Commons to be wholly excluded from the privilege of ſtanding candidates, than to be always rejected as incapable or unworthy.

Theſe diſcourſes, often repeated, made an impreſſion upon the multitude; and at the ſame time the richeſt and moſt eminent men of the *Plebeians* gave out, that if they could once be choſen to the Government, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the citizens, procure the eſtabliſhment of new colonies, and cauſe a tax to be laid upon the landed men to provide pay for the ſoldiers in time of war: In a word, they forgot nothing that might engage the People to raiſe them to the dignity of Military Tribunes.

The *Patrician* Magiſtrates who were then in poſſeſſion of that dignity, to avoid the ſhame of having *Plebeians* for their ſucceſſors, privately agreed with the Senate to lead out of *Rome* (under pretence of making an incurſion upon the lands of the *Volſci*, who, they gave out, were preparing with all diligence for war.) the chief of the People, and eſpecially thoſe who aſpired to the Military Tribuneſhip, and during the abſence of the army to proceed to an election of Conſuls. Three of the Military Tribunes took the field, leaving *Appius* (the Decemvir's ſon) their Collegue, to guard the city, and preſide at the intended election. *Appius* was a young man bold and enterpriſing, and had been educated from his very cradle in an hereditary averſion to the People's power. No ſooner were the *Tribunes*, with great numbers of the *Plebeians gone* into the field, but, laying hold of the opportunity, he, purſuant to a decree of the Senate, held the Comitia for electing Conſuls. *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *C. Fabius Vibulanus* were choſen: And the People and their Tribunes at their return found the election too ſtrongly ſettled to think of reverſing it. They afterwards ſhewed their reſentment, by proſecuting one of the Conſuls as a criminal. on account of the ill ſucceſs he had in the war againſt the *Volſci*.

Y. of R. 330. Bef. J.C. 422. 80 Conſulſhip.

§. II. THIS warlike People, who had long fought with the *Romans* for empire and dominion, did this year make, as it were, a laſt effort to avoid receiving the yoke of their old enemies. They raiſed a great number of troops, made choice of able Captains, and omitted none of thoſe wiſe precautions, which may be looked upon as the ſureſt preſages of good ſucceſs. *Rome* ſent againſt him her firſt Conſul *Sempronius*, a man full of courage, familiar with his ſoldiers, and therefore greatly beloved by them, but who was himſelf more a ſoldier than a Captain, and ſeemed to think that valour alone was ſufficient to ſupply all the duties of a general. The two armies ſoon came in view of each other. *Sempronius* deſpiſed enemies whom the *Romans* had ſo often vanquiſhed; and, as if he had been ſure of winning the victory with only his infantry, left his horſe in a place where he could receive no manner of aſſiſtance from them. The fight began

gan with equal fury on both ſides. The *Romans* advanced daringly, and charged the enemy with their uſual valour. But as they fought with more fire than order, and as the *Volſci*, drawn together in firm and cloſe battalions, defended themſelves with great courage, victory began to declare for the ſide where there was moſt diſcipline. The *Volſci*, led by an experienced General, preſs'd on briſkly and broke the legions. The *Romans*, inſtead of attacking, thought now only how to avoid the attack of the enemy. They gave back, and loſt ground apace. The Conſul perceiving it, haſted to the place where there was moſt danger. He fought with his own hand, and tried to animate his ſoldiers by his example and reproaches, but in vain. He called and he threatened; no body gave attention to his orders. At length all the legions fell into confuſion, and the battle had been quite loſt, but for the valour and prudence of *Sex. Tempanius*, an old Captain of horſe. Y. of *R.* 330. Bef. *J. C.* 422. 80 Conſulſhip.

Sempronius, who, as was ſaid before, had flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to defeat the enemy with only his foot, had left his horſe in a place hemm'd in with bogs, where it was impoſſible for them to fight. *Tempanius* obſerving the diſorder the legions were put into, leaped to the ground, and addreſſing himſelf to his companions, *Follow my lance*, ſaid he, *as if it were a ſtandard; and let us ſhew the enemy, that as well on foot as on horſeback, nothing can withſtand us.* The whole body of horſe diſmounted after his example, and followed him. *Tempanius*, at the head of them, marched ſtrait againſt the enemy and reſtored the fight. The legions at the ſight of this ſuccour reſumed courage, and returned to the charge with freſh fury. The General of the *Volſci* could not conceive whence this new body of infantry ſhould come. But as he found himſelf preſs'd by them, he ſent orders to his troops to open their ranks, and give paſſage to the ſoldiers which *Tempanius* commanded, and then to cloſe again, in order to ſeparate them from the *Roman* legions. The *Volſci* did as they were ordered. *Tempanius* and his men, carried on by the heat of their courage, and imagining they were following victory, and a routed enemy, ruſhed ſtill forwards: But it was not long before they found themſelves cut off from the *Roman* main body by ſome of the enemy's battalions that ſtood now in cloſe array. *Tempanius* did his utmoſt to force his way thro' them, and rejoin the Conſul; but he could not break their order. In this extremity he ſpied an eminence, of which he preſently took poſſeſſion. *Val. Max.* B. 3. c. 2.

A part of the *Volſcian* troops immediately attacked him, believing it impoſſible for him to make a long reſiſtance: But TEMPANIUS throwing his men into a ring, defended himſelf with invincible bravery; and this diverſion ſaved the *Roman* army. The Conſul, however, at the head of the legions ſtrove in vain to join *Tempanius*. The *Volſci*, though they loſt abundance of men in this laſt conflict, kept their ground every where; nor could the *Romans* break one of their battalions. They fought till it was night, without either of the Generals being able to perceive on

Y. of R. 330. Bef. J. C. 422. 8o Conſulſhip.

which ſide lay the advantage; and nothing but want of light parted the two armies.

Both armies, believing themſelves loſers, equally feared to renew the fight the next morning; nay the terror in both was ſo great, that they haſtily quitted their camps in the night, leaving many of their wounded, and a great part of their baggage behind them, and retired to the mountains that were neareſt to them.

Livy, B. 4.

Tempanius continued to be inveſted till after midnight; but then the aſſailants receiving notice that their main army had abandoned their camp, fled likewiſe in a fright. The *Romans*, who doubted not but the *Volſci* would attack him again as ſoon as ever the darkneſs was diſpelled, was very much ſurprized when at day-break he ſaw neither friends nor enemies. He could not imagine what was become of two great armies, who, not many hours before, had ſtretched over the whole plain. He went down with a few of his companions, and took a view, firſt of the *Volſcian* camp, not a man was to be ſeen in it, except thoſe of the wounded who had not been able to follow the main body of the army. Then calling down all his ſoldiers from the hill, he entered the *Roman* camp, and there found the like ſolitude. Not knowing to what place the Conſul was retired with his troops, and fearing the return of the *Volſci*, upon the firſt diſcovery of their error, he took up the wounded *Romans*, and marched ſtrait to *Rome*. Some runaways from the battle had got to the city before him; and, becauſe they had ſeen him and his followers cut off from the main army and ſurrounded by the enemy, they had given out, that the whole body of cavalry was cut to pieces. The return therefore of theſe brave men occaſioned an exceſſive ſurprize and joy.

It happened that the People were actually aſſembled when *Tempanius* arrived at *Rome*. The Tribunes of the Commons thought this to be a favourable opportunity of humbling a Conſul. They obliged *Tempanius* to appear in the Aſſembly before he ſet foot in his own houſe; and *Cn. Julius*, one of thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, aſked him aloud whether he thought *Sempronius* was fit to command the armies of the *Roman* People, or in the laſt engagement had diſpoſed his troops like an experienced General; what was become of him ſince the battle, and where the army was that he commanded? He added, *I expect that you anſwer directly, and without any evaſions, to all theſe particulars. Inform us what is become of our legions; whether they abandoned you, or you deſerted them; and laſtly, whether we are vanquiſhed or victorious?* *Tempanius*, far from ſeeking to make his own advantage of *Sempronius*'s diſgrace, anſwered, That it did not become a private Officer to pretend to judge of the capacity of his General: That the People had given their opinion of it when they choſe him Conſul: That he had ſeen him fight at the head of the legions with invincible bravery, and expoſe his own perſon in all the places where there was moſt danger: That the great diſtance between them after their ſeparation, and the confuſion which always happens in ſo obſtinate a fight, had kept him from knowing every thing that paſſed where the Conſul was engaged; but

but that he could however assure them, by what had appeared to him upon a view of the field of battle, that the *Volsci* had not lost fewer men than the *Romans*. He added, That as upon his separation from the main body of the legions, he had been so fortunate as to get possession of an eminence, on which, notwithstanding all the assaults of the enemy, he had preserved those that were trusted to his command; so he presumed the Consul, in that general disorder, had gained the mountains, and there intrenched himself. *Tempanius* then desired leave to retire, in order to get the wounds dressed which he had received in the fight. The whole Assembly gave yet greater praises to the discretion and modesty of his answer, than to the valour and good conduct with which he had fought against the enemies of his country.

§. III. HOWEVER the People were so much out of humour with their Generals, that they hastened the condemnation of *Posthumius*, one of the three Military Tribunes, who by their disunion had lost a battle in the year 327. The Tribunes of the People had in the beginning of the present year cited both him and his Collegue *T. Quintius* (the third was dead) to answer for their misconduct; but the prosecution had been suspended by the apprehension of a war with the *Volsci*. *Posthumius* was now condemned to pay a large fine; but *Quintius* was universally acquitted by the Tribes, on account of his own signal services, as well as those of his father *Cincinnatus*, and his uncle *Capitolinus*.

Y. of *R.* 331. Bef. *J.C.* 421. 8 Mil. Trib.* *Livy*, B. 4.

As for *Tempanius*, the People, in reward of his services, chose him some time after to the Tribuneship, together with three other Officers, who like him had distinguished themselves in the war. In this post he gave new proofs of the generosity of his soul. For *L. Hortensius*, one of the Tribunes, having cited *Sempronius*, after the year of his Consulate was expired, to answer before the Assembly of the People for his conduct in the last battle, *Tempanius* and his three Collegues above-mentioned generously made themselves his advocates, and intreated *Hortensius* not to persecute a brave General, who had been only unfortunate on that occasion. *Hortensius* believing that these Tribunes intended to interpose their authority in favour of the accused, answered: *But if I shew you that this* Patrician, *whose valour you so highly praise, was the only cause of our defeat, will you oppose the justice he deserves? Will you destroy the power of the Tribuneship; and turn against the People themselves the very authority which you hold only from their favour?* *Tempanius* and his Collegues replied with great moderation, that they owned the People to have an absolute Power over all who bore the name of *Roman* citizens; and that they would never make a wrong use of the trust which was reposed in them: But that if the *intreaties* they made in behalf of their General, who had been to *them* a father, could not prevail, they would *change their habit* as he had done. "Nay (*cried Hortensius*) but that shall never

* L. MANLIUS VULSO, Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA, | | L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, L. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

Y. of R. 331. Bef. J. C. 421. 80 Conſulſhip.

be ; the *Roman* People ſhall not ſee their Tribunes in mourning. I have done. I have nothing farther to ſay againſt a man who by his behaviour in command could make himſelf ſo dear to his ſoldiers." And thus he drops the impeachment.

CHAP. XXXV.

§. I. *New diſſentions ariſe in the Republic, on occaſion of a propoſal to add two* Quæſtors *to the two already eſtabliſhed. The* Tribunes *reſolve not to ſuffer an election of* Conſuls, *unleſs it be made a rule, that, of the four* Quæſtors, *two be always* Plebeian. *The two parties come at length to this compromiſe, that* Military Tribunes *ſhall be elected to the government, and that the People ſhall be free to chuſe* Patricians *or* Plebeians *to the* Quæſtorſhip. *The People chuſe not only the* Military Tribunes *but the* Quæſtors *two out of the* Patricians *only.* §. II. *The* Tribunes *revive the old quarrel about the diſtribution of the conquered lands.* Appius's *advice to the* Senate, *to raiſe a diviſion among thoſe Magiſtrates, is followed with ſucceſs.* §. III. *The affair of the* AGRARIAN LAW *is revived.* Poſthumius, *one of the* Military Tribunes *and General of the army, by his breach of word, and by ſome imprudent menaces, ſo provokes his ſoldiers that they mutiny. Attempting to puniſh the mutineers he is ſlain by them. The* Senate, *fearing leſt the People, in order to ſcreen the murderers, ſhould chuſe* Plebeian Military Tribunes *for the next year* (340) *uſe all their endeavours to get the* Conſulſhip *reſtored ; and they prevail. The faſces, after being ſeven years in the hands of* Military Tribunes, *are transferred to two* Conſuls, A. Cornelius Coſſus *and* L. Furius Medullinus, *who ſhew great moderation and prudence in the proſecution of the criminals.* §. IV. *In the year* 344, *the People chuſe three of the four* Quæſtors *out of the* Plebeians. *And the* Senate *is forced to conſent to an election of* Military Tribunes *for the next year. Three* Patricians *are choſen. Theſe being ordered by the* Senate *to name a* Dictator, *on occaſion of a war with the* Volſci, *two of them refuſe. The* Senate *hereupon has recourſe, as formerly, to the* Tribunes ; *but theſe return a diſdainful anſwer, and will not meddle in the diſpute.* Servilius Ahala, *the third* Military Tribune, *names* P. Cornelius Dictator, *who quickly puts an end to the war.* Servilius's *two Collegues in anger againſt the* Senate *propoſe* Military Tribunes *at the next election : However* Patricians *are choſen, and ſo likewiſe the next year. The* Tribunes *of the Commons, provoked to the utmoſt, revenge themſelves by oppoſing the levies for a war with the* Veientes, *who had inſulted the* Roman *Ambaſſadors ; and they make the old affair of the* Agrarian Law *their pretence. The* Senate *get the better of this oppoſition, by decreeing that the* infantry *ſhall hereafter have* PAY *out of the public treaſury during the ſervice. The People joyfully confirm this Decree, and readily offer themſelves to be inliſted.*

§. I.

§. I. THE affection which four *Tribunes of the Commons* had ſhewed to a *Patrician*, and the compliance of *Hortenſius* with their deſires in his favour, ſeemed to promiſe a better underſtanding and more union between the Senate and People than there had been of late: But the very next year, in the Conſulate of *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Fabius Vibulanus*, new diſſentions aroſe with relation to the Quæſtorſhip. The inſtitution of this office is aſcribed to *Poplicola*, who left the choice of the Quæſtors to the People. Their buſineſs was to collect the taxes, defray the expences of war, and keep exact accounts of their receipts and diſburſements of the public money, of which they were the treaſurers, and for which they were accountable. And laſtly, the *Roman* eagles were depoſited with them, and they delivered them out at the Conſuls command when the *Romans* marched into the field. To this time, only two of theſe Officers had been annually choſen, who never ſtirred from *Rome*. The Conſuls propoſed that two others ſhould now be added, to attend the Generals in the field, take account of the ſpoils won from the enemy, ſell the booty, and above all, provide for the ſubſiſtence of the army. The Senate and the People at firſt ſeem'd equally to approve of this propoſal, and the former readily conſented, that in the election of Quæſtors, as in that of Military Tribunes, the *Roman* People, if they thought fit, ſhould chuſe as many *Plebeians* as *Patricians*. But the Tribunes demanding that two of thoſe Magiſtrates ſhould always indiſpenſably be *Plebeians*, the Senate, rather than ſubmit to this, broke the deſign of the Conſuls. The Tribunes, in revenge, renewed the propoſal of the *diviſion of the lands*; nor would they ſuffer the preſent Conſuls to hold the Comitia for electing new ones, but inſiſted on having Military Tribunes for the next year. The Senate were now more than ever concerned to hinder this, leſt if *Plebeians* were choſen to the Government, the *Agrarian Law* ſhould take place. The obſtinacy of the two parties in holding to their demands, threw the Republic into a kind of anarchy: For the Tribunes ſometimes even oppoſed the Senate's meeting to name an *Inter-rex*; but they conſtantly hindered this Officer's holding any Aſſembly for the chuſing of Conſuls. At length *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, being *Inter-rex*, by expoſtulations and ſoft perſuaſion, brought each of the parties to yield ſomething of its pretenſions, in order to a reconcilement. The Senate agreed to the chuſing of *Military Tribunes* inſtead of *Conſuls*; and the Tribunes of the Commons conſented, that in the election of the four Quæſtors, the People ſhould give their votes as they pleaſed, either to *Patricians* or *Plebeians*; and thus the diſpute ended. Y. of *R.* 332. Bef. *J. C.* 420. 81 Conſulſhip.

The Aſſembly for the election of *Military Tribunes* was held firſt; and notwithſtanding all the credit and intrigues of the Tribunes of the People, four *Patricians* were choſen, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Sp. Furius Medullinus*, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, couſin to the Conſul of the ſame name: *Sempronius* was pitched upon to preſide in the election Y. of *R.* 333. Bef. *J. C.* 419. 9 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 4.

election of Quæſtors. *Antiſtius* and *Pompilius*, two Tribunes of the Commons, aſked the Quæſtorſhip, the firſt for his ſon, the ſecond for his brother. But in ſpite of all their cabals, and ſeditious harangues, none but *Patricians* were promoted to that dignity; the People had not power to deny it to men whoſe fathers and anceſtors had been honoured with the Conſulſhip. The two Tribunes, enraged almoſt to madneſs at this preference, and the ſhame of a refuſal, cried out that it was impoſſible the People could have had ſo little regard to the intreaties and recommendation of their own Magiſtrates: that there muſt infallibly have been ſome deceit in the ſcrutiny, and that *A. Sempronius* who had gathered the votes, ought to be called to an account for it. But as he was a man of known probity, and his innocence and the dignity with which he was then inveſted, ſet him above their reach, they turned all their fury againſt *C. Sempronius*, his relation, before ſpoken of, and revived the proſecution againſt him (for his ill conduct in the laſt battle,) which *Hortenſius*, at the requeſt of *Tempanius*, had dropped. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-ſeven days. During this interval, *Sempronius* conſtantly attended the Senate, and being reſolved not to loſe his character there, by a timorous behaviour, zealouſly oppoſed the requeſt of the Tribunes, concerning the partition of the lands; and he behaved himſelf with the ſame ſteadineſs on his trial: But notwithſtanding all the ſollicitations of the Senate in his favour, he was fined 15000 pence.

Y. of *R.* 334. Bef. *J.C.* 418. 10 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 4.

§. II. IN the following Military Tribuneſhip of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Serviſius*, a plot was formed by the ſlaves, to ſet fire to the city, and ſeize the Capitol; but this ſecret was revealed by ſome of the conſpirators, and the miſchief prevented. Soon after, *Labicum* *, a city included in the *Latine* confederacy, gave the *Romans* ſome reaſons to ſuſpect her fidelity. And the next year (in which the Republic was governed by three Military Tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*) produced the entire revolt of the *Labicani*, who joined the *Æqui*, pillaged the territory of *Tuſculum*, and encamped with their new allies under the *Algidus*. It was ordered by the Senate that two of the Military Tribunes ſhould take the field, and the third continue to govern the city. Upon this a conteſt aroſe between the three, no one of them being willing to ſtay at home. The Senate was offended at theſe diſputes; and *Q. Servilius Fidenas*, formerly Dictator, put an end to them by his paternal authority, commanding his ſon *C. Servilius*, one of the three Governors, to ſtay in *Rome*. But the two Generals agreed no better in the field than they had done in the city; each was for fighting the enemy his own way; they deſpiſed each other, and the troops were divided into two parties. When the news of this diſcord came to *Rome*, *Q. Servilius* apprehended the conſequences of it, and adviſed his ſon to raiſe more troops to be in readineſs at all events: And the advice proved ſerviceable. For the two Generals having at length agreed to command the troops alternately each his day, *Sergius* ſoon after imprudently hazarded a battle, and by a ſtratagem of the enemy, who deſignedly gave ground to draw him into an ambuſh

* 15 miles from *Rome*.

Y. of *R.* 335. Bef. *J.C.* 417. 11 Mil. Trib.

ambuſh, was entirely defeated. He took refuge with his broken troops in *Tuſculum*. Upon this news the Senate ordered a Dictator to be created; and the younger *Servilius* nominated his father, who appointed his ſon General of the Horſe. The father and ſon left *Rome* at the head of a new army (that which had fled to *Tuſculum* being recalled) and encamped within two miles of the enemy. The Dictator being there informed that they were grown negligent and preſumptuous, he marched with haſte to attack them, routed them, inveſted *Labicum*, their place of retreat, and took it by aſſault. And all this being done in eight days, he returned to *Rome*, and immediately laid down his office. Y. of *R.* 335. Bef. *J.C.* 417. 11 Mil. Trib.

The ſucceeding Military Tribunes, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, gained no other glory but that of preſerving the Republic in the ſame tranquillity in which they found it. *Livy*, B. 4. Y. of *R.* 336. Bef. *J.C.* 416. 12 Mil. Trib.

But the next year, (when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius* and *Sp. Nautius*, governed the Commonwealth) *Sp. Mecilius*, a fourth time Tribune of the People, and *Mecilius*, now Tribune a third time, in order to perpetuate themſelves in the Tribuneſhip, and procure to themſelves a kind of empire for life, renewed the propoſal of *the diviſion of the lands* conquered from the neighbours and enemies of *Rome*. This was the common bait with which the moſt ſeditious Tribunes uſed to lure the People. *Rome*, as we have formerly obſerved, being built upon ground originally belonging to the city of *Alba*, had ſcarce any territory but what had been ſince won ſword in hand. The *Patricians*, and thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in the Government, under pretence of buying or renting parcels of it, had got into poſſeſſion of large tracts to which they had no juſt title. Long preſcription ſo concealed theſe uſurpations, that it was no eaſy matter to diſcover the old boundaries which ſeparated what belonged to the Public, from the parcels let or ſold to private men. Yet the Tribunes were for making the enquiry, reſuming what lands the occupiers could not prove a good title to, and making an equal diſtribution of them between the Nobles and Commons. This project threw the chief families of the Republic into great conſternation; and the Senators met ſeveral times to concert meaſures for defeating it. *Appius Claudius*, the youngeſt of them, is ſaid to have ſpoken to this effect; That it had been a conſtant tradition in his family, that a relief againſt the tyranny of the Tribunes was to be found no where but in their own College. That the beſt way to fruſtrate the deſigns of *Mecilius* and *Metilius*, was to engage ſome one of their Collegues to oppoſe them: that it would be no difficult matter for the Nobles by condeſcenſions and careſſes to gain over thoſe who were but newly come into Office, made no figure, and were perhaps jealous of the authority aſſumed by the two leading Tribunes. And he exhorted the *Fathers* to try the experiment. Y. of *R.* 337. Bef. *J.C.* 415. 13 Mil. Trib.

This advice was unanimouſly approved, and *Appius* was highly praiſed for having thus ſhewn that he did not degenerate from the virtue of his anceſtors. The chief men of the Senate immediately applied themſelves to gain ſome of the Tribunes; and by intreaties and remonſtrances, they ſuc-

Y. of *R.* 337. Bef. *J. C.* 415. 13 Mil. Trib. ceeded ſo well, that of the ten they won over ſix to oppoſe the promulgation of the law. *Mæcilius* and his Collegue reproached them as traytors, enemies to the People, and ſlaves to the Senate: But it was all in vain, they were forced to deſiſt from their enterprize.

The Senate, by means of a good intelligence with the majority of the Tribunes, remained the directors of affairs the following year alſo. *L. Sextius*, one of the College, to make his court to the People, having propoſed to ſend a colony to *Bola*, a little town which they had lately taken from the *Æqui*, the other Tribunes oppoſed it, and declared, that during their Tribuneſhip, they would never ſuffer any new law to be offered, that was not firſt approved of by the Senate. But this influence of the *Conſcript Fathers* in the Tribunitian College did not laſt long: The affair of the *Agrarian Law* was revived the next year.

Y. of *R.* 338. Bef. *J. C.* 414. 14 Mil. Trib.

Y. of *R.* 339. Bef. *J. C.* 413. 15 Mil. Trib. §. III. THE *Æqui* having retaken *Bola*, *P. Poſthumius Regillenſis*, one of the Military Tribunes, a good ſoldier, but an imperious, obſtinate, wrong-headed man, was ſent with an army to recover it. After ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy in the field, he inveſted that place. Before he led his troops to the aſſault, he promiſed them for their encouragement, that if they took the town, they ſhould have the plunder. The place was won, but the General, who naturally hated the *Plebeians*, of whom the greateſt part of his army conſiſted, broke his word, and ſold all for the Public treaſury.

Sextius, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, ſoon after brought on anew the affair of the *conquered lands*. *Poſthumius* was hereupon ſent for to *Rome* to aſſiſt his Collegues in oppoſing the Tribunes enterprize. When he was come, he in full Aſſembly of the People dropt an expreſſion, that ſhewed him to have neither wit, diſcretion, nor honour. *Sextius* having propoſed to the Aſſembly to paſs a decree for dividing the city and territory of *Bola* among the ſoldiers who had made the conqueſt, affirming that they had the beſt right to the benefit of it, *Poſthumius* haſtily cried out, *Wo be to my men, if any ſuch thing be done.* So proud and unjuſt a ſaying, offended the Senators no leſs than the multitude: *Sextius*, bold and eloquent, took advantage of the general diſcontent, and directing his ſpeech to the People: "Do you hear, *ſaid he*, how *Poſthumius* threatens his ſoldiers, as "if they were ſo many ſlaves? And yet this brute of a man you think "more worthy of the *Military Tribuneſhip*, than any of us, whoſe whole "ſtudy is to procure you lands, and houſes, and a comfortable retreat in "your old age, and to defend you upon all occaſions againſt ſuch proud "and cruel adverſaries. Can you then have any reaſon to wonder, that "of late ſo few of your Tribunes ſhew much zeal for your intereſts? "What have we to expect from you? Honours? You beſtow them upon

CORNELIUS COSSUS, QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, VALERIUS VOLUSUS, FABIUS VIBULANUS.	Y. of *R.* 338.	Q. FABIUS, CN. CORNELIUS, P. POSTHUMIUS. L. VALERIUS.	Y. of *R.* 339.

"your enemies. *Poſthumius*'s words have indeed ſhock'd you, filled you Y. of *R.* 339.
"with horror. But what then? If you were juſt now to go to an elec- Bef. *J.C.* 413.
"tion, you would prefer this cruel threatener to your beſt friends, to thoſe 15 Mil. Trib.
"who have nothing at heart but your welfare." *Livy*, B. 4.

This Diſcourſe did not fail to inflame the People; but when the threats of *Poſthumius* were reported in the camp, they occaſioned ſuch a commotion and murmuring in the army, as came little ſhort of downright ſedition. *P. Sofius*, one of the Quæſtors, having in the abſence of his General ordered a Lictor to ſeize a ſoldier who was more mutinous than the reſt, his fellow-ſoldiers not only reſcued him, but one of them gave the Quæſtor a ſevere blow with a ſtone. *Poſthumius*, informed of this tumult, haſtened to the camp, but he exaſperated the troops more than ever by the ſtrictneſs of his enquiries, and the cruelty of his puniſhments. He commanded the moſt guilty of the mutineers to be put to death *under the hurdle*, a kind of execution which has been before mentioned. The manner of it was this. The criminal was laid at his length in a ſhallow water, under an hurdle, upon which they heaped ſtones, and ſo preſſed him down 'till he was drowned. But it was in vain that the General now paſſed this ſentence againſt the ſeditious: the reſt of the ſoldiers tore them out of the hands of the executioners, and ſet them at liberty. *Poſthumius*, tranſported with rage, came down from his Tribunal, and, preceded by his Lictors, broke through the preſs, in order to lay hold on the criminals; but he found no reſpect remaining among the ſoldiers, either for his orders or his perſon; they oppoſed force with force, and being urged to fury, ſtoned him to death. This was the firſt inſtance of a *Roman* General ſlain by his troops, from the foundation of *Rome*.

Zonaras. B. 7.

Livy, B. 4.
Flor. B. 1.

When the news of the tragical end of *Poſthumius* came to *Rome*, his Collegues, who reſided in the city, zealous to revenge his death upon the rebellious ſoldiers, decreed, with the Senate's approbation, that informations ſhould be taken concerning it: But the Tribunes of the People interpoſed. This conteſt depended upon another. The *Conſcript Fathers* thought it of the utmoſt importance to avoid an election of Military Tribunes for the next year, leſt the Commons, to ſkreen the guilty ſoldiers, ſhould chuſe Governors out of the *Plebeians*. They would therefore have made a Decree, that Conſuls ſhould be choſen in the next Comitia. The paſſing of this Decree was oppoſed by the Tribunes of the People, and the contention laſted ſo long, that the Republic fell into an *Inter-regnum*. In the end, the Senate carried their point. *Fabius Vibulanus*, being *Inter-rex*, aſſembled the Comitia by Centuries, and they choſe *M. Cornelius Coſſus* and *L. Furius Medullinus* Conſuls. Theſe were both good natured men; and therefore, as it was thought proper not to be too rigorous in puniſhing the ſoldiers who had murdered their General, they were unanimouſly appointed by the Senate and People to enquire into the crime. It was neceſſary to make examples; but this was done with moderation; and thoſe few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the Lictors. The Conſuls thought it more adviſeable to ſuppoſe the army in general

Y. of *R.* 340.
Bef. *J.C.* 412.
82 Conſulſhip.

Y. of *R.* 340. Bef. *J.C.* 412. 82 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 4.

neral to be innocent, than to drive them into an open revolt by too ſtrict an examination.

It had been happy if the Senate and Conſuls had, to ſo prudent a management, added the partition of the Territory of *Bola* among the People: They had indeed no plauſible pretence not to do it, there being as yet no private occupiers of it to be diſturbed in their poſſeſſions. And this would have been the moſt effectual way to ſilence the factious complaints of the Tribunes, and abate the ardour of the People for the diviſion of the public lands before conquered. But the Commons now ſaw with indignation, that the ſecret deſign of the Senate and Nobility was to keep them always in poverty, as well for their own intereſt, as to make them more ſubmiſſive and dependent. Before it be long we ſhall ſee them proſecute their pretenſions with more fury than ever.

In the mean time the Conſul *Furius* marched againſt the *Volſci*, who had pillaged the territory of the *Hernici*. At his approach the enemy diſappeared; and he took from them *Ferentinum*, which he gave to the *Hernici*, with the lands about it, to compenſate their loſſes.

Y. of *R.* 341. Bef. *J.C.* 411. 83 Conſulſhip.

§. IV. THE Tribunes made no oppoſition to the election of Conſuls for the next year; and *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius* were choſen. But *L. Icilius*, a Tribune, began to reſume the affair of the conquered lands with immoderate heat. A plague that raged in the city put a ſtop to his career. This calamity was of courſe followed by a ſcarcity of proviſions: For the citizens being alſo the huſbandmen, the lands were left untill'd while the diſtemper prevailed; and the loſs of one harveſt was ſufficient to reduce *Rome* to extreme want.

Y. of *R.* 342. Bef. *J.C.* 410. 84 Conſulſhip.

The famine was ſeverely felt in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip of *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautius*; however, care was taken to get corn from *Hetruria* and *Sicily*; and *Rome* by extraordinary good fortune continued this year without commotions at home or abroad.

The plague and famine no ſooner ceaſed, but the *Æqui* renewed their incurſions upon the territories of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, faithful allies of *Rome*. *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius* were now Conſuls. It fell to the latter to conduct the war; but when he would have levied troops, the Tribune *Mænius* oppoſed it upon the old pretence of the *Agrarian Law*. In the mean time the *Æqui* inſulted the *Romans*, and took from them the fort of * *Carventum*. This diſgrace not only increaſed the hatred of the Nobles to *Mænius*, but induced the other nine Tribunes to aſſiſt the Conſul in making the levies and puniſhing thoſe perſons who refuſed to ſerve.

Y. of *R.* 343. Bef. *J.C.* 409. 85 Conſulſhip.

* In *Latium*.

The *Romans* recovered the fort, and found in it a conſiderable booty which the enemy had laid up there; but *Valerius* being diſſatisfy'd with his men on account of their backwardneſs to inliſt themſelves for the war, he ſold all, and put the money into the Quæſtor's hands.

It was the cuſtom in the triumphal proceſſion for the ſoldiers to chant ſatyrical verſes on the victor who enjoy'd that honour. In *Valerius*'s *Ovation* they did ſomething particular, and by way of revenge they divided themſelves into two choirs, and while one made the air reſound with ſongs

against their General, the other sang verses in praise of *Manius*; and every time his name was repeated the people in the streets clapped their hands and made acclamations and even drowned the noisy musick of the soldiers.

This behaviour of the citizens alarmed the Senate, and obliged them to bestir themselves, to hinder an election of Military Tribunes for the next year, lest *Manius* should be chosen for one. The *Fathers* prevailed; Consuls were elected; and the choice fell upon *Cn. Cornelius* and * *L. Furius*. Y. of *R.* 344. Bef. *J.C.* 408. 86 Consulship. * A second time.

Under their administration three Tribunes of the name of *Icilius*, all three kinsmen, and of a family in which to hate the *Patricians* was hereditary, undertook to deprive them of the Quæstorship, which hitherto had never been out of their order, though *Plebeians* were qualified to stand for it. The *Icilii* talked much of glorious projects they had formed in favour of the Commons; but at the same time declared that they would not stir one step towards the execution of them, unless the People would assume so much courage at least as to raise some of their own body to the Quæstorship. The multitude, possessed with hopes of the mighty advantages they were to reap from the zeal of their present Tribunes, gave their votes in the election of Quæstors to *Q. Silius*, *P. Ælius*, and *P. Pupius*, all three *Plebeians*; and of the *Patricians* who put up for that dignity none but *Cæso Fabius Ambustus* could obtain it. *Livy*, B. 4.

The Tribunes of the People, elated with this victory over the Nobility, flattered themselves, that the Quæstorship would now open them a way to the Military Tribuneship, the Consulate, and the Triumph. They would not hear therefore of an election of Consuls for the next year; they opposed the publication of a Decree of the Senate for that purpose; they cried out, that it was high time for the *Plebeians* to have their share in the Government. The disputes on this head grew warm, when, luckily for the *Icilii*, news came that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were again in motion. The Tribunes opposed the levies, which, in pursuance of a *Senatus-consultum*, the Consuls would have made. Two of the *Icilii* constantly attended upon these Magistrates, each watching his man, to hinder him from raising troops, or holding the Comitia for chusing new Consuls. The business of the third *Icilius* was to manage the People, and let them loose, or restrain them, as he judged proper. Things were at this pass, when further news was brought that the *Æqui* had retaken the fortress of *Carventum*. This gave the Tribunes a farther advantage, the want of an army being now more pressing. In short, the Senate were forced to yield that Military Tribunes should be elected; but to disappoint the *Icilii*, they annexed this proviso to their decree, *That none of the present* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE *should be chosen to the* MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP, *or continued in their Office the next year*.

The levies now went on without opposition. The Consuls marched to recover *Carventum*, but they lost a great deal of time before it, and were forced to raise the siege at last. They took however *Verrugo* from the *Volsci*.

The *Icilii* when they ſaw themſelves excluded from the ſupreme Magiſtracy, were probably indifferent whether any other *Plebeian* obtained it or not. Nay, perhaps they would have been mortified to ſee that great dignity in any other *Plebeian* family, before their own had been honoured with it. Be that as it will, no conſiderable *Plebeian* appeared as a candidate. The Senate had the art to engage ſome *Plebeians* of no credit or worth to ſtand in competition with *Patricians* of the firſt rank and diſtinction. The People, diſguſted with the meanneſs of the pretenders of their own order, gave all their voices to the Nobles, and *C. Julius Iulus*, *Corn. Coſſus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala* were declared Military Tribunes; but they did not long enjoy that ſovereign dignity. The *Volſci* having ſet on foot a very formidable army, the Senate, according to cuſtom, reſolved to ſend a Dictator againſt them. As the abſolute authority of that Magiſtrate in a manner ſwallowed up the power of all the inferior Officers, *Julius* and *Cornelius* oppoſed his nomination, alledging that they did not want courage and experience to command an army, and that it was unjuſt to deprive them of a dignity which they had ſo lately obtained by all the votes of their fellow-citizens.

Y. of *R.* 345
Bef *J. C.* 407.
16 Mil. Trib.

The Senate, exaſperated at their refuſal to name a Dictator, had recourſe to the *Tribunes of the People*, as they had done before upon the like occaſion. But the Tribunes of this year obſerved a different conduct from that of their predeceſſors. Overjoy'd to ſee this diſſention between the Military Tribunes and the Senate, they anſwered, with a ſcornful raillery, "That for their part they could give no help in the affair; that they were "only *Plebeians*, not citizens, nor even to be reckoned in the number of "men; that if ever the honours and dignities of the Republic were made "common to them with the *Patricians*, they ſhould then take care that "no proud Magiſtrate diſobeyed the decrees of the Senate; but that in the "mean time the *Patricians* themſelves, as they had thrown off all reſpect "for Laws and Magiſtrates, might alſo, if they pleaſed, aſſume the power "and functions of the *Tribunes*, and do their own buſineſs as they could."

The conteſts drawing to no end, and the enemy ſtill advancing towards the frontier, *Servilius Ahala*, the third Military Tribune, declared publickly, that the good of his country was more dear to him than the friendſhip of his Collegues; and that if they would not chuſe a Dictator, he would take upon him to name one himſelf: And accordingly, being ſupported by the whole Senate, he named to that higheſt Magiſtracy *P. Cornelius Rutilus*, who afterwards appointed *Servilius* to be General of the Horſe.

Liv. B. 4.

The war was of no long continuance; the *Volſci* were defeated near the city of *Antium*, their territory plundered, and a great number of priſoners taken. After this expedition the Dictator laid down his authority, and the Military Tribunes reſumed theirs. *Julius* and *Cornelius Coſſus*, diſcontented with the Senate for having hindered them of the glory they hoped to have acquired in this war, inſtead of propoſing an election of Conſuls for the enſuing year, appointed an Aſſembly for chuſing Military Tribunes. The *Conſcript fathers*, alarmed to ſee their intereſt thus betrayed by men

of their own order, and fearing leſt the People ſhould at length give the government of the State either to their Tribunes, or to ſome other of the principal *Plebeians*, obliged the moſt illuſtrious members of their own body, and ſuch as were moſt agreeable to the People for their moderation and valour, to ſtand candidates: And, notwithſtanding all the brigues of the Tribunes of the Commons, *C. Valerius*, * *C. Servilius*, *L. Furius*, and † *Fabius Vibulanus*, all eminent *Patricians*, were choſen to the Military Tribuneſhip. Y. of *R.* 346. Bef. *J. C.* 406. 17 Mil. Trib. * A 2d time. † A 3d time.

The truce with the *Veientes* being at this time expired, the *Romans* ſent Heralds to them to renew their demand of ſatisfaction of damages formerly ſuſtained. Theſe Heralds meeting on the road ſome Envoys going from *Veii* to *Rome*, conſented, at their requeſt, to proceed no farther, till the latter had been heard by the Senate. The *Veientan* Miniſters obtained of the *Conſcript Fathers* to deſiſt from their demands, till ſome civil broils which were then at *Veii* ſhould be quieted; a conduct which *Livy* remarks as an inſtance of great generoſity in the *Roman* Senate, who, had they conſulted nothing but their own intereſt, could not have had a more favourable occaſion of falling upon a rival State.

The ſame year the *Volſci* retook *Verrugo* from the *Romans*, and put the garriſon to the ſword, the Senate being dilatory in ſending ſuccours to it. However the Military Tribunes revenged this loſs; they ſurprized the *Volſcian* troops when ſcattered about the country to plunder, and cut them to pieces.

The Senate kept their aſcendant in the election of Magiſtrates for the next year, and procured the Military Tribuneſhip for *C. Cornelius*, * *L. Valerius*, *Cn. Cornelius* and *Fabius Ambuſtus*, all *Patricians*, and of the beſt families in the Commonwealth. Y. of *R.* 347. Bef. *J. C.* 405. 18 Mil. Trib. * A 2d time.

During their adminiſtration, the *Veientes* having inſulted the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, and driven them from *Veii* with contempt, the Senate ordered a declaration of war againſt them to be immediately propoſed to the People. The younger ſort among the *Roman* ſoldiers, upon the firſt rumour of this deſign, began to murmur at it. *We have loſt*, ſaid they, *a great many men of late; not a year paſſes without ſome battle; the war with the* Volſci *is not yet ended; and ſhall we be ſo mad as to enter upon a new war againſt powerful neighbours that may engage all* Hetruria *in their cauſe?*

The Tribunes did not fail to encourage them in this oppoſition to the Government. "In truth, *ſaid they*, the chief war you have to ſuſtain is "that which the Senate has ſo long carried on againſt the *Roman* People. "They ſend you into the field only to be ſlaughtered, or elſe to keep you "at a diſtance from *Rome*, for fear you ſhould renew your juſt pretenſi- "ons to the public lands, or by your free ſuffrages raiſe ſome of your "own body to the chief dignities of the State."

Whenever the Tribunes met with any of the veteran ſoldiers, they took them by the hand, entered into familiar diſcourſe with them, enquired how

many

Y. of *R.* 347. Bef. *J.C.* 405. 18 Mil. Trib.

many years they had ſerved, and, making them ſhew their ſcars, pleaſantly aſked them, whether they had room for any more wounds, or could ſpare any more blood for the ſervice of the Commonwealth. By theſe and other arts of management, in which the Tribunes were indefatigable, they made the Commons utterly averſe from a war with the *Veientes*. However it was agreed, that three of the Military Tribunes ſhould lead an army againſt the *Volſci*. At the approach of it the enemy diſappeared; and left their country open to be pillaged. The *Roman* Generals hereupon divided their forces into three bodies, and made incurſions into it on different ſides. *Fabius* laid ſiege to *Anxur* (afterwards called *Terracina*) a wealthy city, and having taking it by aſſault, divided the ſpoil equally among the ſoldiers of all the three armies, telling his own men, that the troops of his Collegues, by hindering ſuccours from coming to the relief of the place, had contributed to the taking of it as much as if they had been preſent in the action. This generoſity (not uſual of late) to the ſoldiers paved the way for a reconciliation between the People and Nobles. And this was entirely accompliſhed by a Decree of Senate, ſoon after paſſed, *That for the future the* Roman *infantry ſhould be maintained in the field at the public expence.* Hitherto all the citizens had uſed to go to war at their own coſt and charges; and oftentimes when the campaign was too long, the lands, eſpecially thoſe of the poorer *Plebeians*, lay fallow. This occaſioned borrowing, exorbitant uſury, complaints and ſeditions. The Senate, to prevent theſe diſorders, decreed of themſelves, and without being importuned by the People or their Tribunes, that for the future the ſoldiers ſhould have PAY out of the public money; and that, to furniſh this expence, a new tax ſhould be raiſed, from which no Citizen whatſoever ſhould be exempt.

Upon the firſt news of this *Senatus-conſultum*, the People were tranſported with joy; they ran in crowds from all parts to the Senate-houſe, took the Senators by the hand as they came out, and told them that now indeed it appeared that they were juſtly called *Fathers*; and they proteſted they were ready to ſpill the very laſt drop of their blood for their country, which they now looked upon as a mother tender and generous to all her children.

In this univerſal gladneſs, the Tribunes of the People were remarkable for their gloomy and envious countenances. Union always hindered them from making a figure in the State. They gave out that the Senate beſtowed largeſſes at a very cheap rate; that the People muſt be very blind if they did not perceive that this their pay would come out of their own pockets; nay, that it was not juſt to make thoſe Citizens who had always ſerved at their own charge, and had compleated the time of their ſervice, contribute to the ſupport of the new ſoldiers who ſucceeded them in the armies; and they proclaimed that they would protect all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay the tax. Theſe declarations made ſome impreſſion upon the People, but the Senators nevertheleſs went on with their undertaking, and began the contribution themſelves, paying their own contingents fairly, according

cording to the real value of their eſtates; and their example was followed by the chief men among the *Plebeians*.

As, in thoſe days, there was no ſilver money, carts loaded with weighty pieces of braſs were every day ſeen going to the Treaſury with the contributions of the rich: The poorer ſort, pleaſed with this ſight, and animated by the commendations given by the Nobles and the ſoldiers to thoſe of the Commons who ſubmitted to the impoſt, liſtened no longer to the declamations of their Tribunes, but ran every one eagerly to pay the Tribute according to his proportion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

§. I. *The* Romans *inveſt* Veii. *In the two firſt years of the ſiege (which laſted ten) there is little action. The third year,* (350 *of* Rome) *a loſs which the beſiegers ſuſtain before the place, animates the* Plebeians *with a zeal to puſh on the ſiege with vigour. The* Senate, *for the firſt time, allow* PAY TO THE HORSE. §. II. *The year following,* Sergius *and* Virginius (*two of the* Military Tribunes) *who have the conduct of the ſiege, quarrel and divide the troops between them; which having miſchievous conſequences, they are both recalled. All the* Military Tribunes *of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are choſen.* Sergius *and* Virginius (*the Generals of the laſt year*) *are both fined for miſconduct.* §. III. *The* Tribunes *renew the domeſtic broils: But all is quieted by the chuſing of ſome* Plebeians *into the* Military Tribuneſhip. *At the next elections the Comitia chuſe five* Plebeians *to that dignity, and only one* Patrician. *There happens a great mortality among men and cattle. To avert this evil the ceremony of the* Lectiſternium *is obſerved.* §. IV. *The* Senate *take advantage of the People's fears and ſuperſtition, to get the* Military Tribuneſhip *for* Patricians *only, pretending that the Gods were angry at the choice, which had been made of* Plebeians *to that Magiſtracy. The lake of* Alba *overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, Deputies are ſent from* Rome *to conſult the Oracle of* Delphos. *Six new* Military Tribunes *are choſen, all* Patricians. *Some defect being diſcovered in their inauguration, they all abdicate, and ſix new ones are choſen all* Plebeians. *Their adminiſtration not being proſperous,* Camillus *is named* Dictator. §. V. *He takes* Veii *by ſap.*

§. I. THE Senate's view in allotting funds for the payment of the troops, was not only to eaſe the People, but alſo to enable themſelves to carry on the war farther, and maintain it longer. Before this regulation they did not ſo properly make war as incurſions, which were generally terminated by one battle. Theſe expeditions rarely laſted above twenty or thirty days, the ſoldiers, for want of pay, not being able to keep the field for a longer time together. But now when the Senate found themſelves in a condition to maintain an army abroad as long as they pleaſed, they began to form great deſigns; and, all oppoſition

Y. of *R.* 347. Bef. *J. C.* 405. 18 Mil. Trib.

poſition to a war with the *Veientes* being over, they reſolved to beſiege *Veii* itſelf, one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Italy*, the bulwark of *Hetruria*, and which yielded to *Rome* neither in the valour nor in the wealth of its inhabitants.

Y. of *R.* 348. Bef. *J. C.* 404. 19 Mil. Trib. The ſiege was begun in the year 348 of *Rome*, when the *Romans*, for the firſt time, choſe ſix * Military Tribunes. The States of *Hetruria* held a general council, to debate whether they ſhould unite their forces in the defence of the *Veientes* or not; but came to no agreement upon this head.

Y. of *R.* 349. Bef. *J. C.* 403. 20 Mil. Trib. The next year, when *Rome* was again governed by ſix † Military Tribunes, the ſiege was carried on with leſs vigour than in the beginning, part of the *Roman* forces being called away to a war with the *Volſci*.

Y. of *R.* 350. Bef. *J. C.* 402. 21 Mil. Trib. *Livy* tells us, that the year following the Republic choſe eight Military Tribunes, among whom he reckons *M. Furius Camillus* and *M. Poſthumius Albinus*; but in this he ſeems to have been miſtaken: For, beſide that the electing of eight was illegal, according to the Capitoline Faſti thoſe two Senators were Cenſors this year, and there were but ſix ‖ ſupreme Governors, of whom *Appius Claudius*, grandſon of the Decemvir, was one.

Happily for the *Romans*, the *Veientes* at this time choſe themſelves a King; a proceeding which ſo diſpleaſed the other States of *Hetruria*, who not only abhorred all Regal Government, but had a particular diſlike to the perſon of this King, that they came to a reſolution to refuſe their aſſiſtance to the beſieged.

We may judge of the ſtrength of *Veii* by the length of the ſiege, which laſted ten whole years with various ſucceſs; though perhaps this might be chiefly owing to the frequent changing of the Generals who commanded the *Roman* armies. Doubtleſs theſe changes hindered the *Romans* from making a ſwifter progreſs in conqueſt. Had they been conſtantly governed by ſome one of thoſe illuſtrious Dictators who were their laſt refuge in caſes of extreme danger, they had ſoon been Maſters of *Italy*: But ſuch is the uſual conduct of a Republic, jealous of her liberty; ſhe checks the rapidity of her victorious Generals, leſt ſhe herſelf ſhould become a part of their conqueſts. It was at this ſiege that the *Romans* are thought to have firſt invented thoſe lines of circumvallation and contravallation, which have been ſince ſo much in uſe; at leaſt this is the firſt time they are mentioned in *Roman* antiquity. *Livy*, B. 5.

* C. JULIUS IULUS, a ſecond time,	C. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time,
M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS,	K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS,
T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS,	M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a ſecond time,	M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a 2d time,
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS,	M. FURIUS FUSUS,
A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.	AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS,
† P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS,	L. JULIUS IULUS,
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a third time,	M. QUINCTILIUS VARUS,
CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a ſecond time,	L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.

The

The Military Tribunes conſidering that *Veii* could not be taken but after a long ſiege, and then rather by famine than force, formed a deſign of keeping the army in the field all winter, and they began to erect wooden barracks for the men. The ſoldiers made no oppoſition to it, chuſing rather to live in the camp at the public expence, than in *Rome* at their own: But the Tribunes of the Commons had no ſooner heard of this, than they immediately made it a pretence to raiſe an outcry againſt the Senate. They ſaid in every Aſſembly, that indeed they always feared the gifts of the Senate concealed ſome fatal poiſon; that this new pay was only a bait which the *Patricians* had made uſe of to deceive the People: That it was in truth the price of their liberty: That the Military Tribunes, in detaining the ſoldiers in the camp during winter, had viſibly no other end, but to deprive the People's party of their votes: That the Senate and *Patricians* would now reign deſpotically in all the Aſſemblies: But that they ought to be made ſenſible, that they governed men who were free; and that it was but fitting the poor Citizen who daily expoſed his life in the defence of his country ſhould at the end of every campaign enjoy a little reſt, and have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his houſe, his wife, and his children, and of giving his voice in the election of the Magiſtrates.

A. Y. of *R.* 350. Bef. J. C. 402. 21 Mil. Trib. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

Appius, whom the other *Military Tribunes* had left at *Rome* to oppoſe the Meaſures of the *Tribunes of the People*, being informed of theſe ſeditious ſpeeches, called an Aſſembly, and in a long harangue reproached the Tribunes, That they ſtudied nothing but to hinder all union between the two Orders in the State: That they ſought to create themſelves employment like knaviſh phyſicians: That their deſire was to have the State always diſeaſed, that they might ever be buſy in the cure: That they ſeemed determined to like nothing which the Senate did, let it be ever ſo advantageous to the People: That as Maſters did not ſuffer their ſlaves to have any intercourſe with the neighbours, leſt they ſhould be either well or ill uſed by them, ſo the Tribunes for the ſame reaſon could not endure that the Commons ſhould have any intercourſe with the Nobles, and were enraged to ſee that the Senate had ſhewn ſo much tenderneſs for the ſoldiers as to allot them pay.

He added, "Either we ſhould not have undertaken this ſiege, or we "ſhould continue it. Shall we abandon our camp, the forts we have "erected, our towers, our mantelets and our gabions; and ſo have all "the ſame works to begin again the next ſummer? And who will promiſe "your Tribunes, who give you ſuch wholeſome advice, that all *Hetruria* "will not be at length prevailed upon by the *Veientes* to arm and come "to their aſſiſtance, if we raiſe the blockade, and give them opportunity "to renew their ſollicitations. They may perhaps diſplace that Governor "who is ſo diſagreeable to the *Hetrurian* States, or he may perhaps for the "ſake of his country reſign his authority. The ſcene would be much "changed if thoſe States ſhould all unite againſt us. Who can aſſure "you, that the *Veientes* thus ſtrengthened, will not next year invade and "pillage our territory? And what a contempt will it bring upon the Re-

Y. of *R.* 350. Bef. *J.C.* 402. 21 Mil. Trib.

"public, if the nations bordering upon *Rome*, and now jealous of her "greatneſs, ſhall find that your Generals, fettered by new laws of your "Tribunes, are unable to finiſh a ſiege, or keep the field a moment after "the fine weather is over? Whereas, on the other hand, nothing will "make the *Roman* People more formidable, than their ſhewing that no "ſeverity of the ſeaſons is able to put a ſtop to their enterprizes; and "that they are firmly reſolved to conquer, or die at the foot of the ene-"mies ramparts."

The People, prejudiced by their Tribunes, gave no great heed to *Appius*'s remonſtrance; but a loſs which the *Romans* ſuffered at the ſiege, brought about what his prudent diſcourſe could not effect. The *Veientes*, in a ſally, ſurprized the beſiegers, ſlew a great number of them, ſet fire to their machines, and ruined moſt of their works. This news, inſtead of depreſſing the ſpirits of the *Romans*, inſpired them with new ardor for the continuation of the ſiege. The richer citizens, whoſe wealth qualified them to be in the firſt claſs among the *Roman* Knights, but who had not yet received horſes from the Republic, which was the neceſſary ceremony to make a man a knight, offered to mount themſelves at their own expence. The People after their example cried out, they were ready to march to ſupply the places of the ſoldiers that were loſt, and they promiſed never to leave the camp till the city was taken. The Senate gave great praiſes to all. It was reſolved to allow pay to as many volunteers as would go to the ſiege; and now alſo, for the firſt time, it was ſettled, that the cavalry in general ſhould receive pay out of the public treaſury.

The zeal of the People for carrying on the ſiege ſtopped the mouths of the Tribunes for a while. But a ſecond defeat before *Veii* furniſhed them with a fair occaſion of renewing their invectives againſt the Senate.

Y. of *R.* 351. Bef. *J.C.* 401. 22 Mil. Trib.

The *Capenates* and *Faliſci*, nations of *Hetruria*, neareſt to the *Veientes*, and conſequently moſt concerned in their preſervation, armed privately, and joining their troops ſurprized and attacked the *Romans*. *L. Virginius*, and *M.* * *Sergius* *, both Military Tribunes, commanded at this ſiege. The jealouſy, ſo common between perſons in equal authority, had ſet them at variance: Each had a body of troops under his command, and had as it were a ſeparate camp. The *Capenates* and *Faliſci* attacked that of *Sergius* on one ſide, at the ſame time that the beſieged made a ſally and attacked it on the other. The *Roman* ſoldiers thinking they had all the forces of *Hetruria* to deal with, were diſmay'd, fought faintly, and rather to defend their own lives, than with hopes to vanquiſh the enemy. It was not long before they gave ground, fell into diſorder, and ran away. *Virginius* could have ſaved his Collegue's troops; his own were ranged in order of battle: But the animoſity between the two Generals was ſo great, that *Sergius* choſe rather to periſh, than to aſk the aſſiſtance of *Virginius*; and *Virginius*, on the other hand, would not give him any ſuccour unleſs

* A ſecond time.

* The other four were,
C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a third time, | | Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS,
Q. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS, | | A. MANLIUS VULSO, a ſecond time.

he

he would ſend and beg it. The enemy profited by this diviſion: *Sergius's* army fled in diſorder to *Rome*, which was but ſix leagues diſtant from the camp, and the General went thither himſelf, not ſo much to juſtify his own conduct, as to ſet forth the blackneſs of that of his Collegue. Y. of *R.* 351. Bef. *J.C.* 401. 22 Mil. Trib.

The Senate hereupon ſent orders to *Virginius* to leave his army under the command of his Lieutenants, and repair immediately to *Rome*, to anſwer to the complaints which *Sergius* preferred againſt him. The diſpute was managed with great acrimony, and the two Military Tribunes ran into invectives againſt each other before the Senate. Each had his friends there who took his part. The *Conſcript Fathers*, to quiet the matter, thought it adviſeable to make a decree, that all the Military Tribunes of that year ſhould lay down their dignity, and the People immediately proceed to a new election of Magiſtrates, who ſhould enter on their office on the *Calends of October*. The four who had been in no fault acquieſced; but the two, on whoſe account this decree was propoſed, begged of the Senate that they might not be ſo diſgraced; and when they found that their intreaties were not regarded, they proteſted againſt the *Senatus-conſultum*, declaring that they would not reſign their authority before the *Ides of December*, the due time for its expiration.

The Tribunes of the People, who much againſt their will had been for ſome time quiet, laid hold of this occaſion to break out and make a figure. They threatned the two Generals to ſend them to priſon, if they did not obey the Senate's orders. *Servilius Ahala*, one of the Military Tribunes, full of indignation at the haughty manner in which theſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates treated his Collegues: "As for your threats, *ſaid he*, "I ſhould not be diſpleaſed with an opportunity of ſhewing, that you "have as little courage to execute them as you have right to utter them. "But the decrees of the Senate ought to be obeyed; and if my Collegues "are refractory to its commands, I ſhall name a Dictator, who will be "able, without your interpoſition, to force them to quit their office."

Virginius and *Sergius*, finding it fruitleſs to reſiſt any longer, abdicated their Magiſtracy, and the People proceeded to a new election.

L. Valerius*, *L. Julius*, *M.† Æmilius*, *Cn.§ Cornelius*, *Caſo‖ Fabius*, and *Furius Camillus* were choſen Military Tribunes. And theſe new Governors had work enough upon their hands. They were to begin anew the ſiege of *Veii*, to keep the *Faliſci* and *Capenates* in awe, and to recover *Anxur*, which the *Volſci* had taken the laſt year. Beſides, the Tribunes of the Commons kindled freſh broils, when the armies came to be raiſed. They diſſuaded the old ſoldiers, who were to ſtay in the city to guard it, from paying taxes, pretending they were exempted from that burden by being inliſted. And the diſturbances occaſioned by their ſeditious harangues, the levies, and collecting the tribute, were ſo great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new *Tribunes of the People*. Two were ſtill wanting. The *Patricians* at firſt endeavoured to get them ſupplied out of their body, but in vain. They then caball'd to ſtrike at the *Trebonian Law*; and in the end prevailed to get two perſons added to the eight, Y. of *R.* 352. Bef. *J.C.* 400. 23 Mil. Trib. * A fourth time. † A third time. § A ſecond time. ‖ A ſecond time. *Livy*, B. 5.

Y. of R. 352 Bef. J. C. 400. 23 Mil. Trib.

by the appointment of the majority of those eight. This was in effect to abrogate the *Trebonian Law*; and it was sufficiently revenged by one *C. Trebonius*, now Tribune of the Commons. He told the People that their interests were betray'd; and he brought an odium upon those of his Collegues, who had ventured, of their own authority, to appoint two Tribunes. The people were especially exasperated against three of the eight, *P. Curiatius*, *M. Metilius*, and *M. Minutius*; But these diverted the hatred of the public from themselves, by turning it against *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the two Generals of the last year. They persuaded the People to cite them before their Tribunal, and they forgot nothing upon this occasion, that might inflame the minds of the Multitude, not only against the two persons accused, but also against the whole body of the *Patricians*.

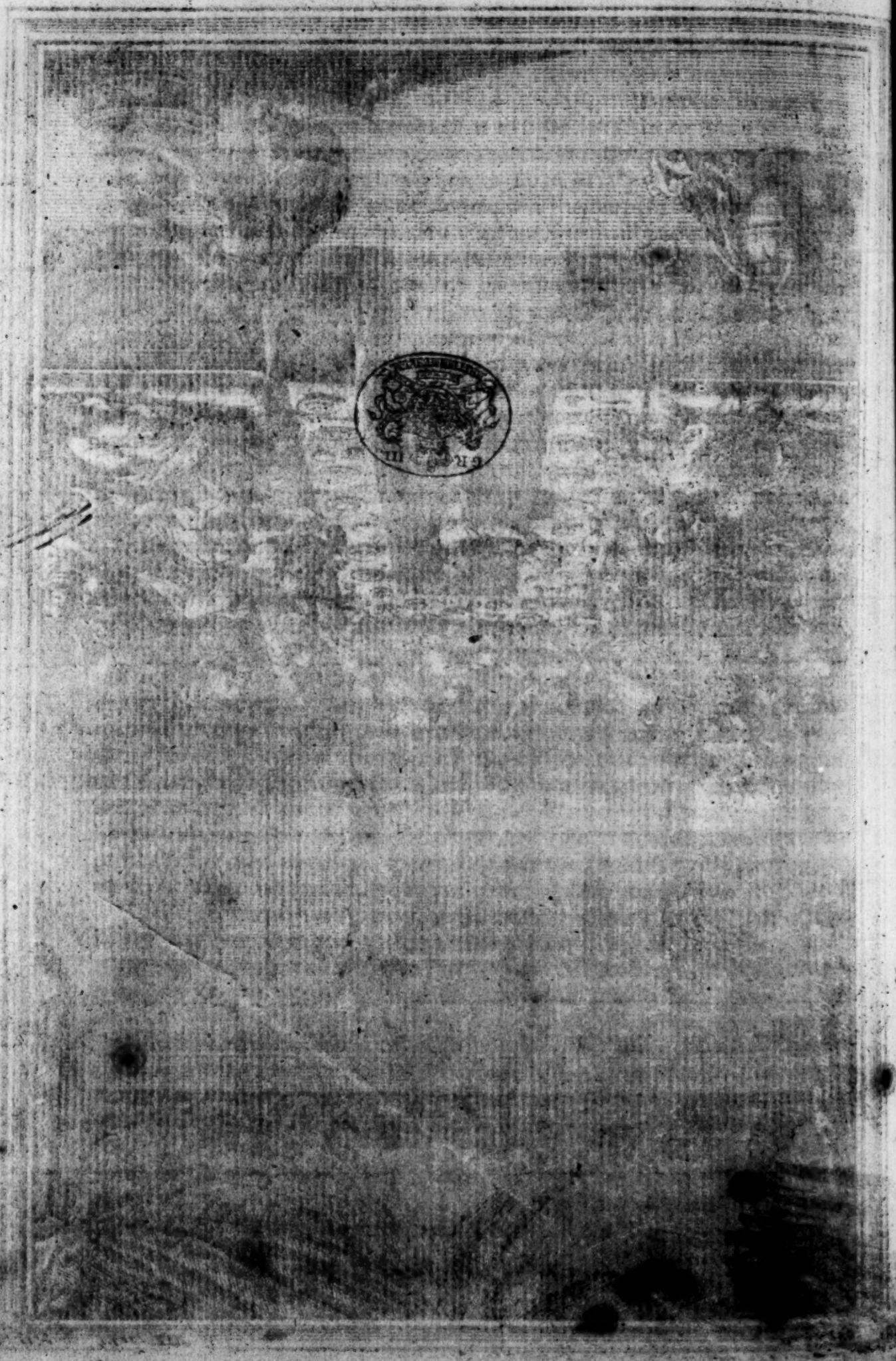
They represented with as much art as malice, that the sole aim of that Order was to diminish the number of the People, to weaken its power, to hinder its Assemblies, or at least to defer the convening of them. That the late misfortune ought not to be looked upon as one of those common mischances which may happen to the very greatest Captains, but that it was contrived in consequence of this secret design laid to destroy the People: That the Generals, after several campaigns spent in the siege or blockade of *Veii*, had suffered their gabions to be burnt, their forts to be taken, and all their works to be ruined, only to prolong the war: That, after this, *Sergius*'s camp was sold to the enemy: That this General, rather than desire aid of his Collegue, had chose to let his soldiers be cut to pieces; and that *Virginius* beheld this rout of the legions as a victory, which, without his drawing his sword, delivered him and his party from so many enemies as there were *Plebeians* in those troops: That, after so infamous an action, the Senate yet fancied they could impose upon the People, by obliging the two Generals to quit the command of their armies: But that the People ought to shew by a severe punishment of the criminals, that they were not to be deceived by so gross an artifice: And that, to prevent the ill designs of the Nobility for the future, they should fill the Military Tribunate with worthy *Plebeians*, who would be watchful for the defence of their country, and especially for the preservation of the *Commons*.

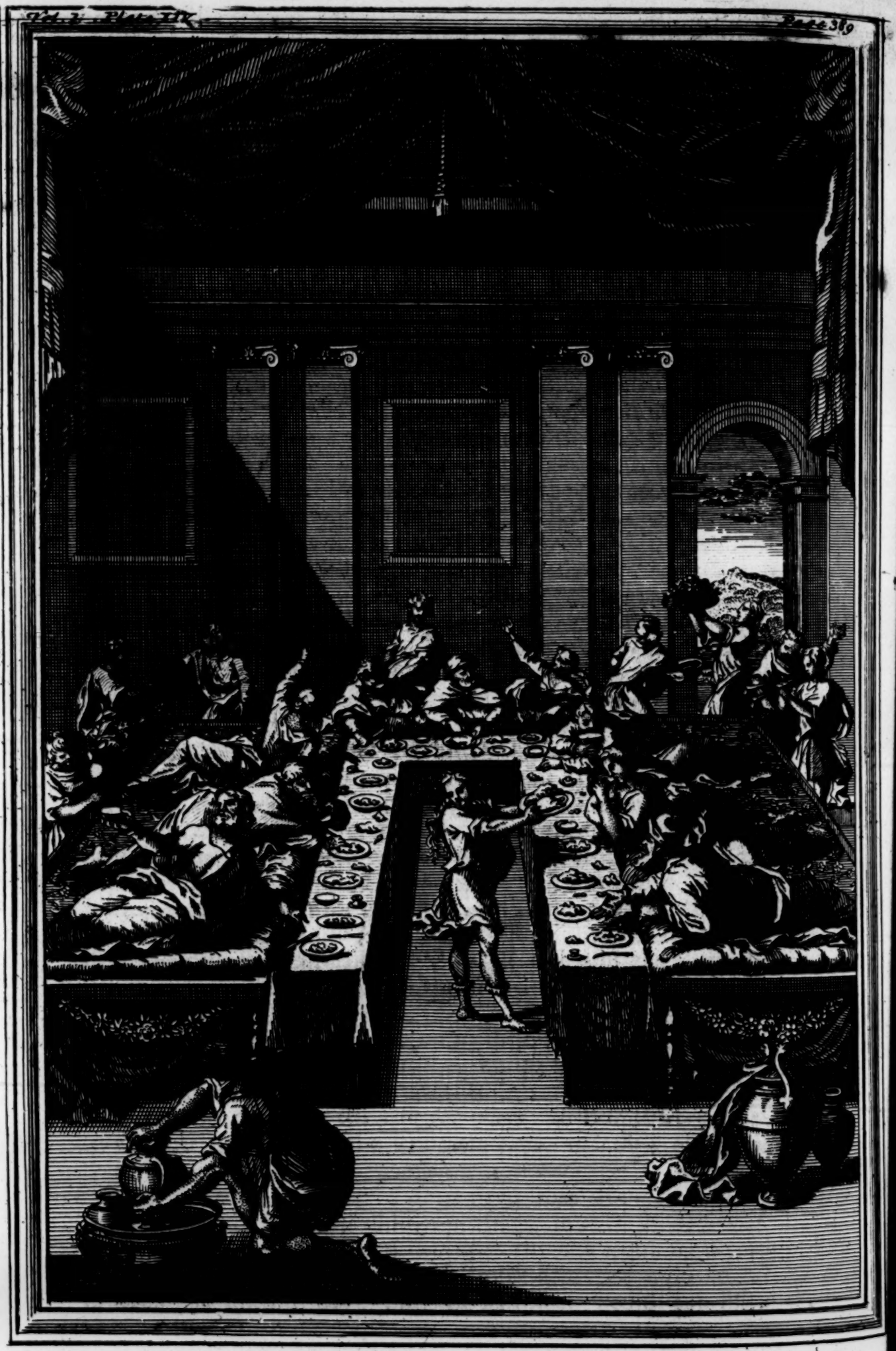
Sergius in vain alledged in his excuse, the ordinary chance of war, the terror that was spread through his army, and the treachery of his Collegue, who in a manner had given him up to the enemy: He was condemned to pay a great fine, as was also *Virginius*, though he pleaded that it was unjust to punish him for the faults of another.

Liv. B. 5. c. 12.

This prosecution had the designed effect, the People were so intent upon it, that they forgot the *Trebonian Law*, and their quarrel with the three Tribunes.

Rome at this time received good news from all parts, where the war was carrying on: But this did not put a stop to domestic seditions. The *Tribunes of the People* preferred two laws, the first requiring a partition of the lands, the second excusing the People from any more contributions towards the soldiers pay: And in fact they would not suffer them to





The Triclinium *of the Ancients.*

to pay the taxes; ſo that the legions being deprived of their ſubſiſtence, were ripe for a ſedition.

But all this buſtle ended in getting *Plebeians* into the Military Tribuneſhip. At leaſt one *Plebeian* was choſen to that dignity in the new election. His name was *P. Licinius Calvus*. The other five were *P. Mælius*, *P. Mænius*, *Sp. Furius*, *L. Titinius* and *L. Publilius*. It is to be remarked, that *Licinius*, though a *Plebeian*, was already an old Senator: Ever ſince the year 263, the conſiderable Commoners had begun to be admitted into the Senate. The Tribunes of the People were ſo much rejoiced to ſee a *Plebeian* in the ſupreme magiſtracy, that they ceaſed their oppoſition to the tax; the ſoldiers received their pay again, their courage was revived, they took *Anxur* from the *Volſci*, and carried on the ſiege of *Veii* with perſeverance; though they ſuffered much from the ſevere cold of the winter. *Livy*, B. 5. Y. of *R.* 353. Bef. *J. C.* 399. 24 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 5.

Licinius having filled his place with univerſal approbation, the Centuries now choſe five Military Tribunes out of the *Plebeians*, and only *M. Veturius* out of the *Patricians*. The five were, *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *Volero Publilius*. The three armies of the laſt year joined together, to haſten the reduction of *Veii*. The *Faliſci* and *Capenates* came to its relief, but were entirely defeated by the *Romans*. So complete a victory made the adminiſtration of the *Plebeian* Military Tribunes glorious in the eyes of the People; but it was not perfectly happy. The extreme cold of the weather changed on a ſudden to exceſſive heat; and this occaſioned a mortality both among men and cattle. The *Sybilline* books being conſulted upon this occaſion, the Duumvirs pretended to find there a ſort of expiation never before uſed in *Rome*. It was called the *Lectiſternium*. The Statues of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune* were taken down from their niches, and laid on three beds placed about a table, on which magnificent repaſts were ſerved up to thoſe Deities for eight days together. Theſe public ceremonies were imitated in private families. Every one kept open houſe for friends, ſtrangers, and even enemies. All proceſſes, diſputes, and animoſities were ſuſpended; nay the priſoners were releaſed from their chains, to partake of the publick rejoicings, and it was a point of Religion not to confine them again after the feſtival was over. Y. of *R.* 354. Bef. *J.C.* 398. 25 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 5.

§. IV. THE *Patricians* taking advantage of this diſpoſition of men's minds, turned theſe misfortunes of the Republic into a religious myſtery. They aſcribed them to the wrath of the Gods, who, they ſaid, were diſpleaſed, becauſe in the laſt elections ſufficient regard had not been ſhewed to the Nobility, who alone had inſpection over the ſacrifices. Theſe reaſons, much more powerful than all the harangues of the Tribunes, prevailed with the Multitude. Every body looked upon the misfortunes of the Republic as the infallible interpreters of the will of the Gods; and for fear of provoking them more, they failed not to reſtore the Military Tribuneſhip to the *Patrician* order.

L. Va-

Y. of R. 355. Bef. J. C. 397. 26 Mil. Trib. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

* A fifth time.
† A third time.
§ A second time.
‖ A second time.
* A second time.

L. * *Valerius*, *L.* † *Furius*, *M. Valerius*, *Q.* § *Servilius*, *Q.* ‖ *Sulpicius*, and the famous ‖* *Camillus* were chosen to be the six heads of the Republic. This year the *Romans* were astonished with a prodigy. It happened to be a dry summer, and there was little water in the rivers, fountains, or marshes: But the lake of *Alba*, which seldom rose so high as to the foot of the rocks with which it was quite surrounded, swelled on a sudden to such a height as to reach the very tops of those rocks. This strange accident was much discoursed of in the camp; and as in long sieges the soldiers of the different parties sometimes become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their several posts. One day when they were scoffing at one another in relation to the siege, an old soldier of the *Veientes* cry'd out in an enthusiastic manner, "*Veii* shall never be taken, 'till all the water "is run out of the lake of *Alba*." A *Roman* Centinel, who heard him, and who had great faith in divination, asked who the old man was; and understanding that he was a Diviner, he by a stratagem made him his prisoner, and carried him before the *Roman* General, who sent him to the Senate. The old man declared to the Fathers, that what he had said was agreeable to an ancient tradition, written in some prophetic books in his country, and that, if the *Romans* could draw the water out of the lake, *Veii* would be taken: But he advised them to have especial care, that the drains which should be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the sea. Though the Senate were unwilling to trust to the bare word of the diviner, yet they thought the matter of such importance, as to send a deputation of three *Patricians* to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle upon it.

Livy, B. 5. *Val. Max.* B. 1. c. 6.

Y. of R. 356. Bef. J. C. 396. 27 Mil Trib. *Livy*, B. 5. *L. Julius Iulus*, 2d time. *L. Furius*, 4th time. *L. Sergius*. *A. Posthumius*. *A. Manlius*, 3d time. *P. Cornelius*, 2d time.

Before the return of the Deputies, six new Military Tribunes were chosen, all *Patricians*. The *Romans*, while the siege of *Veii* was carrying on, were obliged this year not only to make head against the *Volsci*, *Falisci*, and *Capenates*, but against new enemies from *Hetruria*, who had committed hostilities in the *Roman* territory. These were the *Tarquinienses*. *A. Posthumius* and *L. Julius*, who were left in *Rome*, demanded leave to raise troops to disperse them; and the Tribunes of the People retarding the levies, they put themselves at the head of a small number of voluntiers, and fetching a great compass about, surprized the *Tarquinienses*, as they were returning home, made a great slaughter of them, and recovered the booty they had seized.

Plut. Life of *Cam.* *Kircher*, B. 3. Vet. Lat.

In the mean time the three *Patricians* returned from *Delphos*; and to the surprize of the Senate and People, the answer of the *Pythoness* was perfectly agreeable to the prediction and advice of the old diviner, who was thereupon made the minister to appoint proper sacrifices to render the Gods propitious. Then the *Romans* sent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields, by trenches. This fine work subsists to this day, and the water of the lake *Albano* which runs along *Castel Gandolpho*, passes through it. But the Oracle had likewise directed to re-establish the neglected ceremonies of religion, and to begin those again which had not been regularly performed. The first was interpreted of the neglect of the *Feriæ Latinæ*

tina; and they were therefore renewed. And as to the ſecond it was diſcovered, that the election of the preſent Military Tribunes had been defective, with regard to the Auguries; whereupon they all abdicated, and after a ſhort *Inter-regnum* were ſucceeded by ſix new ones, all * *Plebeians*. Their adminiſtration was not proſperous. *Atinius* and *Genucius*, two of them, marched with ſome troops to oppoſe an inundation of *Hetrurians*, who, not by order, but by permiſſion of their Governors, were coming to attack the *Roman* intrenchments before *Veii*: The Tribunes fell into an ambuſh; *Genucius* was killed; and *Atinius*, tho' he rallied his men and retreated, durſt not any more face the enemy in open field. This news ſo terrified the army before *Veii*, that it was with difficulty hindered from diſperſing. *Rome*, in a yet greater conſternation, had recourſe, as in the moſt preſſing and general calamities, to a Dictator. *M. Furius Camillus* was raiſed to this ſupreme dignity; which he owed only to the need wherein the Republic thought ſhe ſtood of ſo great a Captain: A time when ſuperior merit, without canvaſſing or intriguing, naturally gets into its right place. It had already been obſerved, that in all the employments wherein *Camillus* had Collegues, his great valour and extraordinary capacity had gained him the honour of the whole command, as if he had governed in chief; and it was afterwards remark'd, that, during his Dictatorſhips, he ruled with ſo much gentleneſs and moderation, that the Officers who obeyed his orders, thought they ſhared in his authority. He named for General of the Horſe *P. Cornelius Scipio*; and having firſt puniſhed the deſerters who on the late alarm had fled from the camp, he raiſed a numerous body of troops. The People ſtrove who ſhould firſt liſt themſelves under his banners; every body was for going to the wars with a General whom victory had never deſerted. Nay the allies, of their own accord, ſent to offer him a ſtrong ſupply of their choiceſt youth. The Dictator immediately repaired to the camp before *Veii*, reſtored the military diſcipline, which of late had been very much ſlackened, inveſted the place more ſtraitly, ſtrengthened his lines by ſeveral additional forts, and forbad his men to ſkirmiſh with the enemy without leave. He then marched againſt the *Faliſci* and the *Capenates*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle; and after this victory, which left him the country open, he returned to the ſiege, and puſhed it on with great vigour.

Livy, B. 5. Y. of *R.* 357. Bef. *J.C.* 395. 28 Mil. Trib. *P. Licinius.* *L. Atinius*, 2d time. *P. Melius*, 2d time. *L. Titinius*, 2d time. *P. Manius*, 2d time. *C. Genucius*, 2d time.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

The beſieged defended themſelves with no leſs courage than before; ſo that *Camillus*, fearing he ſhould not carry by aſſault or open force a town which had a whole army for its garriſon, had recourſe to mines and ſapping. His pioneers whom he divided into ſix companies, relieved one another; and the work continually advancing without interruption, was ſoon finiſhed, without being diſcovered by the beſieged. A paſſage under ground was open'd to the very caſtle. The Dictator then thinking himſelf ſure of con-

* *Livy* tells us, that old *Licinius Calvus*, the firſt Commoner ever raiſed to the Military Tribuneſhip, was now a ſecond time named to that dignity by the majority of the *Prerogative Tribe*, i. e. of the Tribe to whoſe lot it fell to vote firſt; but at his requeſt, pleading age and infirmities, the People choſe his ſon in his ſtead. From this paſſage in *Livy*, it appears that the Comitia by Centuries had already begun to change their form and the order eſtabliſhed by *Servius Tullius*, in voting. See p. 93 and 94.

queſt,

Y. of *R.* 357. Bef. *J. C.* 395. 28 Mil. Trib.

queſt, ſent to the *Conſcript Fathers*, to know how they would have the ſpoils of the city diſpoſed of. The queſtion being debated in the Senate, *Appius Claudius* was for having the rich plunder of *Veii* made a fund for the payment of the troops: But old *Licinius* thought that this would be a foundation of endleſs murmurs and ſeditions; and therefore propoſed that the ſpoils ſhould be divided between the army and thoſe of the citizens who ſhould be in the camp when the town was taken. This advice prevailed, and a decree was made, giving leave to as many as would to go to the camp, and take their ſhare of the booty. Accordingly, vaſt numbers well armed flock'd thither, and join'd the Dictator's troops in the attack. Before *Camillus* began the aſſault, he made the following prayer: O Pythian Apollo, *accompliſh thy prediction, ſince it is by thy inſpiration, and under thy guidance, that I am going to aſſault the city of* Veii! *I ſolemnly vow to give thee the tenth part of the ſpoil which ſhall be taken in it. And do thou,* O Juno, *Queen of the Gods who now reſideſt in* Veii, *follow us to* Rome, *and come and dwell in a city which ſhall be devoted to thee. Thou ſhalt there be placed in a temple worthy of thy Majeſty.* Then the ſignal being given thoſe who were employ'd in the attack of the walls made a general aſſault, while the ſoldiers in the mine ſallied out and ſpread themſelves in ſeveral bodies thro' the town. One fell upon the rear of thoſe who were defending the walls, another broke down the gates; and the whole *Roman* army ruſhed into the place, putting all to the ſword who did not ſurrender their arms. The Dictator, when he beheld the value and quantity of the ſpoil found in the city, is ſaid to have cried out in a ſurprize; *O great Gods, if you in Heaven feel any envy at my fortune, and that of the* Roman *People, let the effects of it be all diverted from* Rome *and fall but lightly on my head!* This ſaid, he turned about to the right, as was cuſtomary, and by ſome chance fell flat upon the ground. The company preſent were affrighted at the accident: But *Camillus* riſing immediately, ſaid, *My prayer has been heard, I have eſcaped, after this great proſperity, with a very ſlight misfortune.* The next day the priſoners of free condition were ſold to the beſt bidder; and all the money ariſing from thence was carried into the public treaſury. But though this was the only part of the ſpoil, from which the public had any benefit, the People murmured at it, and inveighed both againſt the Senate and the Dictator. The image of *Juno* being tranſported to *Rome*, was placed on the hill *Aventinus*, in a temple dedicated by *Camillus* himſelf. Such was the fate of the famous city of *Veii*, after a ten years ſiege; it was at once deſpoiled of its riches, its inhabitants, and its gods.

Livy, B. 5.

Plut. Life of *Cam.* and *Livy*, B. 5.

CHAP. XXXVII.

§. I. *The* People *are much diſpleaſed with* Camillus. §. II. *The next year (the Republic being under the Government of ſix* Military Tribunes, *all* Patricians) *a* Tribune of the Commons *propoſes that half of the* Senators *Knights, and People of* Rome *ſhould remove to* Veii, *and ſettle there. After much*

much struggle Camillus *and the other* Senators *bring this project to nothing.* §. III. Camillus, *chosen one of the six* Military Tribunes *for the year following, has the conduct of the war against the* Falisci. *He besieges* Falerii *their capital city, and punishes a Schoolmaster, who would have betray'd the place to him. The* Falisci *submit to the* Romans. §. IV. *The People, when the time comes for electing their* Tribunes, *abuse to the same effect those of the old ones who had appeared for the proposal of removing half the* People *to* Veii. *On the other hand, the* Patricians *get* Consular *Government restored. The project of going to* Veii, *is debated in an Assembly of the* People, *and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The* Senate *decree seven acres of the lands of* Veii *to every freeman of* Rome. §. V. *The* Volsinienses, *a People of* Hetruria, *take arms against* Rome. *The* Consuls *being seized with a contagious distemper, resign the Fasces to six* Military Tribunes. *The prosperous state of* Rome *at this time.*

§. I. THE length of the siege, the dangers attending it, the uncertainty of success, all these made the news of the taking of *Veii* be received at *Rome* with the utmost transport of joy. All the temples were filled with *Roman* Ladies, and four days were set apart for a public thanksgiving to the Gods; which had never before been practised in the Republic upon the greatest success. The very triumph of the Dictator had something new and singular in it. *Camillus* appeared in a stately chariot drawn by four horses all milk white, and he had coloured his face with vermilion. Y. of *R.* 357. Bef. *J. C.* 495. 28 Mil. Trib. *Plin.* B. 33.

White horses since the expulsion of the Kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the *Sun*; and it was with vermilion the statues of the Gods were commonly painted. In the midst therefore of the praises which the People gave the Dictator, they could not without a secret indignation behold him affecting a pomp, which in a manner put him upon a level with the Gods. This vanity much diminished the esteem and affection of the multitude for him; and he had not long resigned his Dictatorship, before he became perfectly odious to them. His piety was partly the occasion of it. *Camillus* just before the assault upon *Veii* had made a vow, as we have before observed, to consecrate the tenth part of the booty to *Apollo*; but when the city was won, amid the hurry and confusion of the plundering he remembered not his vow. And when it returned to his mind, there could no easy means be found to make the soldiers give back the spoil. In this perplexity the Senate proclaimed, that all who had any fear of the Gods, should themselves compute the value of their booty, and bring the tenth part of that value to the Quæstors, in order to make an offering to the God worthy the piety and majesty of the *Roman* People. *Livy*, B. 5.

This contribution exacted at a wrong time, irritated the People against *Camillus*; and their Tribunes gladly seized so favourable an occasion of inveighing against him. His vow, they said, was to give *Apollo* the tenth of the *enemy's* spoils, but that he performed it by tithing the *citizens.*

Y. of *R.* 357. Bef. *J.C.* 395. 28 Mil. Trib.

In the mean time, it was propoſed to buy ſuch a vaſe of gold with the produce of what was brought to the Quæſtors, as might ſhew *Greece* the magnificence of the *Roman* Republic. But it happened there was little gold to be found in the city, except in the toys of the Ladies. Theſe therefore unanimouſly contributed their jewels, and a vaſe with two handles was made of them, weighing eight talents; and three Senators were ſent to *Delphos* with it. In return for the Ladies generoſity, the Republic granted them theſe two favours: That they ſhould be at liberty to ride in chariots at the public games; and that funeral orations ſhould be made for illuſtrious women, as for great men.

Livy, B. 4. and *Sergius* upon *Virgil.*

Y. of *R.* 358. Bef. *J.C.* 394. 29 Mil. Trib. *P. Cornelius Coſſus.* *P. Cornelius Scipio.* *M. Valerius*, 2d time. *K. Fabius*, 3d time. *L. Furius*, 5th time. *Q. Servilius*, 2d time.

§. II. AND now the centuries choſe ſix new Military Tribunes, all *Patricians*. During their Government the *Æqui* and *Volſci* ſued for peace, and it was granted. Nevertheleſs, the Senate thought proper to plant a colony of 3000 *Romans* among them, and every *Roman* was to have three acres and a half of land: But when the time came for thoſe to enrol their names, who were to form the colony, they ſhewed a repugnance to quit their native city, and murmured that they had not ſome of the lands of *Veii* given them. Nay *Sicinius Dentatus*, Tribune of the People, propoſed to make a ſecond *Rome* of the city of *Veii*, by ſending thither one half of the Senate, Knights, and People. He repreſented its ſituation, ſtrength, magnificence of its buildings, and its territory more extenſive and fruitful, than that of *Rome* herſelf: And he added, that the *Romans* might the more eaſily by this means preſerve their conqueſts. The People always fond of novelties received this propoſal with great demonſtrations of joy. The affair, according to cuſtom, was carried firſt before the Senate. The *Fathers*, and eſpecially *Camillus*, oppoſed it ſtrenuouſly. They did not think it poſſible that two ſuch powerful cities ſhould long continue in peace with one another, and form but one Republic. They rather feared that they would by degrees become two different ſtates, which after a deſtructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies; and they therefore proteſted that they would ſooner die in the preſence of the *Roman* People, than conſent to ſo unreaſonable a law. *Camillus* loudly declared, that he look'd upon the preſent diſpoſition of the multitude as a judicial madneſs from Heaven, by way of puniſhment for their refuſing to perform in its full extent the vow he had made to *Apollo*. "The People, *ſaid he*, ſeem rather to have given an "alms to the God, than to have offered him a tenth of the ſpoil."

Livy, B. 5.

Y. of *R.* 359. Bef. *J.C.* 393. 30 Mil. Trib. *Plut.* Life. of *Cam.* *M. Furius Camillus*, 3d time. *L. Furius*, 6th time. *C. Æmilius.* *Sp. Poſtumius.* *P. Cornelius Scipio*, 2d time. *L. Valerius Poplicola.*

§. III. BUT while the *Romans* were thus embroiled at home, their arms were victorious abroad. The *Capinates* ſubmitted to the Republic, ſo that ſhe had now no war upon her hands but that with the *Faliſci*. This war was committed to the conduct of *Camillus*, who notwithſtanding his oppoſition to *Sicinius*'s motion, was choſen a third time Military Tribune: His five Collegues were all *Patricians*. He took the field with a numerous army, and reſolved to beſiege *Falerii*, the capital city of the enemy. His main deſign was to keep the mutinous populace, of which his army conſiſted, a good while at a diſtance from *Rome*, by protracting the ſiege. The enemy

enemy for ſome time did not appear to defend their lands, but kept themſelves ſhut up in *Falerii*, 'till the devaſtations made by the *Romans*, in the territory about it, provoked them at length to come out: However they did not venture far from the town, and encamped in a place ſo ſtrong by nature, that they thought it needed no other fortifications. *Camillus* nevertheleſs attacked them there, defeated them, and took their camp. The whole ſpoil he put into the Quæſtors hands; and the ſoldiers mumured in vain; for ſince the troops received pay, he reſolved to teach them to conquer upon nobler motives than the hopes of plunder. After this victory *Camillus* inveſted *Falerii* and ſurrounded it with lines, but at ſo great a diſtance from the walls, that there was more than ſufficient room for the beſieged to take the air without danger. Y. of *R.* 359. Bef. *J. C.* 393. 30 Mil. Trib.

The *Faliſci* had brought from *Greece* the cuſtom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to inſtruct them in all ſorts of polite learning, take them out a walking with him, and ſee them perform the exerciſes proper for their age. The children had uſed often to walk with their maſter without the walls of the city, before the ſiege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet, and at ſuch a diſtance, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue the practice. But the preſent ſchoolmaſter proved a traytor. At firſt he led the youth only along the walls, then a little farther, and at length took his opportunity, and brought them through the *Roman* camp, quite to the General's tent. *Camillus* was ſtruck with horror at the treachery, ordered his Lictors to ſtrip the villain, tie his hands behind him, and then furniſh the youth with rods, to whip him back again into the city. A little before, the *Faliſci* had proteſted they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than imitate the cowardiſe of the *Capenates*: But now they ardently deſired peace with *Rome*; ſo great an impreſſion did the probity of *Camillus* make upon them. The General ſent their Deputies to *Rome*; where they addreſſed the Senate in the following manner. "*Rome* has juſt now gained a victory "over us, which cannot be ſhameful to us in the ſight either of Gods or "Men. We ſubmit to you out of a perſuaſion that we cannot live more "happy than under the laws of a Republic, in which juſtice and pro"bity reign. The *Romans* and *Faliſci* are this day giving two great ex"amples to poſterity; you, in preferring juſtice to victory; we, in ra"ther yielding to the charms of virtue, than the force of arms." The *Conſcript Fathers* left to *Camillus* the terms of the peace; the treaty was not to be made with the *Faliſci*, as with a conquered People, but as with a nation that voluntary ſubmitted to the dominion of the Republic. He demanded therefore nothing of them, but the expences of the preſent campaign, and then led back his army to *Rome*, where his ſoldiers increaſed the number of his enemies; for they had pleaſed themſelves with the hopes of plundering *Falerii*. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.* *Plut.* & *Liv.* B. 5.

While *Camillus* was thus employed, *Æmilius* and *Poſthumius*, two of his Collegues, had united their forces, and defeated the *Æqui* in a pitched battle. After the victory, *Poſthumius* made incurſions into the

Y. of R. 359. Bef. J.C. 393. 30 Mil. Trib.

enemy's country, while *Æmilius* continued at *Verrugo*. But as the former was returning from his expedition, and his troops marching without precaution, they were suddenly attacked by the *Æqui* and routed. *Poſthumius* rallied them upon an eminence, and there upbraided them with cowardiſe; upon which they cried out, "lead us to the enemy, we will "oblige ourſelves under the ſevereſt penalties to make ourſelves maſters of "their camp." The *Æqui* were ſtill in the plain below the eminence on which the *Romans* were poſted. The latter began the attack by moon-light, but had little ſucceſs 'till day appeared. Then the General put his men in mind of their promiſe; and nothing could ſtand before them. In the mean time, the ſhouts of the combatans were heard at *Verrugo*, where the troops of *Æmilius* believing *Poſthumius*'s camp to be beſieged, took a fright, diſperſed and fled for refuge to *Tuſculum*. Thence a report was carried to *Rome*, that *Poſthumius* was killed, and his army defeated. But the People were ſoon undeceived by a letter, crowned with laurel, from the General to the Senate, with an account of his victory.

§. IV. THUS the arms of the Republic proſpered abroad; but new diſturbances were raiſed at home. When the Time came for electing Tribunes of the People, the Commons were for continuing thoſe of the old ones who had propoſed the law for going to *Veii*; and the *Patricians* were for having thoſe only re-elected who had oppoſed it. The former prevailed in the Comitia by Tribes. The promoters of the law were re-choſen, and the oppoſers excluded. Upon which the *Patricians* in revenge reſolved if poſſible to reſtore the conſular Government; and they carried their point in the Comitia by Centuries. *L. Lucretius Flavus* and *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus* were choſen Conſuls.

Y. of R. 360. Bef J.C. 392. 87 Conſulſhip.

Under the new adminiſtration *Sicinius* the Tribune renewed his intrigues with more zeal than ever, to get the Law paſſed for removing the half of the People and of the Senate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, the two Tribunes of the People for the laſt year, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition to the law, were cited to appear before the tribes; and notwithſtanding all that the Senate could do to protect them, they were fined 10000 Aſſes of braſs. The whole Senate were offended at this ſentence, and eſpecially *Camillus*, who never ceaſed declaiming againſt *Sicinius*'s law. He adviſed the *Conſcript Fathers* to appear in the Comitium (when the Tribes aſſembled to determine the affair) as men prepared to defend their Temples, their Altars, their Houſhold-Gods, and their Country. He added, "Were I at liberty, to "conſult my own glory, at the expence of my country's honour, what "could flatter my ambition more, than to ſee a city which I have "conquered, inhabited by *Romans*, who would be ſo many witneſſes of "my glory? But it would be fatal to you to re-people a city whoſe "Gods have deſerted it, and ſhameful to prefer a conquered territory to "your own victorious country."

The Senators, with the principal of the Nobility, old and young, being moved by theſe remonſtrances, went all to the place where the People were

were aſſembled, and mixing with the crowd, conjured them with tears in their eyes not to abandon that auguſt city, to which the Gods had made ſuch glorious promiſes, and which was one day to be miſtreſs of the whole world. They then pointed to the Capitol and Sanctuaries, "Can you poſſibly reſolve, *ſaid they to the* Plebeians, to leave *Jupiter*, *Veſta*, *Romulus* and the other guardian Deities of *Rome*, to follow a *Sicinnius*, who by this fatal diviſion ſeeks only the ruin of the Commonwealth?" In a word, the *Patricians*, by tears, intreaties, and the more powerful arguments drawn from Religion, prevailed to have the law rejected, though it was only by a majority of one Tribe. And now the Nobility were ſo well pleaſed with the People, that the Senate, at the requeſt of the Conſuls, made a decree the next morning, whereby they aſſigned ſeven acres of the lands of *Veii*, not only to every father of a family, but to every ſingle perſon of free condition, that the former might be enabled to educate their children, and the latter be induced to marry. Y. of *R.* 360. Bef. *J.C.* 391. 87 Conſulſhip.

§. V. ON the other hand the People delighted with this liberality made no oppoſition to the election of Conſuls for the next year. *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus* were the perſons choſen; and they began their year by performing a vow made by *Camillus*, when Dictator, to celebrate the great games. (Of theſe there were two ſorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of *September*, in honour to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the other were called votive or extraordinary, had no fixed day appointed for them, and were celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* only.) Y. of *R.* 361. Bef. *J.C.* 391. 88 Conſulſhip. Faſt. Cap. *Cic.* in Ver. 2.

As faſt as the Republic enlarged her dominions, ſhe drew upon herſelf new enemies. The *Volſinienſes*, one of the twelve *Hetrurian* nations, alarmed at the fate of *Veii* and *Falerii*, declared againſt *Rome*; and being join'd by the *Salpinates*, committed hoſtilities; but a contagious diſtemper made the *Romans* ſuſpend their revenge. The two Conſuls being ſeized by it, ſo as to be incapable of exerciſing their offices, and the People imagining from this accident, that they had been inauſpiciouſly choſen, the Senate ordered them to reſign. Upon this an *Inter-regnum* enſued, during which the Republic was governed by three Preſidents, *Camillus*, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Valerius Potitus*, (not the Conſul) who ſucceeded each other for ſome days. The laſt held an Aſſembly for the election of ſix Military Tribunes; which ſort of Government was now re-eſtabliſhed, that, in caſe the contagion ſhould laſt, and ſome of the ſupreme Magiſtrates be infected by it, there might yet be others in a condition to take care of the public welfare.

By a Cenſus taken this year, the number of Citizens able to bear arms appeared to be 152583. The *Roman* territory now reached above fifty miles beyond the *Tiber*. The troops, ſince their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field ſummer and winter: They had never had a General more capable of undertaking and executing great deſigns, than *Camillus*; and the reduction of *Veii* had much augmented their taſte for conqueſt: The People

ple ſeemed to be diſpoſed to peace at home, and to be perfectly reconciled to the Senate. This unuſual proſperity was interrupted by the *Gauls*; a memorable event, which is next to be related.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

§. I. *A malicious accuſation is brought againſt* Camillus. *Before trial he goes into exile.* §. II. *Shortly after,* Cluſium *in* Hetruria *being beſieged by the* Gauls *under King* Brennus, *the inhabitants implore the aſſiſtance of the* Romans. *Three brothers of the* Fabian *family are ſent Ambaſſadors from* Rome *to mediate a peace. They raſhly tranſgreſs the law of nations.* Brennus, *in anger, raiſes the ſiege, and marches ſtrait towards* Rome. §. III. *He gives the* Romans *a total overthrow on the banks of the* Allia. *The fourth day after the battle, he enters* Rome, *burns the City and inveſts the Capitol.* §. IV. Camillus, *though at this time an exile, is, by a commiſſion from the* Senate, *in the Capitol, conſtituted* Dictator. §. V. *The* Gauls *attempt to ſcale the Capitol in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is diſcovered by the cackling of ſome geeſe. The aſſailants are repulſed, chiefly by the bravery of* M. Manlius. §. VI. *Both beſiegers and beſieged being diſtreſſed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The* Romans *are to purchaſe a peace with gold. While the gold is weighing,* Camillus *arrives: He forces the* Gauls *to raiſe the ſiege and quit the country.* §. VII. Rome *being deſtroyed, the* Tribunes *renew the propoſal of removing to* Veii. Camillus (*who is continued in the* Dictatorſhip *the whole year*) *oppoſes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a Centurion is what determines the People to ſtay and rebuild the city.* Manlius *is rewarded.* §. VIII. *Before the end of the next year (during which the Commonwealth is governed by ſix* Military Tribunes) *the* CITY *is entirely* REBUILT.

V. of R. 362.
Bef. J.C. 390.
31 Mil. Trib.
* A 7th time.
† A 2d time.

§. I. THE ſix Military Tribunes who now governed the Republic were *L. Lucretius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *M. Æmilius*, * *L. Furius*, *Agr. Furius*, and † *C. Æmilius*. Two of theſe were ordered to march againſt the *Volſinienſes*, and two others againſt the *Salpinates*; for both theſe nations of *Hetruria* had taken arms againſt *Rome*. The former were entirely defeated, and learning more prudence by their loſſes, demanded a truce from the *Romans*, which was granted for twenty years upon conditions. As for the *Salpinates*, they were ſo terrified by the defeat of the *Volſinienſes*, that they durſt not appear in the field, but left their country open to be pillaged.

At this time one *Cæditius*, a man of the meaneſt ſort, pretended to have heard a miraculous voice, which pronounced diſtinctly theſe words, *Go to the Magiſtrates, and tell them, the* Gauls *draw near* §. But notwithſtanding

§ *Camillus* afterwards erected a temple to the unknown Divinity who made this revelation; and the *Romans* coined for him the name of *Aius Locutius*.

this

this warning, and the daily conqueſts made by the *Gauls*, the *Romans* appear plainly by their manner of treating the great *Camillus*, (their only General capable of making head againſt ſuch formidable neighbours) to have had no apprehenſion of any danger from them. The People's gratitude for his important Services could not counterbalance their reſentment againſt him, for having refuſed to let them plunder ſome conquered cities, and for having obliged them to give up a part of the booty taken at *Veii*. *Apuleius*, one of the *Tribunes of the People*, ſummoned him to appear before the Comitia of the Tribes, and anſwer to the accuſation of having embezzled, out of the ſpoils of *Veii*, certain braſs doors which were ſeen in his houſe. The proſecution was the more malicious and inhuman as this great man had juſt loſt one of his ſons, and was in the moſt exceſſive affliction, being naturally of a ſoft and tender diſpoſition. Y. of *R.* 362; Bef. *J.C.* 390. 31 Mil. Trib.

Camillus, upon notice of this new accuſation, aſſembled his friends, clients, fellow officers, and the chief men of his tribe, at his own houſe; and conjured them not to ſuffer him to be condemned upon ſo weak a pretence. When the Aſſembly, which was very numerous, had conſidered of the matter, they anſwered, that they would willingly pay the fine to which he ſhould be condemned; but that it was not in their power to get him acquitted. *Camillus* reſolved rather to baniſh himſelf from *Rome* than to have the ſhame of a condemnation affixed to his name. Having taken leave of his wife and children, he went directly to one of the gates of the city; and it is related, that he there ſtopped, and turning towards the capitol, pray'd to the Gods, that his ungrateful countrymen might quickly repent their having repay'd his ſervices with ſo ſharp an outrage; and that their own calamities might oblige them to recal him. He retired to *Ardea*, a city not far from *Rome*, where he heard that he was fined fifteen thouſand *Aſſes* of braſs; about forty-eight pound of our money. *Plut. in Cam. Livy*, B. 5. *Val. Max.* B. 5. Ch. 3.

It was believed that the imprecations of this great man called down the anger of the Gods, and brought on the bloody war which the *Gauls* made againſt the *Romans*. At leaſt, theſe two events following one the other ſo cloſe, the People, always ſuperſtitious, aſcribed the loſs of *Rome* to the baniſhment of *Camillus*.

§. II. HE was no ſooner gone, than Envoys arrived from the inhabitants of *Cluſium*, imploring the aſſiſtance of the Republic againſt an army of *Gauls*, which had made an irruption into *Italy*, and now beſieged their city. The occaſion of the ſiege was this:

Arunx, one of the chief men of *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*, had been guardian to a young *Lucumo* (or Lord of a *Lucumony*) whom he had educated in his own houſe from his infancy. The *Lucumo*, as ſoon as he was of an age to be capable of a paſſion, fell in love with his guardian's wife, and upon the firſt diſcovery of their intrigue, convey'd her away. *Arunx* endeavoured to obtain reparation of honour by courſe of law; but the *Lucumo*, having more money, and more intereſt in his country, triumph'd over the com- *Plut. vit. Cam. Livy*, B. 5.

Y. of R. 362. Bef. C. 390. 31 Mil. Trib.

plaints of his guardian; ſo that the latter, finding no protectors in *Etruria*, reſolv'd to make his application to the *Gauls* *. Of all the *Celtic* nations the *Senones*

* *Gaul* was anciently divided into three parts. The firſt, which reached from the *Britiſh* ſea to the *Seine*, was called (by the *Romans*) *Gallia Belgica*. The ſecond, which comprehended all the country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne* quite to the *Alps*, they named *Gallia Celtica*. The third, containing all that tract of ground which lies between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees* and the weſtern ocean, was called *Gallia Aquitanica*.

The only *Gauls*, who at ſeveral times croſſed the *Alps* and ſettled in *Italy*, were the *Celtæ* or the inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*. About the year of *Rome* 160, during the reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, *Ambigatus*, King of the *Celtæ*, finding his dominions over-ſtock'd with ungovernable ſubjects, ſent away vaſt numbers of them to ſeek their fortune under the command of his two nephews, *Segovеſus* and *Belloveſus*. The former took his way through the *Hercinian Foreſt* (of which the preſent *Black Foreſt* was but a ſmall part) and ſettled in a canton of *Germany*, ever ſince called *Bohemia*, or *Boiemia*, from the word *Boii*, the greateſt part of his followers being of that *Celtic* nation which was ſo named. But theſe being afterwards driven thence by the *Marcomani* or *Sclavonians*, retired into that country which lies between the *Inn* and the *Iſer*, and which from them took the name of *Boiaria* or *Bavaria*.

Belloveſus was followed by great numbers of almoſt all the other *Celtic* nations, as well as of the *Boii*. He croſſed the *Rhine*, ſpread his army over *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, and at length entered *Italy*, between the mountains *Genevre* and *Cenis*. At this time the *Hetrurians* or *Tyrrhenians* poſſeſs'd the better part of it. *Belloveſus* having defeated them in a battle on the banks of the *Ticin*, drove them before him and took poſſeſſion of their lands, each of the nations which followed him having its diſtinct portion of the conquered countries. The *Taurini*, or the inhabitants of the mountains on the ſide of *Gaul*, had *Piedmont*, the capital of which is *Turin*. Thoſe inhabitants of *Provence*, who were called *Salyes*, had *Liguria*. The *Libiti*, another people of *Provence*, were placed on the north ſide of the *Po*, where *Venceil* now is. The *Inſubres* or *Burgundians* ſettled in the fine country of the *Milaneſe*, and there built a town, which they called *Mediolanum* (*Milan*) from the name of a little city in the territory of the *Autunois*, in *Burgundy*. The *Orobii*, who had dwelt on the banks of the river *Orobis* in the country now called *Languedoc*, ſettled in the territory of *Bergamo*, and built both the city of that name, and *Como*, but retained their old appellation of *Orobii*. *Belloveſus* ſeems not to have carried his conqueſts farther than this, nor to have brought into *Italy* all the nations which had engaged to follow him.

A ſecond irruption into *Italy* was made by the *Cenomani*, (or thoſe people of *Gallia Celtica* who dwelt between the mouths of the *Seine*, and the *Loire*) under the conduct of one *Elitovis*. He was probably followed likewiſe by the *Brutii* of *Vannes* and the *Carnutes*. Theſe new adventurers are ſaid to have been tempted to croſs the *Alps* by the wine which *Belloveſus* ſent them. The *Gauls* were at this time almoſt perfect ſtrangers to wine; nay, ſo late as the time of *Julius the Aſſaſſate* there was none made in *France*, at leaſt in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. The *Cenomani* ſettled themſelves northeaſt of the *Inſubres*, and poſſeſs'd the preſent *Breſciano*, *Cremoneſe*, and *Mantua*, on the north ſide of the *Po*. The *Kenuti*, or the *Bretans* of *Vannes*, ſettled more eaſtward on the borders of the *Adriatic* gulph, and the country ſtill retains the name of *Venetia*, which it received from them. As for the *Carnutes*, they went farther north, and took poſſeſſion of the territory called from them *Carniola*.

It is uncertain from what part of *Gaul* the *Lævi* (or *Levi*) and the *Anares* (or *Anamares*) came, who made the third irruption into *Italy*; but the hiſtorians agree, that the *Lævi* ſeized the country of *Novarra* on the north ſide the *Po*, and that the *Anares* ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Placentia* on the ſouth ſide of that river.

The fourth tranſmigration of *Gauls* into *Italy* was, when the *Boii* and *Lingones* paſſed the *Alpes Penninæ*, or mount St. *Godard*, and ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the *Po*, between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*.

The *Hetrurians* being driven out of their old habitations by theſe inundations of ſtrangers, paſſed the *Apennines*, and retired into that

A MAP OF GALLIA CISALPINA, LIGURIA A

Delisle *Chief Geographer to the French King, an*

19 20 21 22 23 24 26

49 48 47 46 45 44 43

BELGICA

R. Seyne

Parisi ans

Carnutes

R. Seyne

GALLIA CELTICA

Senons

Lingones

GERMANY

Berruyers

Autunois

HELV

GALLIA TRANSALPINA

Boii

Insubres

Lake Lemanus or L. of Geneva

R. Rhône

Alpes Penn

Lyons

R. Rhône

Alpes Graiæ

G

Arverni

Mount Cenis

Turin

R. Isere

Alpes Cottiæ

Taurini

Mount Genevre

le Tricastin

Trois chateaux

Mount Vesulus

L

Cevennes M

THE ROMAN PROVINCE

LIGURIA

Alpes maritimæ

Durance

Arles

TRANSALPINA

Port of Ne

R. Var

R. Aquitania

Rorbe

Salyes

Beziers

Marseilles

THE L

Narbonne

MARE INFERUM

OR THE LOWER SEA

R. Garone

43

Pyrenees

Roman Miles of 5006 foot each

50 100 150

Temple of Venus Pyrenaa

20 21 22 23 24 25

D THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES. By G.

lember of the Royal Academie of Sciences.

27 28 29 30 31 32 33

49 48 47 46 45 44 43

GERMANY
Forest and
Hercinian Forest
BOHEMIA
Black Forest
The Danube
R. Isel
R. Inn
The Danube
BAVARIA
ILLYRICUM
IA RHETIA
R. Inn
NORICUM
Rhine
Mount Adula
R. Adige
Alpes Carnicae
R. Adduа
Trente
Veneti
Carni
Orobii
City of the Gauls
Aquileia
Bergamo
Como
Vicentia
Subres
Milan
Brescia
Verona
Padua
Istria
Cenomani
Mantua
The Mouths of the Po
Levi
Cremona
R. Adige
CISALPINA
Clavenna
Tridentum
Placentia
Cerdicates
Fidentia
Langrois
MARE SUPERUM
or the
ADRIATICK
or UPPER
SEA
Parma
Bologna
Boii
Modena
Mutila
Faventia
Solone
Ariminium
Pisaurum
Sena
Genoa
The Apennines
Lucca
Senones
Tribe Sapinia
Ancona
River Arno
Pisa
Florentia
Potentia
Sentinum
Tribe Armienſis
Volaterræ
Aretium
PICENUM
RIAN SEA
HETRURIA
UMBRIA
Vetulonii
Spoletium
Vestini
Adria
TUSCIA
Volſinii
Marrucini
THE TYRHENIAN SEA
ORSICA
Tarquinii
Veii
ROME

G.R. III.

Senones (whoſe capital city was *Sens*, and who poſſeſſed that part of *Gaul* which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux* were the People to whom he choſe to addreſs himſelf; and in order to engage them to revenge his quarrel, he boaſted much of the great plenty of *Italy*, and made them taſte of ſome *Italian* wines. A numerous army of theſe *Gauls* was immediately formed, who, under the conduct of their *Hetrurian* guide, paſſed the *Alps*, and without diſturbing the *Celtæ* in *Italy*, fell down upon *Umbria*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*, including the preſent duchy of *Urbino*. They were about ſix years in ſettling themſelves, whilſt the *Romans* were beſieging *Veii*. At length, in the year of *Rome* 362, *Arunx* brought the *Senones* before *Cluſium*, in order to beſiege that place, where his wife and her lover had ſhut themſelves up.

A. of R. 362. Bef. J.C. 390. 31 Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 5.

The Senate having no alliance with that city, only ſent an embaſſy of three young *Patricians*, all three brothers, and of the *Fabian* family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. Theſe ambaſſadors being arrived at the camp of the *Gauls*, were conducted into the council. They offered the mediation of *Rome*, and demanded of *Brennus* (the King or Leader of theſe *Tranſalpine Gauls*) what pretenſions any People from a remote country, could have upon *Hetruria*; or whether they in particular had received any injury from thoſe of *Cluſium*? *Brennus* anſwered proudly, that his right lay in his ſword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that without having recourſe to this primitive law of nature, he had a juſt complaint againſt the *Cluſians*, who having much more lands than they could cultivate, had refuſed to give him thoſe they left untilled. He added, "They do us the ſame wrong that you formerly received from the *Sabines*, the *Albans*, the *Fidenates*, and that you now daily ſuffer from the *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, and all your neighbours in general, whom, ſword in hand, you have deprived of the beſt part of their territory. Therefore ceaſe to interpoſe in behalf of the *Cluſians*, for fear your example ſhould teach us to pity thoſe whom you have oppreſſed."

The *Fabii*, though enraged at ſo haughty an anſwer, diſſembled their reſentment; and, under pretence of wanting to confer with the Magiſtrates of *Cluſium*, in quality of Mediators, deſired leave to go into the town. But they were no ſooner there, than inſtead of acting according to their character, and performing the office of Miniſters of peace, theſe Ambaſſadors, (too young for an employment that requires the utmoſt prudence,) ſuffering themſelves to be carried away by their courage, ſtirred up the

that country which has been ever ſince call'd *Hetruria*, or *Tuſcany*. It was divided into twelve *Lucumonies*, and reached from the *Arno*, to the *Tybor*; being bounded to the north, by the *Apennines*; and to the ſouth, by the *Tyrrhenian* ſea. And we are not told, that the *Hetrurians* were any more diſturbed by the *Celtæ*, from the year of *Rome* 156 to the year 356.

It was 200 years after the invaſion by *Belloveſus*, that the *Senones*, whoſe capital city was *Sens*, and who poſſeſs'd that part of *Gaul* which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux*, made the fifth irruption into *Italy*.

Y. of *R.* 362, Bef. *J.C.* 390. 31 Mil. Trib.

inhabitants to a vigorous defence. To ſet them an example, they put themſelves at their head in a ſally, and *Q. Fabius*, the chief of the embaſſy, ſlew with his own hand one of the principal Captains of the *Gauls*. *Brennus*, juſtly provoked at this proceeding, immediately broke up the ſiege of *Clufium*, and ſending a Herald before him, to demand that thoſe Ambaſſadors, who had ſo manifeſtly violated the law of nations, ſhould be delivered up to him, marched leiſurely on towards *Rome*.

The Herald being come to *Rome*, and having declared his meſſage, the affair was debated: The wiſeſt of the Senate thought the demand of the *Gauls* to be but juſt and reaſonable: However, as it concerned perſons of great conſequence and credit, the *Conſcript Fathers* referr'd the matter to *the Aſſembly of the People*; and *Fabius Ambuſtus*, the father of thoſe Ambaſſadors, who, tho' a *Patrician*, had found means to render himſelf agreeable to the People, made ſo ſtrong an intereſt, that they not only ſent back the Herald without ſatisfaction, but alſo choſe the delinquents to be

Y. of *R.* 363. Bef. *J.C.* 389. 32 Mil. Trib.

three of the ſix new * Military Tribunes, who were to lead an army againſt the *Gauls*. *Brennus*, at the return of his Herald, haſtened his march to *Rome*. His army was numerous; the inhabitants of the towns and villages left their habitations at his approach; but he ſtopp'd no where, and declared, that his deſign was againſt none but the *Romans*.

§. III. THE Military Tribunes marched out of *Rome* at the head of forty thouſand men. Their troops (according to *Plutarch*) were not fewer in number than thoſe of *Brennus*; but there was more order and obedience in the army of the *Gauls*. The *Roman* Generals, ſince the diſgrace and baniſhment of *Camillus*, durſt not act with full authority, but were forced to wink at the want of diſcipline, and the licentiouſneſs of their ſoldiers, inſtead of commanding them with that abſolute authority which is requiſite in war. It was alſo obſerved, that theſe Tribunes, before they left *Rome*, did not ſacrifice to the Gods, and neglected to conſult the Auſpices; eſſential ceremonies among a People full of ſuperſtition, and that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious ſigns which the Augurs declared to them. But nothing did more prejudice to the *Romans*, than the multiplicity of their commanders. There were in this army ſix Military Tribunes, all with equal authority, moſt of them young, and men of more valour than capacity. They advanced boldly againſt the *Gauls*, whom they met near the river *Allia*, half a day's journey from *Rome*. The *Romans* †, that they might not be ſurrounded by the enemy, who according to *Diodorus Siculus*) were ſeventy thouſand ſtrong, extended their wings ſo far as to make their center very thin. Their beſt ſoldiers, to the number of twenty-four thouſand, they poſted all along from the river

* Q. FABIUS, CÆSO FABIUS, CAIUS FABIUS, | Q. SULPICIUS, Q. SERVILIUS, a fourth time, SER. CORNELIUS.

† *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus Siculus* differ in the circumſtances of this battle, but agree as to the ſubſtance.

3 to

to the hills adjoining, the reſt were placed upon the hills. Theſe weaker troops being firſt attacked, and ſoon put to flight, thoſe to the left ran away without drawing their ſwords. It was not ſo much a battle, as a general rout; and in this diſorder and affright moſt of the ſoldiers, inſtead of returning to *Rome*, fled to *Veii*: Some were drowned, as they endeavoured to ſwim croſs the *Tyber*; many fell in the purſuit by the ſword of the conquerors, and ſome got to *Rome*, whither they carried terror and conſternation. A. of R. 363. Bef. J. C. 389. 32 Mil. Trib.

If after this defeat the *Gauls* had marched ſtrait to *Rome*, the Republic had been loſt, and the *Roman* name extinguiſhed. But thoſe barbarians ſpending three days in feaſting and ſharing their booty, loſt thereby the chief advantage of the victory. Indeed the Senate not having ſufficient forces to defend the city, never thought of attempting it; but by the *Gauls* delay they had an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men that were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the proviſions they could get; and that theſe might laſt the longer, admitted none into the place, but who were capable of defending it. Moſt of the old men, women † and children, ſeeing themſelves without governors, or any ſcheme to follow, diſperſed themſelves in the fields, and the neighbouring towns. But while the reſt of the citizens were thus providing for their ſafety, about fourſcore of the moſt ancient Senators, rather than fly from their native city, or carry ſo many uſeleſs mouths into the capitol, choſe to *devote* themſelves to death; and ſeveral of the Prieſts joined with them. This ſort of ſelf-devotement was a point of religion; and the *Romans* believed, that the voluntary ſacrifice which their Leaders made of their lives to the infernal Gods, brought diſorder and confuſion among the enemy. Theſe venerable men having put on, ſome their ſacred veſtments, others their conſular or triumphal robes, repaired to the Forum, and there ſeated themſelves in their curule chairs, where they expected the enemy and death with the greateſt conſtancy. *Plut. in Cam.*

Brennus entered the city the fourth day after the battle. The gates were open, the walls without defence, and the houſes without inhabitants. This ſolitude in a city lately ſo populous, made him apprehenſive of ſome ambuſh. But as he underſtood his trade, and was both a Soldier and a Captain, he immediately ſecured his conqueſt by ſtrong bodies of guards, which he poſted in the public places and chief ſtreets.

The firſt ſpectacle that ſtruck him, and moſt drew his attention was that company of venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to

† *Livy* tells us that the *Veſtals*, before they left *Rome*, hid every thing appropriated to the Gods, and which they could not carry off, under ground. The two *Palladiums* and the ſacred fire they took with them. When they came to the *Janiculus*, one *Albinius* a *Plebeian*, who was conveying his wife and children in a carriage to a place of ſafety, ſeeing the ſacred virgins bending under their loads, and their feet bloody, made his family alight, put the Prieſteſſes and their Gods into the carriage, and conducted them to *Cære*, a city of *Hetruria*; where they met with a favourable reception; and, becauſe the Veſtals *remained* at *Cære*, and continued to perform the rites of religion there, thoſe rites were thence called *ceremonies*, from *Cære* and *manere*, to remain.

V. of *R.* 363. Bef. *J. C.* 389. 32 Mil. Trib.

death. Their magnificent habits, their white beards, their air of greatneſs and conſtancy, the ſilence they kept, all theſe at firſt ſurprized the *Gauls*, and inſpired them with the ſame reſpect, as they would have had for ſo many Deities. They durſt not for a while come near them: But one ſoldier, bolder than the reſt, having out of curioſity touched the beard of one of the venerable Senators, the old man not being uſe to ſuch familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory truncheon. The ſoldier in revenge immediately killed him; and preſently after the reſt were all ſlaughtered like him in their chairs. All thoſe of the inhabitants who had not been able to eſcape, were put to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex. *Brennus* then inveſted the Capitol, and ſummoned thoſe who had ſhut themſelves up in it to ſurrender: But finding them immoveable, he endeavoured to ſcale the place. The *Romans*, who fought with great advantage of the ground drove back his troops, and ſlew a great number of them. *Brennus* found he ſhould never be able to take a place which nature had ſo well fortified, otherwiſe than by famine: But in order to be revenged of the *Romans* for their reſiſtance, he reſolved to deſtroy *Rome* entirely. His ſoldiers, by his command, ſet fire to the houſes, demoliſhed the temples, and public edifices, and razed the walls. Thus, inſtead of a city already famous throughout all *Italy*, nothing was to be ſeen but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waſte, in which *Brennus* encamped that part of his army which inveſted * the Capitol; the other part was ſent out to forage.

Theſe troops, who imagined they kept the whole country in ſubjection by the mere terror of their arms, preſerved neither order nor diſcipline in their marches. The ſoldiers rambled different ways to plunder; and thoſe that kept in a body, ſpent whole days in drinking: Neither officer nor ſoldier dreamt of any other enemies, but thoſe who were blocked up in the Capitol.

Plutarch.

§. IV. *CAMILLUS*, as was ſaid before, had upon his exile retired to *Ardea*. This great man, more afflicted at the calamities of his country, than at his own baniſhment, undertook to revenge her upon thoſe *Barbarians*. He eaſily perſuaded the youth of the city to follow him; and with the allowance of the magiſtrates, he marched out of *Ardea* in a very dark night, and ſurprized the *Gauls* drowned in wine. He made a dreadful ſlaughter of them; and thoſe that eſcaped under ſhelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peaſants, who gave them no quarter.

The news of this defeat was quickly ſpread all over *Italy*. The *Romans* who had taken refuge in *Veii* were a pretty ſtrong body, and had juſt defeated ſome parties of *Hetrurians* who came to plunder during the preſent

* *Livy* relates that one *Fabius Dorſo*, being obliged on a certain day to perform a ſacrifice to the tutelar Gods of his familly, and the hill *Quirinalis* being the only place where this ſacrifice could regularly be performed, when the day came, he dreſſed himſelf like a ſacrificer, came out of the Capitol, carrying his Gods with him, and that the *Gauls*, out of a regard to religion, ſuffered him to paſs to the place appointed, and to return in ſafety to the Citadel, after he had offered his ſacrifice.

calamity.

calamity. The ſoldiers who were diſperſed about in the adjacent villages repaired alſo to *Veii*. There was not one of them who did not condemn himſelf for the exile of *Camillus*, as if he had been the author of it; and looking upon that great man as their laſt reſource, they reſolved to chuſe him for their leader. "He is no longer, *ſaid they*, an "exile. *Rome* is no more, we have now no country. Why muſt the "*Ardeates*, who are ſtrangers, acquire glory under the conduct of *Ca*"*millus*, while we, once his fellow-citizens, lie idle and ſee our country "poſſeſſed by the *Gauls*?" They preſently ſent deputies to him to beſeech him to take into his protection the fugitive *Romans*, and the wrecks of the defeat at the *Allia*. Y. of *R.* 363. Bef. *J.C.* 389. 32 Mil. Tri.

Camillus, ſtill obedient to the laws, would not * take the command of the *Romans* upon him, unleſs ſomebody went firſt to the Capitol, and brought him a commiſſion from the Senate. To do this was very difficult, the place being inveſted by the enemy. Nevertheleſs a young man named *Pontius Cominius* undertook it. He put on a light habit, provided himſelf with cork, and in the beginning of the night threw himſelf into the *Tyber* above *Rome*. The ſtream carried him undiſcovered to the foot of the Capitol, and at a very ſteep place, where the *Gauls* had placed no centinels, he mounted with difficulty to the rampart of the Citadel. Having made himſelf known to the guard, he was ſtrait admitted into the place and conducted to the Magiſtrates. The Senate was immediately aſſembled. The deputy gave them an account of *Camillus*'s victory, and, on the part of all the *Romans* at *Veii*, demanded that great Captain for their General. There was not much time ſpent in debates upon it: The Senate, and the Soldiers, (who repreſented the People,) with one voice, declared him Dictator. *Pontius* was immediately ſent away again with the decree; and he got back to the camp with the ſame good fortune, with which he had aſcended to the Capitol. *Plut.* *Livy*, B. 5. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

Thus was *Camillus* from the ſtate of baniſhment raiſed at once to be the ſovereign Magiſtrate of his country. With any other Captain indeed the Dictatorſhip would, at this time, have been but an empty title: He was not furniſhed with troops, or with money to raiſe any: But he ſupplied theſe defects by his courage, and that great reputation which he had ſo juſtly gained. His promotion to the ſupreme command was no ſooner known, but ſoldiers flock'd from all parts to his camp; and he quickly ſaw himſelf at the head of above forty thouſand men, *Romans*, or allies, who all thought themſelves invincible under ſo great a General.

§. V. WHILE he was arming, and taking meaſures to raiſe the blockade of the Capitol, ſome *Gallic* ſoldiers having ſpied on the ſide of the hill the print of *Pontius*'s hands and feet, and that the moſs upon the rocks was in ſeveral places torn up, made their report of it to *Brennus*; who immediately laid a deſign to ſurprize the place by the ſame way

* *Livy* makes the People themſelves have this ſcruple.

A. of R. 363. Bef. J. C. 389. Mil. Trib.

that the *Romans* had afcended. He chofe out of his army fuch foldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accuftomed from their youth to climb precipices. Thefe, having received their orders, under cover of the night climbed up from rock to rock, and with much difficulty, and more danger, advanced by degrees, lending each other a hand, till they arrived at the foot of the wall.

They had got up fo filently as not to be difcovered by either man or dog: But they could not efcape the vigilance of fome geefe, which being confecrated to *Juno*, had, notwithftanding the fcarcity of provifions, been preferved alive. Thefe creatures being naturally quick of hearing, and now more watchful than ordinary through hunger, (having been kept at fhort allowance) were alarmed at the firft approach of the *Gauls*, fo that running up and down, they with their cackling and beating of their wings awaked the foldiers that lay near. *M. Manlius*, a Conſular perſon, was the firſt who ſtarting up ran to defend the wall. He flafh'd off the hand of a *Gaul* who had raifed it to ſtrike him a blow with his battle-axe, and gave another fuch a fhove with his buckler, as tumbled him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom. The whole garrifon immediately haſted to the ſame place, preſs'd upon the *Gauls*, and tumbled them one over another. The nature of the ground would not ſuffer them to make a regular retreat, or even to run away: moſt of them to avoid the ſword of the enemy threw themſelves down the precipice, and but very few got ſafe back to their camp.

The firſt thing the beſieged did, after their eſcape from ſo great a danger, was to precipitate from the brow of the rock the centinel who had been found aſleep. The next buſineſs was to reward *M. Manlius*, who by his courage and vigilance had ſaved the Republic. Each ſoldier gave him half a pound of meal, and a little meaſure of wine, which he ſpared out of his ſhort allowance: A reward * conſiderable only upon account of the ſcarcity of proviſions that began to be in the place. *Brennus*, deſpairing to become maſter of the fort any other ways than by famine, had kept it ſo ſtraitly inveſted, that for ſeven months that the ſiege had laſted, the *Romans* had not been able to get in the leaſt ſupply.

The ſame ſcarcity was felt in the camp of the *Gauls*. *Camillus*, ſince his nomination to the Dictatorſhip, being perfect maſter of the country, had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the roads. The *Gauls* durſt not ſtir out to forage, for fear of being cut to pieces: ſo that *Brennus*, who beſieged the capitol, was beſieged himſelf, and ſuffered the ſame inconveniences that he made the *Romans* undergo. A contagious diſtemper alſo prevailed in his army, occaſioned by the great heats to which the *Gauls* were not accuſtomed.

* The *Romans* extended their rewards and puniſhments even to the geeſe and dogs. The former were ever after held in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them was always kept at the publick expence. A golden image of a goofe was ſet up in memory of their ſervice; and a goofe was every year carried in triumph on a ſoft litter finely adorned; whilſt thoſe dumb guards the dogs were held in abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year impaled one of them alive on a branch of elder. *Plin.* & *Plut. de fort. Rom.*

§. VI.

§. VI. At length the diſtreſs on both ſides conſtrained a truce and a parley. Brennus having intimated, that he would raiſe the ſiege on the Romans paying an inconſiderable ranſom; and the ſoldiers in the capitol having ſignified to their commanders, that they could no longer ſuppoſe the ſiege of the capitol, the ſlaughter, and the miſery of famine; and muſt therefore either ſurrender or redeem themſelves; the ſenate commiſſioned *Sulpitius*, one of the military Tribunes, to treat with the enemy. A thouſand pound weight * of gold was the ranſom agreed upon. The *Gauls* brought falſe weights; to which, when Sulpitius objected to them, the King inſultingly added his ſword, which he threw into the ſcale, giving no other reaſon, but ‖ *Woe to the vanquiſhed!* The *Romans* not being in a condition to reſent this affront, and wiſely conſidering that the chief indignity they ſuffered was not in paying more than they had agreed to, but in paying any thing, were juſt on the point of finiſhing the affair, when, on a ſudden appeared *Camillus* with his forces at the place of conference. [How he made his way thither unperceived, it is hard to gueſs.] Inſtantly he commanded the gold to be taken away, and the *Gauls* to depart. *'Tis with iron*, ſaid he, *not with gold that the Romans are wont to defend their country.* In vain did *Brennus* proteſt to him, that he contravened a treaty actually concluded. *Camillus* replied, that, he being Dictator, no treaty made without his approbation, could be valid; and he warned the King to prepare for battle. The *Gauls* were now routed with as much eaſe as they had defeated the *Romans* at the *Allia*; and *Camillus* the next morning in a ſecond engagement with them on the *Gabinian* way, eight miles from *Rome*, ſo totally vanquiſhed and deſtroyed them, that not a man was left to carry home the news of their diſaſter. The Dictator returned in triumph to the city, and the ſoldiers in their ſongs ſtiled him ROMULUS, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND SECOND FOUNDER OF ROME.

Y. of R. 363. Bef. J. C. 389. 38 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 5. c. 48. *Plut.* in *Camil.*

* About 45000 l. ſterling.

‖ *Væ victis.*

§. VII. *CAMILLUS*, who had thus † ſaved his country in war, may be

* *La Bautie* (B. 20.) tells us a ſtrange ſtory of the *Romans* being admoniſhed and directed in a dream, by *Jupiter*, tutelary god of the capitol, to make all the corn they had into bread, and throw it into *Brennus*'s camp, not reſerving the leaſt morſel of it for their neceſſities: And that the *Gauls*, being hereby deceived, and deſpairing to reduce the *Romans* by famine, raiſed the ſiege. In memory of the God's favour, the *Romans* erected an altar to him, under the name of *Jupiter Piſtor*, *Jupiter the Baker*. Ovid ſeems to countenance this ſtory, Faſt. B. 6.

Poſſe ſuum vinci populum, dolus repulit, & te
Diſſimulo Piſtor, quid velit ira Jovis.

Both *Livy* and *Florus* mention the throwing of loaves of bread from the capitol, in order to deceive: but they both aſcribe the driving away of the *Gauls* to *Camillus*.

† That *Camillus* THUS ſaved his country, as *Livy* and *Plutarch* report, is undoubtedly *falſehood*, though neither Monſieur *Dacier*, nor M. *Herſot*, nor the Jeſuits take notice of any objection there is againſt giving credit to the ſtory. M. *Rollin* indeed obſerves, (*Hiſt. Rom. Tom.* 2. *p.* 384.) that *Polybius*, ſilent concerning the double defeat of the *Gauls* by *Camillus*, imputes their retreat from *Rome*, to *their being called home to defend their own country againſt the* Veneti *who had invaded it*: Yet M. *Rollin* ſeems to think that the other account may nevertheleſs be true: for he adds, "It ought "to be remarked, that *Polybius* does not "enter

Polyb. B. 2. c. 18.

V. of R. 363. Bef. J. C. 389. 33 Mil. Trib.

be faid to have preserved it a second time, when in peace, by hindering the people from removing to *Veii*; a project which was now renewed with more warmth than ever.

The houses of *Rome* being all demolished, and the walls razed, a heartless despondency seized the multitude; they were extremely backward to set about rebuilding; and the rather, as *Veii* offered them a place fortified by art and nature, good bodies ready built, a wholesome air, and a fruitful territory. They represented, that they were but just escaped, as it were, quite naked from shipwreck, exhausted by misfortunes, without strength and without materials for rebuilding a whole city, of which nothing was left but the ruins and the Temples. Nor did there want declaimers to throw out hard words against *Camillus*, as if from vain glory and the ambition of being esteemed a second *Romulus*, a new founder of *Rome*, he opposed a design of such great and general advantage.

The Senate had made it a point of religion never to leave *Rome*, and therefore employed all the power of remonstrance, persuasion and intreaty to divert the people from their purpose. They led them to the tombs of their ancestors, pointed to the temples which *Romulus* and *Vesta* had consecrated, put them in mind of the man's head which had formerly been dug up in making the foundation of the Capitol, and which, according to the interpretation of the Augurs, signified that *there* should be the *Head* of universal empire, and that *Rome* should be the *capital city* of the world.

Camillus whom the senate, apprehending an intestine commotion, would not suffer to quit the Dictatorship at the end of six months (as he had intended to do, and as custom required) asked some, Why they had defended the Capitol, and others, why they had fought in the field to recover *Rome*, if they were resolved to abandon it? Consider, *said he*, "that by retiring to *Veii* you will assume the name of a conquered people, "and lose that of *Romans*, together with the glorious destiny which the "Gods have affixed to it, and which with your name will go to the first

"enter into the particulars of this *Grande* "*Action*, but confines himself to the giving a "general idea of it." But *Polybius*, in the passage referred to, tells us, that the *Gauls did restore home*, and had afterwards quarrels among themselves; consequently they were not put to the sword by *Camillus*. And the same historian (B. 1. c. 6.) asserts, that the *Romans* [in the capitol] made a convention with the *Gauls*, *upon the terms which the latter thought fit to prescribe.* And in B. 2. c. 22. he represents two Gallic Kings encouraging their people to a war with *Rome*, by putting them in mind of the glory of their ancestors, who had vanquished the *Romans* in battle, taken their city, held it seven months, and then restored it to them *voluntarily, and out of mere clemency*; [ἐκόντας, καὶ μετὰ χάριτος] *retaining still some impression with fresh.* The pretended genuineness of the *Gauls* is a flourish of the Gallic Kings, who are introduced speaking; but the other facts agree with what is said by *Polybius* himself, in the before cited passages; so that it is evident, this unbyassed historian did not believe one word of *Camillus*'s marvellous exploits against *Brennus*. See likewise *Justin*. L. 20. c. 4.

Barbarians

"*Barbarians* who ſhall get poſſeſſion of the Capitol, and who, by this "change, may perhaps in time become your Maſters and your Tyrants." Y. of *R.* 364. Bef. *J. C.* 388.
Theſe motives, borrowed from religion and glory, touched a People ſuperſtitious and haughty, who preferred the future hopes of empire to the preſent conveniencies of life; and a word ſpoken by chance determined them entirely. The Senate was aſſembled to deliberate upon this important affair. *L. Lucretius* was to give his opinion firſt. Juſt as this Senator was opening his mouth to ſpeak, a Captain who with his company had been upon guard, and was then marching by the Senate-houſe, was heard to ſay aloud, *Plant your colours, Enſign; THIS IS THE BEST PLACE TO STAY IN.* *Hic manebimus optime. Plut. in Cam.*

This voice, in ſo critical a moment, ſeemed to be a direction from heaven: *A happy omen*, cried *Lucretius*, *I adore the Gods who give it.* The whole Senate applauded his words. This news being ſpread among the People changed the diſpoſition of every mind: A chance word, by being turned into an omen, had more power than the wiſeſt reaſons the Senate could urge. *Veii* was no longer mentioned; every man ſtrove who ſhould build † faſteſt, even without diſtinguiſhing his own ground from that of his neighbour.

The Republic gave a houſe ſituate on the Capitol to *M. Manlius*, as a monument of his valour, and of the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. But at the ſame time that ſhe rewarded him ſhe thought herſelf obliged to puniſh *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby occaſioned the reſentment of the *Gauls* and the burning of *Rome*. *C. Martius Rutilus*, one of the Tribunes, ſummon'd him before the Aſſembly of the People, to anſwer for his conduct in his embaſſy. The Senate, who could not forgive him the extremity to which he had reduced the Commonwealth, never concerned themſelves in his defence; nor could all his father's credit with the people ſave him. His relations gave out, that he died ſuddenly: This was what ſeldom failed to happen when the criminal had courage enough to prevent his condemnation and the ſhame of a public puniſhment.

Camillus cloſed this year by laying down his Dictatorſhip. Whereupon an *Interregnum* enſued, during which he governed the State alternately with *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and it fell to his lot to preſide at the election of new Magiſtrates.

§. VIII. THE ſix Military Tribunes choſen were *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginius Tricoſtus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Poſthumius Albinus*. Their firſt care was to collect what remains could be found of the laws of the Kings, and of the twelve tables, which had been written on braſs and fixed up in the *Forum*. And as the treaties made with ſeveral nations had been engraven Y. of *R.* 365. Bef. *J. C.* 387. 33 Mil. Trib.

† *Plutarch* tells us, that among the ruins of the city, and under a heap of aſhes, was found *Romulus*'s augural ſtaff unburnt: And that this was looked upon to portend the everlaſting preſervation and proſperity of the *Roman* ſtate.

Y. of *R.* 365. Bef. *J.C.* 387. 33 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6.

on pillars erected in the temples, ſearch was likewiſe made after thoſe precious monuments, and what could not be found was ſupplied by memory. The *Pontifices* on their part took care to re-eſtabliſh the ceremonies of religion, and they alſo made a liſt of lucky and unlucky days. Among the latter the 17th day of *Auguſt* was particularly marked, being memorable for two unfortunate battles; that in which the 300 *Fabii* were ſlain near the *Cremera*, and that wherein the *Romans* were defeated by the *Gauls* upon the banks of the *Allia*; no ſacrifices were to be offered, no juſtice adminiſter'd, no new expedition begun on this day; and ſo of ſeveral others.

And now the Governors of the Republic applied themſelves entirely to rebuild the city. Thoſe of the citizens who were ſtill diſperſed in the provinces, or had ſettled at *Veii*, or in the neighbouring towns, prieſts, women, children, all returned to *Rome*. Their whole care was to get a place of abode: They were allowed to take ſtone wherever they could find it, the State furniſhed tiles, and the work was carried on with ſo much diligence, that in leſs than a year the city was quite reſtored. The *Ædiles* had all the time the direction of the works: But they had ſo little taſte for order and beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even leſs regular than in the time of *Romulus*: And though in *Auguſtus*'s time, when *Rome* was become the capital of the world, the temples, palaces and private houſes were more magnificent than before, yet theſe decorations could not rectify the fault of the plan.

THE

THE
Roman Hiſtory.

THIRD BOOK.

From the year of ROME 365, when the CITY was REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the year 489, when the ROMANS, having ſubdued ALL ITALY, began the firſt PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The Nations bordering upon the* Roman *State reſolve, if poſſible, to cruſh it before it can recover its former ſtrength. The* Military Tribunes *march an army againſt the* Volſci *and* Latines, *but by ill conduct ſuffer it to be incloſed by the enemy.* Camillus *hereupon is, a third time, named* Dictator; *he raiſes new forces, reſcues the army in diſtreſs, and forces the enemy's camp, after which he takes the capital city of the* Æqui, *ſubdues the* Volſci, *and recovers* Sutrium *from the* Hetrurians. §. II. *The next year (when the Commonwealth is again governed by* Military Tribunes) *the* Roman *arms proſper abroad. The year following is a year of peace. Four new* Tribes *are added to the twenty one.* §. III. *The expectation of a new war makes the* Romans *chuſe* Camillus *to be one of the ſix* Military Tribunes *for the next year. He leads the* Roman *troops firſt againſt the* Volſci *of* Antium, *and then againſt the* Hetrurians; *and has ſucceſs in both expeditions. The* Latines *and* Hernici *ſubmit.*

§. I. ROME ariſing as it were out of her own aſhes appeared once more a city. But ſcarce did her citizens begin to take breath, when new wars called them again into the field. The *Hetrurians*, the *Æqui* and the *Volſci*, all near neighbours of *Rome*, and of courſe her enemies, made a league to oppreſs her before ſhe had recovered her ſtrength. Nay the *Latines* and *Hernici*, who had long been allies of the *Roman* People, but always jealous of them, engaged in

Y. of *R.* 365. Bef. *J. C.* 387. 33 Mil. Trib.

Y. of *R.* 365. Bef. *J. C.* 387. 33 Mil. Trib. in this deſign. The *Romans* ſeem to have loſt their empire when the ſeat of it was deſtroyed, and to have had moſt of the ſame conqueſts to repeat, as after the expulſion of *Tarquin the Proud*, and the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth.

Some of the Military Tribunes were ſent out at the head of an army againſt the *Latines* and *Volſci*, who had joined their forces, and were the firſt enemies that appeared in the field. But thoſe Generals, without ſtriking a blow, ſuffered their troops to be ſo incloſed and ſhut up by the enemy, that they were in danger of periſhing by hunger.

Plut. Life of *Cam.* In this extremity the Republic had recourſe to a General, always ſuperior to dangers and difficulties. *Camillus* was a third time named Dictator. Immediately he ſummoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies, cauſed one of them to encamp under the walls of *Rome*, appointing *A. Manlius* to command it: The ſecond he ordered into the neighbourhood of *Veii*, under the conduct of *L. Æmilius*, to watch the motions of the *Hetrurians*: And he led the third himſelf to reſcue the Military Tribunes out of the danger they were in. His very name, and the report of his march, filled the enemy with terror; they now thought no more of conqueſt; their whole ſtudy was how to avoid being conquered; they intrenched themſelves in their camp, which they fortified with a ſtrong paliſade of ſtakes, and a barricade of trees, which having felled they laid before it. *Camillus* approached their camp: and having obſerved the diſpoſition of it, and that every morning there aroſe a great wind, which blew full upon it, he formed the deſign of taking it by fire. One part of his troops, by order, made a falſe attack on one ſide of the camp, while on the other ſome ſoldiers threw againſt the wooden incloſure burning arrows, and other combuſtible materials, which, aided by the wind, quickly burnt down the paliſade. The fire catching hold of the tents, the ſoldiers in a fright, and without ſtaying for the commands of their Officers, ruſhed out of their camp in crowds, and fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who made a terrible ſlaughter of them. *Camillus* then ſent to extinguiſh the flames, in order to ſave the booty, with which he rewarded his army; a bounty ſo much the more agreeable, becauſe unexpected from the Dictator who had never been known to be over liberal on theſe occaſions. Then leaving his ſon in the camp to guard the priſoners, he entered the country of the *Æqui*, and took their capital city *Bola*. Thence he penetrated into the territory of the *Volſci*, and entirely ſubdued that untractable People, after they had haraſſed the *Livy*, B. 5. Republic with continual hoſtilities for more than 107 * years. Nor was the Dictator yet ſatisfied. He marched into *Hetruria* to the relief of *Sutrium*, a town in that country in alliance with *Rome*, and beſieged by the *Livy*, B. 5. *Hetrurians*. The place had capitulated before he came, and the inhabi- *Plut.* Life of *Cam.* tants had obtained nothing but their lives and the clothes on their backs.

* *Livy* reckons from the year 258, when the war was renewed againſt the *Volſci* in the Conſulate of *Ap. Claudius* and *P. Servilius*. But we find that *Tarquin the Proud* made war with the *Volſci* many years before.

In

In this deſtitute condition they were going to ſeek new habitations, when *Camillus* met them, bad the women dry up their tears, and promiſed to transfer their ſorrows to the enemy. In a word, he ſurprized the *Hetrurians*, who were wholly employed in plundering and feaſting, and made an incredible number of priſoners. The city twice taken in one day, was immediately reſtored to its old inhabitants. Y. of *R.* 365. Bef. *J. C.* 387. 33 Mil. Trib.

This expedition ended, the great *Camillus* entered *Rome* in triumph a third time, and his glory eclipſed that of all his rivals. His three laſt exploits, perform'd in ſo ſhort a time, made envy itſelf ſilent.

Out of the money raiſed by ſelling the ſpoils of the *Hetrurians* the *Roman* Ladies were repaid the value of the jewels they had formerly contributed to make a preſent to *Apollo*: And with the remainder were bought three vaſes of gold, which, with *Camillus*'s name inſcribed on them, were placed at the feet of *Juno* in the temple of *Jupiter*.

§. II. THE Republic choſe ſix * new Military Tribunes for the following year; and under them affairs proſper'd abroad. The country of the *Æqui* was laid waſte; and two cities, *Cortuoſa* and *Contenebra* were taken from the *Hetrurians*. Y. of *R.* 366. Bef. *J. C.* 386. 34 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6.

And now the Tribunes of the People, who had been for ſome time quiet, endeavoured to revive the old quarrel about the *diviſion of the conquered lands*, on occaſion of the *Pomptin* territory, for which the *Romans* and *Volſci* had long ſtruggled, but which the Republic was now in quiet poſſeſſion of, and which the *Patricians* had appropriated to themſelves. But the time was ill choſen for making a buſtle about this affair, becauſe the citizens were ſo drain'd of their money, that they had not enough left for the expence of cultivating new farms, and ſtocking them with cattle; accordingly, the People took little notice of the harangues of their Tribunes. The Military Tribunes for this year, upon ſome ſcruple concerning the validity of their election, voluntarily laid down their offices, and after a ſhort *Interregnum* ſix † new ones were choſen; whoſe year being a year of peace was ſpent in works of peace. To the *twenty one* tribes were added *four* new ones, *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina* and *Arnienſis*. Y. of *R.* 367. Bef. *J. C.* 385. 35 Mil. Trib.

§. III. THE expectation of a war induced the centuries to chuſe † *Camillus* one of the Military Tribunes for the next year. The Collegues appointed him were ** *Ser. Cornelius*, ||| *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius* and *P. Valerius*, all men of moderation, who knew how to do themſelves and *Camillus* juſtice. In full Senate they transferred their authority into his hands, and left to him the ſole management of the war, ſo that he was in effect Dictator. The Republic had deſign'd to turn her arms againſt the *Hetrurians*; but this deſign was altered upon the news, that the Y. of *R.* 368. Bef. *J. C.* 384. 36 Mil. Trib.

† A 4th time.
** A 2d time.
||| A 6th time.

* T. QUINCTIUS
L. SERVILIUS, a fifth time,
L. JULIUS
L. AQUILIUS,
L. LUCRETIUS,
SER. SULPICIUS,

† L. PAPIRIUS,
C. SERGIUS,
L. ÆMILIUS, a ſecond time,
L. MENENIUS,
L. VALERIUS, a third time,
C. CORNELIUS.

V. of R. 368. Bef. J.C. 384. 36 Mil. Trib.

Antiates had enter'd the *Pomptin* territory in arms, and obliged the *Romans* who had taken poſſeſſion of it to quit it. *Camillus* allotted to each of his Collegues an employment ſuitable to his rank, and join'd *Valerius* with himſelf in the command of the army which was to march againſt the *Antiates*; but *Valerius* refuſed to be upon an equal foot with *Camillus*. *You ſhall be my Dictator*, ſaid he, *and I will ſerve under you as your General of the Horſe.* The *Latines* and *Hernici* had join'd the *Antiates* near *Satricum*. So that the *Roman* ſoldiers, when they came within ſight of the enemy, were terrify'd at their numbers, which *Camillus* underſtanding, mounted his horſe, rode through the ranks, put his men in mind that theſe were the ſame *Latines* and *Volſci* whom they had ſo often vanquiſh'd, and that he was the ſame *Camillus* who had led them ſo often on to victory. He then diſmounted, took the next ſtandard bearer by the hand, and led him towards the enemy, crying out at the ſame time, *ſoldiers advance.* A battle enſued, in which the enemy were entirely overthrown. The *Latines* and *Hernici* ſeparated from the *Volſci* and returned home. The *Volſci* fled for refuge to *Satricum*; but *Camillus* came before it and carried it by aſſault. He then left his army under the command of *Valerius*, and returned to *Rome* to ſollicit the Senate's conſent, and get things neceſſary for undertaking the ſiege of *Antium*. While he was propoſing this affair to the *Conſcript Fathers*, Deputies arrived from *Nepet* and *Sutrium* (two cities in alliance with *Rome*, and which were in a manner its bulwark, as well as the keys of *Hetruria*) demanding ſuccours againſt the *Hetrurians*. *Camillus* was ordered to their relief, and the troops aſſign'd him were thoſe which *Servilius* had commanded in *Rome*, and kept in readineſs in caſe of an emergency. He marched, came before *Sutrium*, found it almoſt taken, and preſerved it. *Nepet* had ſurrendered voluntarily to the *Hetrurians*, and the inhabitants ſeem'd better affected to them than to the *Romans*. *Camillus* was forc'd therefore to bring his troops againſt this faithleſs city: He took it by aſſault, put the garriſon to the ſword, and condemned the Authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the Lictors. Though this campaign had been diſtinguiſh'd by victory and conqueſts, yet no triumph follow'd, which is to be aſcrib'd to the modeſty of the General. He declined an honour which he could not ſhare with his Collegues, to whoſe moderation and eſteem for him he was ſo much indebted for his glory.

Camillus, before the end of his fourth Tribuneſhip, called the *Latines* and *Hernici* to account for their late conduct. The Magiſtrates of thoſe nations alledged, that the reaſon of their not aiding the *Romans*, was the neceſſity they had been under to keep their troops at home to defend their own country; and that as to the aſſiſtance which ſome of their People had given to the enemies of *Rome*, it had been without authority. Theſe excuſes were not ſatisfactory, but the Senate readily admitted them, being unwilling at this juncture to multiply the enemies of the Commonwealth.

CHAP. II.

§. I. Manlius (*who ſaved the Capitol*) *uſes ſuch Methods to make himſelf popular, as alarm the* Senate. *They name a* Dictator, *who commits him to priſon, and preſently after reſigns his office. The* Senate *fearing the rage of the People, who are devoted to* Manlius, *ſet him at liberty.* §. II. Camillus *is choſen one of the* Military Tribunes *for the next year.* Manlius *renews his factious intrigues. Two of the* Tribunes *of the* Commons *impeach him of treaſon, and, by ſentence of the People, he is thrown head long from the* Tarpeian *rock.*

§. I. THE reputation of *Camillus* was now univerſally eſtabliſhed, he had acquired and merited the title of *Reſtorer of his country, and ſecond founder of* Rome. Among thoſe who envied his glory, *Marcus Manlius*, who ſaved the Capitol, was the moſt conſiderable. *Manlius* was indeed one of the braveſt ſoldiers *Rome* had ever produced, but his ambition and vanity were yet greater than his valour; he could not bear to ſee *Camillus* preferr'd before him in the command of the armies: however in this fourth Military Tribuneſhip of that great man he kept his reſentments within bounds. Y. of *R.* 369. Bef. *J. C.* 383. 37 Mil. Trib.

But no ſooner was the adminiſtration put into the hands of ſix * new Military Tribunes, than he openly vented his ſpleen, and endeavoured to darken the glory of a man, whom he looked upon as his rival. *If I*, ſaid he, *had not ſaved the Capitol, was it poſſible for* Camillus *to have recovered* Rome? *And does not every body know that he ſurprized the* Gauls *when they were actually in a conference, and were treating of peace? Every ſoldier in his army had a ſhare in the glory of his exploits; but I had no companion in my victory.* Livy, B. 6. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

Manlius by ſuch ſpeeches gave vent to his envy; but finding himſelf unable by noble actions to outſhine *Camillus* in reputation, he, to ſatisfy his boundleſs ambition, took the uſual method of thoſe who aſpire to tyrannick power, that is, he ſet himſelf to court the multitude. He flattered the *Plebeians* as much as any Tribune could have done: He renewed the propoſal of *dividing the lands:* He became the advocate and the protector of the inſolvent debtors; he paid for ſome, and made himſelf anſwerable for others; he ſold his own eſtate to diſcharge their debts, and declared, that ſo long as he had any thing left, he would never ſuffer his fellow citizens to be laid in irons. Sometimes he reſcued them by force out of the hands of their creditors, who were carrying them to priſon. By this conduct he ſoon got about him a kind of guard, made up of thoſe whom he he had ſo aſſiſted. Nothing could be more popular at this time than a warm concern expreſs'd for inſolvent debtors; becauſe moſt of the People

* A. MANLIUS, a ſecond time, P. CORNELIUS, a ſecond time, T. QUINCTIUS, | L. QUINCTIUS, L. PAPIRIUS, a ſecond time, C. SERGIUS, a ſecond time.

had

V of. R. 369. Bef. J C. 383. 37 Mil. Trib.

had been forced to contract debts in order to rebuild their houſes. The Senate alarmed at *Manlius*'s proceeding, thought it neceſſary to create a Dictator, who by his abſolute power might be able to cruſh the riſing faction. However, a new war with the *Volſci* (ſtrengthened by the *Latines* and *Hernici*) was made the pretence for this creation. The Dictatorſhip was given to *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, who named *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* to be General of the Horſe.

Coſſus came to a battle with the *Volſci* in the *Pomptin Territory*. Before the action began, he told his men, that the Auguries were ſo favourable, as to leave no room to doubt of ſucceſs. He bad them make no uſe of their javelins, but keep together in cloſe order, and ſuſtain the firſt ſhock without ſtirring; then brandiſh their ſwords, make them glitter in the eyes of the enemy, and every man call to mind that there were Gods who fought for the *Romans*. He ordered *Quinctius* to reſtrain the ardor of his cavalry till the infantry were engaged in fierce conflict, and then to fall on. Both horſe and foot obſerved his directions; and the *Volſci*, tho' much more numerous than the *Romans*, yet not obſerving ſo good diſcipline and order, were entirely defeated. Among the priſoners were found many conſiderable men of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, who being examined, confeſſed they had acted by authority, ſo that it was no longer a doubt whether thoſe two Nations had revolted.

The Dictator hereupon kept his army in the field, believing aſſuredly that the Senate would direct him to carry the war into their country; but the ſeditions excited by *Manlius* obliged him to return to *Rome*. *Manlius* had given out, that the Senators not content with being the ſole poſſeſſors of thoſe lands which ought to have been divided equally among all the citizens, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own uſe, the gold which was to have been given to the *Gauls*, and which had been raiſed by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens who were then in the Capitol: a treaſure which alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all the debts of the poor *Plebeians*. And he had promiſed to ſhew them in due time, where this treaſure was hid. So pleaſing a proſpect as that of every man's having his debts diſcharged, took up all the attention of the People; their whole care was to draw thoſe riches out of the hands of the *Patricians*. The ſedition daily increaſed; and its Author, a man of ſuch diſtinction, made it the more formidable.

The Dictator being returned to the city, and having agreed with the Senate upon the meaſures to be taken, went to the Forum accompanied by the Senators and a great number of other *Patricians*, mounted his Tribunal, and ſent a Lictor to cite *Manlius* to appear before him. *Manlius* did not diſobey the ſummons, but making all his adherents follow him, he approached the Tribunal with ſo numerous a guard, that the Aſſembly looked like two armies ready to join battle. Silence being made, the Dictator ſpoke thus: "I heartily wiſh, *Manlius*, that I and the Senate "could in every thing agree with the Commons of *Rome*, as readily as "I truſt we ſhall do in what concerns you, and the matter I am going to "queſtion

" queſtion you upon. You have been heard to ſay, that ſome of the " principal Senators have ſecreted the gold that was deſigned for the " *Gauls*, and that this fund alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all the " debts of the People. I am ſo far from deſiring to hinder ſuch an extra- " ordinary benefit to the Public, that I exhort you earneſtly to eaſe the " Commons of that burden of uſury they labour under, and to name the " men who have ſtolen and concealed this important treaſure. But if you " do not inſtantly name thoſe robbers of the public, be aſſured that I " ſhall without delay ſend you to priſon, as an incendiary and a ſlanderer; " for I will not ſuffer you any longer to deceive the People with vain " hopes."

Y. of R. 369. *Bef. J.C.* 383. 37 Mil. Trib.

Manlius anſwered, " I find I was not miſtaken in my opinion, that " the Dictator was created not to act againſt the *Volſci*, but againſt me " and the *Commons*, of *Rome*. He openly eſpouſes the cauſe of the Uſurers " againſt the People, and I am to be deſtroyed on account of the affecti- " on which the multitude bear me. Does it indeed offend you, *Cornelius*, " and you, *Conſcript Fathers*, to ſee the croud of People that attend me? " Why don't you endeavour to ſhare their affection with me? Why don't " you relieve the poor citizens who are quite ſunk and overwhelmed " with debt? Pay for ſome, anſwer for others, ſupply their neceſſities out " of your ſuperfluities: Nay, without beſtowing any thing upon them of " what you poſſeſs, do but reduce what theſe inſolvents owe you to the " principal ſums. You will then ſee, that my train of followers will be no " greater than any of yours.—But why is *Manlius* (ſay you) the only man " who thus concerns himſelf for the citizens? You may aſk me too, why " I was the only man who ſaved the Capitol? As I then exerted myſelf " for all in general, ſo now I am ready to give my help to every *Roman* " in particular. As to the ſecreted treaſure, you put a queſtion to me " which you can better anſwer yourſelves. The very demand makes that " difficult which would otherwiſe have been eaſy. The more you preſs " me to declare the place where the gold is hoarded, the more reaſon I " have to believe that you have removed it, and hid it beyond the reach " of the moſt curious enquiry. Am I to reveal where your thefts are con- " cealed; or ought not you rather to be compelled to bring them forth?"

At theſe words the Dictator commanded him to give over his evaſions and ſubterfuges, and go directly to the proof of his charge, or elſe to confeſs before all the People that he had ſlandered the Senate. To this *Manlius* replying, *That he would not ſpeak at the pleaſure of his enemies*, he was immediately ordered to priſon. When the Lictors laid hold of him, he cried out, *O* Jupiter, *moſt great and good, O* Juno, *Queen of Heaven*, Minerva, *and all ye other Gods and Goddeſſes who reſide in the Capitol, will ye ſuffer your Champion and Defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand with which I drove the* Gauls *from your ſanctuaries, be manacled and lock'd in chains?*

We have on this occaſion a ſurprizing inſtance of the ready ſubmiſſion of the *Romans* to the commands of a lawful Magiſtrate. The People, tho'

Y. of *R.* 369. Bef. *J. C.* 383. 37 Mil. Trib.

tho' ſeditiouſly devoted to *Manlius*, made not the leaſt motion to hinder the execution of the ſentence; not an angry expreſſion was heard, nor a threatening look ſeen in the whole Aſſembly. His adherents and abettors expreſſed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crowding about the priſon door, and there lamenting his misfortune.

In this time of the People's affliction *Cornelius Coſſus* had a triumph for his victory over the *Volſci*. The multitude expreſs'd nothing but a deep dejection on that day of joy. Some were heard to ſay, that the Dictator triumphed over a citizen, not over the enemy; that the chief ornament of the ſhow was wanting; and that to gratify the Victor's pride *Manlius* ſhould have been led before his chariot. The Senate, to ſooth and pacify the People, decreed of their own motion to ſend a colony of *Romans* to *Satricum*, and allotted to every man two acres and a half of arable land. But this expedient proved ineffectual. The diſcontent of *Manlius*'s party began to grow into ſedition as ſoon as *Cornelius*'s Dictatorſhip was expired, and they were freed from the dread of an uncontroulable Magiſtrate. Some reproached the multitude in public diſcourſes, "That it "was their cuſtom to exalt their Protectors to high and ſlippery ſtations, "and then to forſake them in the very moment of danger and downfal: "That *Sp. Caſſius*, who had propoſed *the Partition of the Lands*; that "*Mælius*, who in a famine had generouſly fed the People at his own ex- "pence, had both of them been abandoned and deſtroy'd; and that now "*Manlius*, for endeavouring to free the poor debtors from ſlavery, was "given up to his mortal enemies. It is a ſhame, *ſaid they*, to ſee a Con- "ſular thus treated, merely becauſe he did not anſwer at the nod of the "Dictator. Suppoſe him to have invented a ſtory, and therefore not to "have an anſwer ready, was it ever known that even a ſervant was put "in irons for only telling a lie? Call to mind that fatal night when the "*Gauls* climb'd up the *Tarpeian* cliff, and when *Manlius* all covered with "ſweat and blood reſcued, in a manner, even *Jupiter* himſelf out of the "hands of the enemy. Do you think that half a pound of meal was a "ſufficient reward for the preſerver of our country? Will you ſuffer a "man whom you have almoſt equall'd to *Jupiter*, by giving him the ſur- "name of *Capitolinus*, to drag on a miſerable life in a dungeon, and "draw his breath at the pleaſure of a Jailer? was one man able to pre- "ſerve all, and ſhall not all be able to ſuccour one?" Diſcourſes like theſe were frequently repeated, and the People ſurrounding the priſon day and night threatened to break it open.

The Senate fearing leſt the multitude in their fury ſhould execute what they threatened, and that *Manlius* being ſet at liberty by ſuch violent means ſhould carry his audaciouſneſs farther than ever, thought to quiet the affair by releaſing him themſelves. But inſtead of laying the ſedition by this timorous proceeding they only gave the ſeditious a Leader, a Leader provoked by the ſhame of his impriſonment, and incapable of following ſober counſels.

During theſe ſeditions Ambaſſadors arrived from the *Latines* and the *Hernici*, as alſo from the cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ*, demanding releaſſment of the priſoners taken in the laſt action when the Dictator *Coſſus* defeated the *Volſci*. The Ambaſſadors of the former were received (tho' their demand was rejected) becauſe thoſe Nations had been only allies of *Rome*; but the Ambaſſadors of the latter were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the People, becauſe thoſe cities had been upon the foot of *Roman Colonies*. The former enjoy'd their own laws; the latter were ſubject to the laws of *Rome*, and had therefore no right to ſend Ambaſſadors. Y. of *R.* 369. Bef *J.C.* 383. 37 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6.

§. II. WHEN new Magiſtrates came to be elected for the next year, *Camillus* was choſen *Military Tribune* a fifth time, and with him were joined * *Ser. Cornelius*, † *P. Valerius*, ‖ *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Papirius* and § *T. Quinctius*. The confidence of *Manlius*, and the ſtrength of his faction, were now much encreaſed by the timorouſneſs of the Senate, and the remiſſneſs of *Coſſus* in not puniſhing him as a former Dictator had done *Melius*. Inſtead of growing the better for his diſgrace, he again ſtirred up the People to renew their ancient pretenſions. In private aſſemblies, he was ever haranguing about the juſtice of dividing the public lands, and the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing an exact equality among all the members of one and the ſame Republic. "But you will never, *ſaid he*, bring ſo "noble an enterprize to bear, ſo long as you employ only complaints, "murmurings, and empty diſcourſes againſt the pride and avarice of the "*Patricians*. It is time for you to ſhake off their tyranny; to aboliſh "Dictatorſhips and Conſulates. Make yourſelves a head that may go"vern the *Patricians* as well as the People. If you judge me worthy of "that honour, the more power you give me, the ſooner you will be in "poſſeſſion of what your have ſo long wiſh'd for. I deſire authori"ty with no view but to make you all rich and happy." Y. of *R.* 370. Bef. *J.C.* 382. 38 Mil. Trib.

* A third time.
† A ſecond time.
‖ A ſecond time.
§ A ſecond time.

It is ſaid, that by ſuch ſeditious diſcourſes he meant to inſtil into his creatures the deſign of reſtoring the Royalty in his perſon: but it is not ſure that he embarked in ſo difficult an undertaking, or how far he carried his ambitious views. Thus much is certain, that he held private Aſſemblies in his houſe on the Capitol, to which he called neither *A. Manlius* nor *T. Manlius* (his brothers) nor any of his relations; and it is highly probable, that there was ſome ſcheme formed to change the Government.

The Senate, alarm'd at theſe Cabals, made a Decree, whereby the Military Tribunes were ordered *to be watchful that the Republic received no damage*; a form of words which was never uſed but in the greateſt dangers of the State, and which inveſted thoſe Magiſtrates with an authority little different from that of a Dictator. After this, different means were propoſed for defeating the evil deſigns of *Manlius*. Some Senators cried out, That the Commonwealth on this occaſion ſtood in need of another *Servilius Ahala*, who by one bold ſtroke ſhould rid her of a bad citizen and reſtore the public ſafety and tranquillity.

Y. of *R.* 370. Bef. J. C. 382. 38 Mil. Trib.

While the *Fabers* were yet in doubt what measures to take, *M. Manius*, and *Q. Petillius*, both *Tribunes of the People*, opened to the Senate a scheme less hazardous, and more agreeable to the moderation of that body. Those two Magistrates, foreseeing that the loss of their dignities would soon follow that of the public liberty, represented, that in the present disposition of mens minds there was no attacking *Manlius* with open force, without engaging the People in his defence: That ways of violence, always dangerous, might now raise a civil war: That the first thing to be done was to separate the interests of the People from those of *Manlius*: That the *Tribunes* themselves would undertake to be his accusers, and charge him, a *Patrician*, with aiming at the tyranny: That the People, from being his Protectors, would then become his Judges, and inexorable Judges when they found that a conspiracy was formed against their liberty.

The Senate embraced this advice; *Manlius* was cited; and as the crime alledged against him was capital, he appeared before his Judges habited in mourning. But he came unaccompanied by any of his relations. They shew'd no concern for his disgrace: So much did the love of liberty, and fear of being enslaved, prevail in the hearts of the *Romans* over all the ties of blood and kindred. When the time came for his trial, his accusers charged him with his seditious discourses, his ill-meant liberalities to the multitude, and the false accusation by which he had injured the whole body of the Senate. *Livy* tells us, that he could not in any Author find what direct proofs the Tribunes brought of *Manlius*'s aspiring to the Regal power. However, he supposes that sufficient proofs they had, since nothing but the circumstance of the place where he was tried hindered his immediate condemnation.

Manlius, without entering into a discussion of the articles abovementioned, gave, for answer, a relation of his services, and the testimonies he had received of them from his Generals. He produced two mural crowns of gold, his rewards for having entered the first into cities taken by assault; eight civic crowns, for having in battle saved the lives of so many citizens, among whom *C. Servilius* (when General of the Horse) was one; and thirty spoils of enemies, whom he had slain with his own hand in single combat. He then opened his bosom, and shew'd it all covered with scars, left by the wounds he received in fight. Looking often to the Capitol he called upon *Jupiter* and the other Gods for succour; and he conjured the People to turn their faces to that sanctuary, and think of the Gods who resided there, when they were going to pronounce judgment.

The People, touched with the humiliation and distress of a *Roman*, who by his bravery had saved the Republic, and having before their eyes the very place where he had fought so valiantly against the *Gauls*, could not resolve to find him guilty. The Tribunes plainly perceiving this, and that unless the multitude were removed to some place, whence they could not see the Capitol, they would never condemn the accused, deferr'd the decision

sion of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the Assembly to be in the *Peteline* wood, without the gate *Flumentana*. Then the object which had saved *Manlius*, no longer dazzling the eyes of his Judges, he was condemned to be thrown from the Capitol itself; and the theatre of his glory became that of his punishment and shame. His house where he had held his private cabals, was razed to the ground; and it was decreed, that no *Patrician* should thereafter dwell on the Capitol, lest the advantageous situation of a fortress that commanded the whole city, should suggest and facilitate the design of enslaving it. The *Manlian* family also came to a resolution among themselves, that no member of it should ever bear the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. Y. of *R.* 379. Bef. *J. C.* 373, 38 Mil. Trib.

The People, who pity indifferently all the unfortunate, without distinguishing the guilty from the innocent, were not long before they regretted *Manlius*: They forgot his ambition; they remembered only his valour, and the adherence he had shewn to their interests. The plague which happened soon after did not fail to be ascribed by the meaner sort to the anger of *Jupiter*, who, they said, resented the ill treatment given to the defender of his temple. Such is the levity of the multitude, so unsteady their love and hatred; the sea itself is not more inconstant.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *During the six following years, and the beginning of the seventh* Rome *is almost entirely free from civil dissensions; but wars are carried on abroad against the* Prænestini *and* Volsci *with very little interruption.* Camillus *being one of the* Military Tribunes *in the year 373, gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when disrespectfully treated by one of his Colleagues.*

§. I. NEITHER the crimes nor punishment of *M. Manlius* brought any discredit upon his relations. His brother * *A. Manlius* was chosen one of the *Military Tribunes* at the very next election, and with him were join'd † *L. Valerius*, ‖ *Ser. Sulpicius*, § *L. Lucretius*, ⸸ *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. The plague still raged, and to add to the misfortune, *Rome* was not only threatened again by the *Volsci*, but by some of her own colonies which revolted; so that the Senate found it necessary to engage the People's consent to a war. And in order to this they promised to divide the *Pomptin* territory among them, and named five Commissioners to make the distribution of the lands, and three others to lead a colony to *Nepet*. This design was not put in execution till nine years after; however the Tribes unanimously agreed, notwithstanding the opposition of the Tribunes, that troops should be raised to act against the several enemies of *Rome*. Accordingly troops were raised, but the plague continuing, the *Military Tribunes* durst not lead them into the field. And though *Præneste* followed the example of *Velitræ*, *Circæi*, Y. of *R.* 371. Bef. *J. C.* 381. 39 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6. * A third time. † A fourth time. ‖ A third time. § A third time. ⸸ A third time. *Vell. Pat.* B. 1. *Livy*, B. 6.

and other colonies, the Republic was ſo low at preſent, that ſhe was obliged to ſuſpend her reſentments.

Y. of *R.* 374. Bef. *J.C.* 380. 40 Mil. Trib. * 4th time. † 4th time.

But in the following *Military Tribuneſhip* of *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, * *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and † *L. Æmilius*, the two firſt march'd an army towards *Velitræ*, and in the neighbourhood of that place defeated the *Veliterni*, tho' join'd by great numbers from *Præneſte*. However the Generals did not think it adviſeable to beſiege *Velitræ*, but rather to purſue the war with vigor againſt the *Prænestins*, who had farther provoked the *Romans* by aſſiſting the *Volſci*.

Y. of *R.* 373. Bef. *J.C.* 379. 41 Mil. Trib.

And now the Republic having much work upon her hands, turned her eyes again upon the invincible *Camillus*, to raiſe him a ſixth time to the *Military Tribuneſhip*. *Camillus* apprehenſive of the viciſſitude of fortune, was willing to ſpend the remainder of his days in tranquillity: But in vain he endeavour'd to excuſe himſelf, by pleading his age and infirmities; the People declared, that they did not expect him to fight in perſon either on foot or on horſeback, but only deſired him to aſſiſt the army with his counſel, and make it invincible by commanding it. The Collegues appointed him were *A. Poſthumius*, *L. Poſthumius*, *L. Furius*, * *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*. The conduct of the war againſt the *Volſci* was decreed to *Camillus* by the Senate; but it fell by lot to *L. Furius* to be joined with him. The troops, conſiſting of four legions were commanded to march towards *Satricum*, which the *Volſci* and *Prænestins* had lately taken, and where they had formed their camp. *Camillus* poſted himſelf within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy, but was in no haſte to fight; he either waited for better health, or to receive a reinforcement of troops. In the mean time the *Volſci* endeavoured to provoke the *Romans* to a battle, and the latter grew impatient of the inſult. Their ardour for fighting was increaſed by the raſh diſcourſes of young *Furius*, who imputed the prudent delays of his Collegue *to his age, which*, he ſaid, *had chill'd his blood.* He at length addreſſed himſelf to *Camillus*, and reproached him that he was the only perſon in the army for delaying the engagement, and urged him to comply with the deſires of the ſoldiers. *Camillus* anſwered with an air of ſuperiority, but with great temper, That hitherto the *Roman* People had not been diſſatisfy'd with his conduct in war; that nevertheleſs if the impetuoſity which hurried the ſoldiers on to an engagement was not to be reſtrained, he wiſhed them ſucceſs, but deſired to be excuſed on account of his age from engaging in the foremoſt ranks. While *Furius* drew up his troops in order of battle, *Camillus* prepared a *Corps de Reſerve* to aſſiſt his Collegue in caſe of diſtreſs; and this precaution prov'd of great importance: For when the young General, who charg'd the enemy with all the vigour common to perſons of his age, had through his indiſcreet warmth in purſuing them too far, ſuffered a defeat, *Camillus* rallied thoſe who fled, and repulſed the enemy. The next day he joined battle with them again. *Furius*, whom he had placed at the head of the cavalry, being ſenſible of his fault, intreated his troops to exert themſelves to recover his reputation. Accordingly

Plut. Life of *Cam.* *Livy*, B. 6.

* 3d time.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

Plut. Life. of *Cam.* *Livy*, B. 6.

ingly when the infantry were hard preſſed, the horſe at his requeſt diſmounted, and came ſo opportunely to their aſſiſtance, that the numerous army of the *Volſci* were entirely routed. Among the priſoners were found ſome of the inhabitants of *Tuſculum*, a neighbouring city and in alliance with *Rome*. Theſe being examined, declared that they had taken arms with the conſent of their Magiſtrates. This account alarmed the General, and he thought it neceſſary to go in perſon to *Rome* with the priſoners, and lay the matter before the Senate. During his abſence, he left *Furius* to command the troops. However it was generally thought both in the army and in the city, that his chief buſineſs at *Rome* was to accuſe his Collegue; and the Senate were ſurprized to hear him ſpeak of nothing but the revolt of the *Tuſculans*; and yet more, when of all his Collegues he choſe *Furius* to accompany him in the new expedition againſt *Tuſculum*. This conduct towards a man who had perſonally affronted him, augmented greatly the public eſteem of his virtue. As for the *Tuſculans*, they diſarmed the reſentment of the *Romans* by making no reſiſtance. *Camillus* found the huſbandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundeſt peace; the Magiſtrates of the city ſent him proviſions, and came out to meet him; and when he entered the place he found the ſhops and ſchools open, the markets full, and not the leaſt ſign of war. The General pleaſed and ſatisfy'd with theſe tokens of repentance, adviſed the Senate of *Tuſculum* to ſend a Deputation to *Rome*, there to make their ſubmiſſion. Deputies were accordingly diſpatched, who, habited in mourning, and with their *Dictator* at their head, addreſſed the *Conſcript Fathers* in a ſuppliant manner. The Senate readily forgave the *Tuſculans*, and, to make them entirely *Roman*, granted them ſoon after, the privileges of *Roman* citizens.

Y. of *R.* 373. Bef. *J. C.* 379. 41 Mil. Trib.

The following adminiſtration of * *L. Valerius*, † *P. Valerius*, § *L. Menenius*, ‖ *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, and ** *Ser. Cornelius*, was diſturbed by domeſtic ſeditions and a foreign war. The two *Cenſors* had begun to take an exact account of the People and of each man's circumſtances, when one of thoſe Magiſtrates died; upon which the other, as cuſtom required, laid down his office, and the *Romans* proceeded to a new election. But the *Patricians*, who were afraid of a *Cenſus*, (becauſe it muſt of courſe diſcover their riches and exceſſive uſury, and the oppreſſion which the poor debtors laboured under) pretended ſome defect in the election, and thence took occaſion to declare publickly, that it was againſt the will of the Gods, that *Rome* ſhould have any *Cenſors* this year. On the other hand *the Tribunes of the People* uſed their utmoſt endeavours to forward a new election, and in their harangues inveighed againſt the *Patricians*, and excited the People to mutiny; and tho' the *Prænestins* had entered the *Roman* territory, and were encamped near the gate *Collina*, the *Tribunes* would ſuffer no levies to be made to oppoſe the enemy. It became neceſſary therefore to create a *Dictator*. *Titus Quinctius* was nominated, and he appointed *A. Sempronius* to be his General of Horſe. This Remedy had its due effect; troops were raiſed in the city without oppoſition, and the *Prænestins* removed farther

Y. of *R.* 374. Bef. *J. C.* 378. 42 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6.

* 5th time.
† 3d time.
§ 2d time.
‖ 3d time.
** 5th time.

Y. of *R.* 374. Bef. *J.C.* 378. 42 Mil. Trib.

ther off. Poſſeſt with a vain conceit that the banks of the *Allia* muſt always prove a fatal place to the *Romans*, they encamp'd there, but were there routed. The *Dictator* purſued them, gave them a ſecond overthrow near *Præneſte*, and then beſieged the city which capitulated. *Quinctius* returned to *Rome*, brought with him from *Præneſte* the ſtatue of *Jupiter Imperator*, (which was placed in the *Capitol* between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*) and as ſoon as he had triumph'd laid down his office, which had laſted but twenty five days.

Y. of *R* 375. Bef. *J.C* 377. 43 Mil. Trib. * 2d time.

The Government of the Republic was then divided between three *Patricians* and three *Plebeians*. The former were *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and * *L. Julius*; the latter *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinius*, and *L. Antiſtius*. Under their adminiſtration, *Rome* ſtill continued to feel the effects of the blow given her by the *Gauls*; her allies deſerted her, and her colonies declared againſt her, and join'd the *Volſci*. The two *Manlii* without drawing lots with their Collegues for the command of the army, were appointed to divide the troops between them, and march againſt the confederates; but *Rome* had ſoon reaſon to repent of this preference. When they came near the enemy, they formed two camps not far from each other, from whence they ſent out their cavalry to forage without being well acquainted with the country; nor were they ſufficiently upon their guard againſt the ſtratagems of the enemy. A *Latine* ſoldier, diſguiſed like a *Roman*, coming in great haſte, and telling the *Roman* Generals that their foragers were ſurrounded by the enemy, drew the whole army into an ambuſh, where their deſperate courage alone preſerv'd them from total deſtruction; and the *Volſci*, during the action, detach'd a part of their troops, which ſurpriz'd and plunder'd the two *Roman* camps. This ill ſucceſs and ill conduct of the *Manlii* made the Senate deliberate, whether a *Dictator* ſhould be nominated; but judging by the appearance of the enemy, that they would attempt nothing farther, it was reſolv'd to recall the army and its commanders. During theſe misfortunes abroad, *Rome* was free from all domeſtic broils; which may reaſonably be imputed to the ſhare the *Plebeians* had at this time in the Government.

Y. of *R.* 376. Bef. *J.C.* 376. 44 Mil. Trib. § A 2d time.

Faſt. Cap.

Livy, B. 6.

The next year proved not ſo peaceable, when *Sp. Furius*, § *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *P. Clælius*, *M. Horatius*, and *L. Geganius*, all *Patricians*, were raiſed to the *Military Tribuneſhip*. The Commons got two *Cenſors* choſen, who took an exact account of the People and of their effects, and concluded the *Cenſus* with a *Luſtrum*, the nineteenth from its inſtitution. What remained for them to do was, to put an end to the diſputes between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*, by relieving the poor debtors: But the *Cenſors* ſuſpended this work, on the news of a freſh irruption of the *Volſci* into the *Roman* Territory, pretending, that a foreign war was a more preſſing affair than inteſtine diſſenſions. The *Tribunes of the People* however purſued their point with more warmth than ever, and oppoſed the making any levies: So that the Senate was forced to iſſue a Decree, that no perſon ſhould be diſturbed either for private debts, or for the public taxes during the campaign. Upon this

this the people immediately became tractable, the levies were made without oppoſition, and an ample revenge was taken on the *Volſci*. But the war was no ſooner at an end, than the creditors renew'd the proſecution of their debtors; and the latter could receive no help from the *Tribunes of the People* ſo long as peace abroad continued.

The following year, when the Republic was govern'd by ſix *Military Tribunes*, all *Patricians*, the *Latines* and *Volſci* enter'd into a new confederacy againſt the *Romans*. And it is ſurpriſing, that the *Tribunes of the People* neglected this opportunity of making good their pretenſions againſt the *Patricians*; but the latter ſeem to have had at this time greatly the aſcendant over the Commons. The Republic raiſed three armies, one to guard the City, another to be ready to march on the firſt notice, and a third to take the field under the command of *Valerius* and *Æmilius*. Theſe Generals came up with the enemy near *Satricum*, a City of the *Volſci*, and gave them an entire overthrow. The routed troops fled the ſame night to *Antium*; but the *Antiates* did not think their City in a condition to hold out a long ſiege, and were therefore for ſurrendering to the *Romans* upon conditions; the reſt of the *Volſci* being alſo weary of the war, expreſs'd an inclination to peace: Upon which the *Latines*, obſtinately averſe to any accommodation, ſeparated from them in a rage, which they vented firſt on *Satricum*, a City in the country of the *Volſci*, reducing it to aſhes, and ſparing only a Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*. (This Divinity, according to *Plutarch*, was the ſame whom the *Greeks* called *Leucothea*, or *Ino*, Daughter of *Cadmus*.) Thence they fell upon the *Tuſculans*, to puniſh them for having deſerted the *Latin* Confederacy, and accepted the privileges of *Roman* Citizens. They ſurprized the Town, but the inhabitants retired into the Citadel, which they held out till they were reliev'd by that *Roman* army which had been kept ready to march upon occaſion. The *Romans* took the place by aſſault, and the *Latines* within the walls of it were all cut to pieces, not one eſcaping.

* Y. of *R.* 377. Bef. *J.C.* 375. 45 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 5.

* L. ÆMILIUS, a fifth time.
S. SULPICIUS, a ſecond time.
P. VALERIUS, a fourth time.
||
L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNAT. a 2d time.
C. VETURIUS.
C. QUINCTIUS.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. *The lower ſort of the People of* Rome *are over-awed and oppreſs'd by the Great and the Rich; and the Commons in general loſe that ſpirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the Nobles. In the midſt of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman ſets three bold and enterpriſing men at work to raiſe, by ſome* New Laws, *the fortune of the* Plebeians *higher than ever. By one of theſe propoſed Laws (called afterwards the* LICINIAN LAWS) *the* Conſulſhip *is to be reſtored, and, of the*

two Conſuls, *one is always to be* Plebeian. *The three men, who combine to effect this project, are* M. Fabius Ambuſtus, *the Lady's father,* (*a* Patrician,) C. Licinius Stolo, *her husband, a* Plebeian, *and* L. Sextius, *another* Plebeian *of great diſtinction. After ten years ſtruggle with the* Senate *they carry their point. The* Prætorſhip *and* Curule Ædileſhip *are inſtituted. A* Plague *carries off many perſons of diſtinction, among whom is the Great* CAMILLUS.

Y. of *R.* 377. Bef. *J.C.* 375. 45 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6. ch. 34.

§. I. A TREATY concluded with the *Antiates*, and the Defeat of the *Latines* gave the Republic an interval of reſt from foreign wars: but as the Senators and rich *Patricians*, when they ſtood in no need of the aſſiſtance of the lower ſort, never fail'd to oppreſs them; ſo the more quietneſs there was at this time abroad, the more violence and tyranny did they exerciſe at home towards their *Plebeian* debtors. Multitudes of theſe being inſolvent, were conſtrained to become ſlaves to their mercileſs creditors; which melancholy ſcene ſo depreſſed and ſunk the ſpirits not only of the meaner *Plebeians*, but even of the moſt conſiderable of that order, that, far from having the courage to ſtand in competition with the Nobles for the *Military Tribuneſhip*, there was not among them all a man of acuteneſs and experience, who would ſue for or conſent to bear even the *Plebeian Magiſtracies* *. But now, at this very criſis, when the *Patricians* ſeem'd to have ſecured to themſelves for ever all authority in the ſtate, and to have reduced the Commons to a kind of deſpondent ſubjection, a trifling accident gave occaſion to a wonderful change in the face of things: The *Plebeians* on a ſudden raiſed their drooping ſpirits, and with a dauntleſs ambition carried their pretenſions, and with ſucceſs too, higher than ever.

* The account given above of the melancholy condition and deſponding ſpirit of the *Plebeians* at this time, is from *Livy*, tho' not a literal tranſlation of that author's words, which are as follow:

Quanto magis proſperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris erant, tanto in urbe vis Patrum indies miſeriæque Plebis creſcebant; quum eo ipſo, quod neceſſe erat ſolvi, facultas ſolvendi impediretur. Itaque quum jam ex re nihil dari poſſet, fama & corpore judicati atque addicti creditoribus ſatisfaciebant, pœnaque in vicem fidei ceſſerat. *Adeo ergo obnoxios ſummiſerant animos, non infimi ſolum, ſed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad Tribunatum Militum inter Patricios petendum, quod tanta vi, ut liceret, tetenderant; ſed ne ad Plebeios quidem magiſtratus capeſſendos, petendoſque ulli viro acri experientique animus eſſet: poſſeſſionemque honoris uſurpati modo è plebe per pauços annos, recuperaſſe in perpetuum patres viderentur.* Ne id nimis lætum parti alteri eſſet, parva (ut plerumque ſolet) rem ingentem moliundi cauſa intervenit. M. Fabii Ambuſti, &c.

Theſe words from *Livy* are here inſerted for the ſatisfaction of the Reader, who may chance to compare what is ſaid in the text with Monſ. *Vertot*'s account of this period of time, ſo widely differing from it.

Monſieur *Vertot* after barely mentioning the ſix years wars which *Livy* relates at large, and then adding that peace abroad occaſioned broils at home, goes on thus:

Un grand nombre de Plebeiens s'etoient diſtinguez dans ces guerres, & y avoient même acquis des richeſſes, qui leur donnoient une nouvelle conſideration. Ces Plebeiens qui avoient le courage elevé oſerent aſpirer au Conſulat & au commandement des armées.

§. II.

§. II. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a *Patrician* of great credit in both parties, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to *S. Sulpicius*, a *Patrician* by birth, and now Military Tribune; the younger to a rich *Plebeian*, named *C. Licinius Stolo*. One day when this *Plebeian*'s wife was at her ſiſter's houſe, a Lictor who walked before *Sulpicius* at his return from the Senate, thunder'd at the door with the ſtaff of the *Faſces* (as was uſual) to give notice that the Magiſtrate was coming in. This noiſe, to which the wife of *Licinius* was not accuſtomed, put her into a fright. Her ſiſter taking notice of it, could not forbear laughing at her, ſeeming much to wonder at her ignorance. A very ſmall matter, ſays *Livy*, is ſufficient to diſturb the quiet of a woman's mind. The vanity of the younger *Fabia* was ſtung to the quick by her ſiſter's laughing; it made her feel the inequality of their conditions; and her uneaſineſs did not fail to be encreaſed by the crowd of people that came to pay their court to her ſiſter, and receive her commands. Her father happening to ſee her while ſhe was yet in the firſt anguiſh of her grief, and perceiving by her countenance that ſomething troubled her, kindly aſked her what it was, and whether all was well at home. At firſt he could get no ſatisfactory anſwer from her: She was aſhamed to own either that ſhe envied her ſiſter, or was diſcontented with her huſband. But *Fabius* continuing in ſoft words to preſs her to diſcloſe the ſecret, ſhe at length confeſſed, that the true cauſe of her pain was her being married unſuitably to her quality, and into a family incapable of honours and high ſtations. Her father being very fond of her, omitted nothing that could be ſaid to comfort her, promiſing, *that it ſhould not be long before ſhe ſaw at home the ſame honours which ſhe had ſeen in her ſiſter's houſe.* And from this time he began to plot with his ſon-in-law for the intereſt of the Commons; theſe two aſſociating in their projects *L. Sextius*, a young *Plebeian* of capacity and ſpirit, and who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the higheſt offices in the Republic. The oppreſſion which the poor *Plebeians* labour'd under at this time, and from which they could never hope to be freed, but by raiſing ſome of their own body to the ſupreme power, gave a fair occaſion to the cabal to attempt an innovation in the Government. It was thought expedient, for the eaſier compaſſing their deſigns, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſhould begin by getting the *Plebeian* Tribuneſhip, a magiſtracy that would enable them to open themſelves a way to the higheſt dignities. And when they had carried that firſt point (which they ſoon did) they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to put the *Plebeians*, already not inferior to the Nobles in courage and virtue, upon a foot of equality with them in reſpect of honours too, boldly aiming, not at the Military Tribuneſhip, but at the very Conſulſhip itſelf. They propoſed a law for ſuppreſſing the office of Military Tribune, reſtoring the Conſulate, and requiring that of the two Conſuls to be annually choſen, one ſhould always be *Plebeian*. And in order to make the People more eager to paſs this Law,

Y. of *R.* 377. Bef. *J. C.* 375. 45 Mil. Trib.

Y. of *R.* 377. Bef. *J. C.* 375. 45 Mil. Trib. they tack'd it to two others relating to the *Debts* and the conquer'd *Lands*.

By the firſt of theſe two laws there was to be deducted from the capital debt whatever ſums had been paid for exceſſive uſury, and the principal was to be diſcharged in three years, and by three equal payments.

The ſecond was to prohibit any *Roman* Citizen from poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that reſtriction, were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer Citizens.

It is eaſy to gueſs, that laws of ſuch weighty import were not to be obtained without violent ſtruggles. Riches and honours, thoſe objects of the moſt paſſionate deſires of men, were the intereſts in queſtion. The Senators, alarm'd and terrify'd, held public and private councils, but could fall upon no expedient to avert the impending evil, except that of gaining ſome of the Tribunes over to their party; an expedient which in like conteſts they had formerly employ'd with ſucceſs. And now the eight Collegues of *Licinius* and *Sextius* were all prevailed with to oppoſe the meaſures of theſe two; ſo that when the projectors of the new laws had convened the Tribes to give their voices concerning them, the other Tribunes would not ſo much as ſuffer the reading of them to the aſſembly: The word VETO (*I forbid*) put a ſtop to all proceedings thereupon. The two Tribunes having frequently aſſembled the people, but ſtill in vain, *Very well*, cried *Sextius* at length, (turning to the *Patricians*) *ſince* INTERCESSION * *is always to have ſo prevailing a power, we ſhall take care to defend the Commons with the very ſame weapon. Appoint an aſſembly whenever you pleaſe for the electing of* Military Tribunes; *the word* VETO, *which our Collegues now chant in concert ſo harmoniouſly, will not then be ſo pleaſing a muſick to your ears.*

Y. of *R.* 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, §. III. Theſe were no empty menaces; for the time being come for a new election of Curule Magiſtrates, *Sextius* and *Licinius* oppoſed and hinder'd all proceeding thereto; and being themſelves continued in the *Plebeian* Tribuneſhip, they renewed the ſame oppoſition for five years ſucceſſively, ſo that the Republic fell into a kind of Anarchy. At length, in 382, the fifth year, a foreign enemy came as it were to the aſſiſtance of the Senate. The inhabitants of *Velitræ* a *Roman* Colony, grown wanton with idleneſs, and ſeeing no *Roman* army on foot, made ſome incurſions on the lands of the Republic, and then beſieged *Tuſculum*. The *Tuſculans* had long been allies, and had lately been admitted Citizens of *Rome*, ſo that the *Plebeians* as well as the Nobles were aſhamed to refuſe them aſſiſtance. *Sextius* and *Licinius* therefore waving their OPPOSITION, an aſſembly was held by an *Inter-rex*, for electing Military Tribunes. Six *Patricians* † were choſen, who, after ſome difficulty in making the levies,

Y. of *R.* 382. Bef. *J. C.* 370. 46 Mil. Trib.

* The term expreſſing the *Oppoſition* of the *Tribunes* to any public act.

† L. FURIUS, a ſecond time. P. VALERIUS, a fifth time. A. MANLIUS, a fourth time. S. SULPICIUS, a third time. C. VALERIUS. S. CORNELIUS, a ſixth time.

marched

marched an army againſt the enemy, defeated them, raiſed the ſiege of *Tuſculum*, and beſieged *Velitræ*. But this place not being taken by thoſe who begun the ſiege, ſix new Military Tribunes * were created to carry it on. Among theſe was † *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, the father-in-law of *Licinius Stolo*. The ſtate of affairs at *Rome* was now much alter'd, not only by this promotion of *Fabius* to the ſupreme magiſtracy, but by an increaſe of ſtrength which the favourers of the new laws had got in the college of Tribunes, of whom at this time there were but five who oppoſed thoſe laws. *Licinius* and *Sextius* being thus ſupported by three of their collegues and by a Military Tribune, puſh'd their point with more warmth than ever. They were now the ſeventh year in office, and, by long habit, were thoroughly practiſed in the art of managing the People. In the preſence of the multitude they boldly and repeatedly aſked the chief men of the Senate, with what aſſurance they could deſire, that the laws ſhould allow them to poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of land, when only two acres were allotted to each *Plebeian*. *Is it reaſonable*, ſaid they, *that every one of you ſhould hold the lands of near three hundred Citizens, and that a Commoner ſhould hardly have ground enough whereon to build him a ſmall habitation to live in, or ſufficient for a burial-place when he dies?*

† A 2d time. Y. of *R.* 383. Bef. *J.C.* 369. 47 Mil. Trib.

When by theſe and ſuch like doleful words they had ſtirred up the People to a much greater indignation than they felt themſelves, they immediately added, *But how is it poſſible that any bounds ſhould be ſet to the avarice of the* Patricians, *or to their oppreſſion of the People, unleſs the People themſelves will provide for their own ſecurity, by raiſing ſome of their own body to the Higheſt Magiſtracy? Nor will it be ſufficient that* Plebeians *be* qualified by law *to be* Conſuls. *They obtain'd the privilege of ſtanding for the* Military Tribuneſhip; *and yet, in forty-four years, how few of their order have been promoted to that dignity! The number of* Military Tribunes *at their firſt inſtitution was ordained to be* Six, *on purpoſe that the Commons might have a ſhare in that magiſtracy; nevertheleſs, by the power and influence of the Nobles, their juſt pretenſions have been almoſt conſtantly defeated. And how much eaſier will it be for the* Patricians, *when there are but two places to be filled by* Conſuls, *to ſecure them both to themſelves? The only remedy is, to make it an indiſpenſible law, that there be always one* Plebeian *in the* Conſulate. *From that very day, and not till then, may the* Roman *People be deem'd to have baniſhed Kings from* Rome, *and to have eſtabliſhed Liberty on a firm baſis: From that very day the* Plebeians *will begin to ſhare in all thoſe things which now give the* Patricians *the pre-eminence over them, Power, and Honour, Military Glory, and Nobility; they will enjoy great advantages themſelves and tranſmit them greater to their poſterity.*

* Q. SERVILIUS, a third time.
M. CORNELIUS.
C. VETURIUS, a ſecond time.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
A. CORNELIUS.

When

Y. of *R.* 383. Bef. *J.C.* 369. 47 Mil. Trib.

When the Tribunes found that theſe diſcourſes were liſtened to with pleaſure, they propoſed a fourth law, *That* DECEMVIRS *be appointed inſtead of* DUUMVIRS, *to take care of the* Sybilline *Books, and to interpret them; and that Five of the Ten be always* PLEBEIAN. However, all proceedings on this, as well as the other regulations, were ſuſpended during the ſiege of *Velitræ*, which went on but ſlowly. The five Tribunes in the intereſt of the Senate had urged, that it was but juſt to wait the return of the army from before that place, that the Soldiers, who made ſo great a part of the Commons, might not be excluded from giving their votes when ſuch important innovations were on foot.

Y. of *R.* 384. Bef. *J.C.* 368. 48 Mil. Trib.

§. IV. THE year ending before the return of the army, the Republic choſe * ſix new Governors; but the People continued in the *Plebeian* Tribuneſhip the two authors of the laws in diſpute. *Sextius* and *Licinius* having once more ſummoned the People (probably towards the cloſe of the year 384) were now reſolved to proceed without any regard to the oppoſition of their Colleguest. The Senate terrify'd hereat, had recourſe to their laſt expedients, the *Higheſt Authority* and the *Greateſt Man*. They named *CAMILLUS* to the DICTATORSHIP, this being the fourth time of his being inveſted with that dignity. His promotion, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was much againſt the will of the People, nor was *Camillus* himſelf very forward to accept the charge, not caring to exert the Dictatorial authority againſt thoſe who had ſo often on great

* L. QUINCTIUS CAP.
Sp. SERVILIUS.
S. CORNELIUS, a ſeventh time.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
S. SULPICIUS, a fourth time.
L. VETURIUS.

† Father *Catrou* and Monſ. *Vertot* ſeem both of them to have miſtaken ſome words of *Livy* in this part of the ſtory, and by that miſtake to have fallen into a perplexity, which has induced the firſt to ſuppoſe a ground of conteſt between the Tribunes, for which he has no authority, and the other to omit the mentioning of any conteſt at all between them.

Both the *French* writers relate, that the Tribunes were now *unanimous* upon the affair of the New Laws. The paſſage in *Livy*, on which I ſuppoſe they found themſelves, is this: Quum Tribus vocarentur, *nec interceſſio Collegarum latoribus obſtaret*, trepidi Patres ad duo ultima auxilia, ſummum imperium ſummumque ad civem decurrunt. The words in *Italic* they underſtand to mean, *That there was no longer any oppoſition to* Sextius *and* Licinius *from their Collegues:* Whereas the context plainly ſhews the true meaning of them to be, not that *Sextius* and *Licinius* were not *oppoſed* by their Collegues, but that they were not *hinder'd* by that oppoſition from proceeding; and it was this that alarm'd the Senate ſo much, as to make them name a Dictator. The *Latin* hiſtorian ſets forth the unbridled ambition of the two enterpriſing Tribunes, who to get the Conſulate did not ſcruple to violate the moſt ſacred of all their laws, and the moſt important to the People. That the Tribunes were ſtill divided about the new Laws, as before, is evident from the words in *Livy* which preſently follow thoſe above cited. Quum Dictator ſtipatus agmine Patriciorum, plenus iræ minarumque conſediſſet, atque ageretur res *ſolito* primum *certamine inter ſe Tribunorum plebi ferentium Legem intercedentiumque*; & quanto jure potentior interceſſio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipſarum, latorumque, &c.

Father *Catrou*, not to be inconſiſtent with himſelf, conjectures that ſome of the Tribunes oppoſed the proceedings of the reſt at this juncture, not becauſe they diſapproved of the laws in queſtion, but out of reſpect for the Dictator then preſent, *Sans doute par reſpect pour le Dictateur*; that they were unanimous concerning the juſtice of paſſing the laws, and differ'd only as to the time.

occaſions repoſed their confidence in him, and believing that he was pitch- Y. of *R.* 385.
ed upon out of ill will, that he might be the inſtrument to ſuppreſs the Bef. *J.C.* 367.
People if he ſucceeded; or, failing, might himſelf be ruined.

The creation of a Dictator did not deter *Sextius* and *Licinius* from convening the Tribes to give their votes upon the new laws. *Camillus*, full of anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of the Patricians, repaired to the Aſſembly, and there ſeated himſelf in his Tribunal. After the uſual conflict between the Tribunes, ſome propounding the Laws, and others proteſting againſt them, and when in ſpite of the VETO of the latter, the former ſupported by the People's favour went on to take the ſuffrages of the Aſſembly, and the firſt Tribes had already voted for the Laws, the Dictator, riſing up, declared that he was come to ſupport the privileges of the Commons, and that he would never ſuffer one part of the Tribunes *to deprive the other of their right of* Oppoſition. *Sextius* and *Licinius* laughed at this artful ſpeech, and purſued their meaſures with ſteadineſs. But when they were continuing to take the ſuffrages of the People, *Camillus* provoked at the affront put upon him, ſent his *Lictors* to drive away the *Tribes* from their reſpective places, and at the ſame time threatned, that if the People did not immediately diſperſe themſelves, he would ſummon them to the *Campus Martius*, inliſt them, and make them march into the field. Theſe menaces from a Magiſtrate, who had power of life and death over his fellow-citizens, cauſed a great deal of uneaſineſs among the People. The Tribunes, to give them courage, had the boldneſs to threaten the Dictator, that they would get him condemned in a fine of * 50000 *Drachmæ* †, if he interpoſed his authority in the preſent diſpute. Nevertheleſs the People were ſo intimidated by what *Camillus* had ſaid, that they broke up the Aſſembly, and departed without having determined any thing, which was the Dictator's chief aim. He preſently after laid down his office, either becauſe conſidering his great age, and perhaps ſtill remembring his exile, he did not care to venture himſelf again in an affair of ſo much heat; or, which *Livy* § thinks the more probable, becauſe he was privately informed, that there had been ſome defect in the ceremony of taking the *Auſpices* when he was created Dictator. We have already ſeen to what an exceſs of ſuperſtition the *Romans* were ſcrupulous in theſe matters; and it is not ſurpriſing therefore that a Magiſtrate, ſo pious as *Livy*, B. 6. *Plutarch.*

* Or 500,000 *Aſſes*; i. e. 1614*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* *Arbuthnot.*

† The Greek *Drachma* was in value the ſame as the Roman *Denarius*, that is, 7¾*d.* Engliſh.

§ *Livy* gives ſeveral reaſons for his believing that it was not fear which made *Camillus* reſign the Dictatorſhip. 1. The Character of the Man. 2. The Senate's appointing another Dictator to ſucceed him; which they would not have done, if the Dictatorial Authority had proved uſeleſs in his hands. 3. *Camillus*'s accepting of the ſame office again not long after, and when the affair of the Conſulate was not yet determin'd; which he would have been aſhamed to do, had he been ſo lately overpower'd in the exerciſe of it. 4. At the time when he was threatned with the Fine, he had power to hinder any Decree to that effect, or elſe could not have hinder'd the paſſing of thoſe Laws, for the obſtructing of which he was threaten'd with the Fine.

Camillus,

Y. of R. 385. Bef. J.C. 367. *Camillus*, ſhould be unwilling to retain a dignity confer'd upon him contrary to the laws and notions of his religion.

§. V. THE Senate in this nice conjuncture not knowing how to act without a Dictator, whoſe authority might be a curb upon the Tribunes, named *P. Manlius* to ſucceed *Camillus* in that dignity. *Livy* tells us, that during a ſhort inter-regnum, which there was between theſe two Dictatorſhips, *Sextius* and *Licinius* held an Aſſembly of the People, and propoſed their Laws anew; and that they might have obtained the paſſing of thoſe two which related to *Land* and *Uſury*, if thoſe would have ſatisfied them: but that they refuſing to ſeparate the Laws, and requiring the People to give their voices upon all at the ſame time, the Aſſembly could not be brought to paſs that Law which related to the Conſulate. After this *Manlius* being created Dictator, preſently diſcover'd himſelf to be a favourer of the Commons, by naming a Plebeian, *C. Licinius* (not *Licinius Stolo* the Tribune) for his *General of the Horſe*. Such a nomination was without example, but he endeavoured to juſtify himſelf to the Senate by alledging, that *Licinius* was his near kinſman, and that the dignity of *General of the Horſe* was not greater than that of *Military Tribune*, which latter *Licinius* had heretofore enjoy'd. This ſhews, that in the confuſions of a ſtate, mutual fidelity between the members of a party is not much to be depended upon, becauſe of the ſecret ties that there are among Citizens of the ſame City, tho' of oppoſite parties.

And now *Sextius* and *Licinius* no longer doubted but they ſhould be able, under the adminiſtration of a Dictator ſo favourable to them, to bring their deſigns to a happy concluſion. When the election of Tribunes came on, the method they took in order to get themſelves continued in office, was, to pretend that they would no longer ſerve. They repreſented to the People, that they were grown old in the Tribuneſhip to no purpoſe, and that after ſtruggling nine years with the Senate for the good of the Commons, the only recompence they had met with for their ſervices was neglect and ingratitude. *You would very gladly*, ſaid they, *be freed from the oppreſſion of Uſury, and you are very eager to have your ſhare of the conquer'd Lands; but when the queſtion is, to promote the honour of your Tribunes, by whoſe labours and zeal you are to obtain thoſe benefits, you ſhew nothing but coldneſs and indifference. Is it conſiſtent with modeſty for you to aſk theſe advantages* by our means, *while you reſolve to leave us afterwards, not only without honour, but without hopes of honour? To be plain then, the Laws we have propoſed are inſeparable. If you are willing to paſs them conjointly, you may then chuſe us again into the Tribuneſhip; but if you are determined to reject* that *which relates to the* Conſulate, *be aſſured that we will no longer ſerve, nor ſhall you get thoſe paſſed which concern* Uſury *and the* conquer'd Lands.

All the Senators and *Patricians* in the aſſembly were ſtruck dumb for a while with amazement and indignation, to hear theſe audacious men make ſo open a confeſſion of their ambitious intereſted views. At length *Appius Claudius* (grandſon of the *Decemvirs*) ſtepping forth, made

a long and warm ſpeech, full of invectives againſt the two Tribunes, *thoſe* TARQUINS, as he call'd them, *the years of whoſe* perpetual *Tyranny were regularly number'd, as the years of the* Kings *were formerly in the* Capitol. And he expatiated on the inſolence of that declaration they had made, *That the Commons ſhould not be free to paſs ſuch Laws as they approved, unleſs they would at the ſame time paſs others which they did not approve, nor think to be for the public benefit.* Y. of *R.* 385. Bef. *J. C.* 367

Appius's harangue had no other effect, than to delay for a while the publication of the laws propoſed. The two authors of them were choſen the tenth time into the Tribuneſhip; and it is probable, that the multitude being afraid of loſing ſuch able and zealous defenders, engaged themſelves to follow their directions implicitly.

Not long after their re-election into power, they obtained the paſſing of that law which had been laſt preferr'd, and which related to the guardianſhip of the *Sybils* Books. The Commons content for the preſent with this victory, ſuffer'd ſix *Patricians* to be created Military Tribunes ‖ for the next year, without mentioning any thing of the Conſulate.

§. VI. BUT it was not long before the contention upon that ſubject revived. The ſtruggle was more fierce and violent than ever, and the Citizens of *Rome* were juſt upon the point of taking arms againſt each other, when they were obliged to turn them on a ſudden againſt a cloud of *Gauls*, who from the coaſts of the *Adriatick* were advancing towards *Rome* to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. Y. of *R.* 386. Bef. *J. C.* 366. 49 Mil. Trib.

Enemies ſo formidable ſuſpended the diviſions of the Commonwealth. It was no longer a time for diſpute between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* about dignities and prerogatives, or ſuperiority of Courage and Capacity. A common danger, the ſureſt teſt of true merit, united the deſires and voices of all to raiſe *Camillus* to the Dictatorſhip. This great man, old as he was, being near fourſcore, did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but, conſidering the peril his country was in, readily undertook it, and liſted his ſoldiers. And knowing that the force of the barbarians lay chiefly in their great ſwords, with which they laid about them in a rude unſkilful manner, hacking and hewing the head and ſhoulders, he cauſed iron helmets to be made for moſt of his men, ſmoothing and poliſhing the out-ſide ſo, that the enemies ſwords lighting upon them, might either ſlide off or be broken; and round about their ſhields he drew a rim of braſs, the wood itſelf not being ſufficient to ſuſtain the blows. He alſo taught his ſoldiers to uſe in cloſe engagement long javelins, with which coming under the ſwords of their enemies, they might ſtab them before they could ſtrike, or, which held under their enemies ſwords, would bear the force and violence of them. When the *Gauls* were advanced as far as the river *Arno*, and had *Plutarch.*

‖ A. CORNELIUS, a ſecond time, L. VETURIUS, a ſecond time, M. CORNELIUS, a ſecond time, | P. VALERIUS, a ſixth time, M. GEGANIUS, P. MANLIUS, a ſecond time.

Y. of R. 386. Bef. J. C. 366. 49 Mil. Trib.

pitched their camp near it, *Camillus* march'd forth his Legions, and posted himself not far from the enemy upon a hill of easy ascent, and which had many hollow places in it, to the end that the greatest part of his troops might be conceal'd, and those which appear'd might be thought through fear to have betaken themselves to the higher grounds. And the better to deceive the *Gauls*, he suffer'd them without any disturbance to spoil and pillage quite up to his very trenches, keeping himself quiet within his camp, which was well fortify'd on all sides. At length perceiving that a great part of the enemy were scatter'd in the country to forage, and having advice that those who were in the camp did nothing day and night but drink and revel, he in the night-time drew forth his lightest armed men, and sent them before to observe the enemy, and hinder them from drawing into order when they should first sally out of their trenches. Early in the morning he brought down his main body, and drew them up in battalia, a numerous and courageous army, which the barbarians nevertheless had imagined to be only a handful of cowards.

The first thing that abated the pride and courage of the *Gauls*, was, that they were to fight when they least expected it, and that the enemy had the honour of being the assailants. In the next place the light-arm'd *Romans* fell upon them before they could range themselves in their usual order, and they were obliged to begin the fight in confusion. But at length, when *Camillus* brought up his heavy armed Legions, the barbarians with their swords drawn advanced boldly to attack them. The *Romans* made use of their javelins in the manner they had been taught, and receiving the force of the enemies blows on that part of their shields which was well guarded with brass, the swords of the *Gauls* being made of a soft and ill-temper'd metal, bent in their hands, and stood crooked to the hilts. As for their bucklers, they were pierced through and through, and grown so heavy with the javelins that stuck in them, that they could not bear them any longer. Being forced to quit their own weapons, they endeavoured to make advantage of those of their enemies, and gathering up the javelins began to employ them against the *Romans*. But then the *Romans* perceiving the *Gauls* to be without defensive arms, presently drew their swords, and made such a slaughter in their foremost ranks, that the rest of them immediately fled and dispersed themselves over the campaign country. For as for the hills and upper grounds, *Camillus* had before possess'd himself of them, and the barbarians knew that their camp might be easily taken, having through confidence of victory neglected to fortify it. Those of them who escaped the pursuit of the *Romans* fled into *Apulia*.

After this victory *Camillus* led his army to attack *Velitræ* (the siege of which had been interrupted) but the City surrender'd to him without resistance. He then returned to *Rome*, where the honours of a TRIUMPH were decreed him by Senate and People.

§. VII. *ROME* was no sooner deliver'd from her fear of those dangerous enemies the *Gauls*, but all was presently in a flame again by intestine divisions,

divisions, on account of the three Laws ſo long diſputed. The People returning home elated with victory, were more obſtinately bent than ever on carrying thoſe points. The Senate on the other hand ſtrongly oppoſed them, and would not ſuffer *Camillus* to lay down his Dictatorſhip, thinking that under the ſhelter of his great name and abſolute authority they ſhould be better able to contend with their adverſaries. But *Sextius* and *Licinius* being determined to carry the Conſulate at any rate, took a moſt extraordinary ſtep to effect their purpoſe, and by which they probably thought to frighten the Dictator into an abdication. When he was ſitting upon his Tribunal in the *Forum* diſpatching public buſineſs, an officer ſent by thoſe Tribunes commanded him to riſe and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the ſame time, as if he meant to carry him away by force. Never was a greater uproar or tumult in the *Forum* than on this occaſion; the *Patricians*, who ſurrounded *Camillus*, driving back the officer, and the multitude from below bawling out, *Pull him down, Pull him down*, *Camillus* was greatly at a loſs what to do in this exigence, yet he would not reſign his authority; but guarded by the Senators, retired with them into the Senate-houſe, in order to come to ſome final reſolution. But before he enter'd it, he turned towards the *Capital*, and beſought the Gods to put an end to theſe commotions, vowing to build a Temple to CONCORD, if Union might be reſtored among his Fellow citizens.

A. of R. 386. Bef. J. C. 366. 49 Mil. Trib.

After warm debates in the Senate about the meaſures proper to be taken, it was at length reſolved to comply with the people's deſires, and to accept the three laws in queſtion, as the only means to extinguiſh their obſtinate fury.

The Commons having thus obtained the victory over the Nobles, the Comitia were held for electing Conſuls, and then L. SEXTIUS the Plebeian Tribune was choſen Colleague in that dignity to *L. Æmilius Mamercinus* a Patrician. Nevertheleſs, when the election of *Sextius* ſhould have been confirmed by the Senate, the *Conſcript Fathers* abſolutely refuſed to do it; and the new diſputes on this occaſion between the two parties roſe to ſuch a height, that the *Plebeians* were juſt ready to leave *Rome*, and make a new SECESSION, when the Dictator propoſed an expedient for a reconciliation. Hitherto the diſpenſing of juſtice in the city had been a branch of the Conſular Office, but to which the Conſuls could not always attend, being commonly during the ſummer in the field at the head of armies. *Camillus*'s propoſal was to ſeparate this function from the Conſulate, and to create a judge with the title of PRÆTOR, to whom it ſhould be appropriated; and he adviſed the Senate to ſuffer that one *Conſul* might be annually choſen out of the *Plebeians*, on condition that the *Prætors* ſhould be always *Patricians*. This motion was approved by both parties; *Sextius*'s election was confirmed by the Senate, and the ſon of *Camillus* created Prætor. This office was look'd upon as the ſecond dignity in the Commonwealth, and the perſon who enjoyed it

Y. of *R.* 386. Bef. *J. C.* 366. 49 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6.

was allowed the Prætexta, the Curule Chair, and two Lictors * bearing *Faſces* to march before him.

§. VIII. TRANQUILLITY being thus eſtabliſhed, the *Romans*, in gratitude to the Gods, ordered the *Great Games* to be celebrated. Theſe uſed formerly to laſt but three days, but now a fourth † day was added; and on this account their name of *Ludi Magni* was changed into *Ludi Maximi*. It happened that the preſent *Ædiles* (for what reaſon is unknown) refuſed to take upon them the care of making preparations for this feſtival; upon which the young *Patricians* cried out, *That ſince the affair in queſtion was the worſhip of the Gods, they ſhould think it no diſhonour to be employ'd in it, provided they might be appointed* ÆDILES. Accordingly the People, at the motion of the *Dictator*, created a new office in favour of the *Patricians*. It was called the *Curule Ædileſhip*, becauſe theſe Ædiles (two in number) had the honour of the *Curule Chair*, which the Plebeian Ædiles had not. The buſineſs was to take care of the Temples, Theatres, Games, Markets, Tribunals of Juſtice, and the repair of the City Walls, and alſo to ſee that no novelty was introduced into Religion; in after-times they had likewiſe the inſpection over books that were publiſhed, and pieces written for the Stage.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

Nothing now remained but to fix upon a place where to build the Temple of *Concord*, which the *Dictator* had vowed; and it was placed at the foot of the *Capitol*, on an eminence facing the *Comitium*. Thus ended a year ſo glorious for the great *Camillus*. He had vanquiſhed the moſt formidable enemies of his country, and had taught the *Romans* no longer to fear ‖ them; and he had reſtored peace to *Rome* between the People and the Nobles. Full of glory and of years he laid down the *Dictatorſhip*, wholly bent on ſpending the ſmall remainder of his days in the tranquillity of a private life.

Y. of *R.* 387. Bef. *J. C.* 365. 89 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 7.

Notwithſtanding ſome alarms, cauſed by a report that the *Gauls* who had diſpers'd themſelves in *Apulia*, were again got together, and that the *Hernici* threatened a rebellion, the Senate were unwilling to enter upon a war under the adminiſtration of a *Plebeian Conſul*, leſt the glory he might acquire, ſhould redound to the honour of his whole party; ſo that all continued quiet both abroad and at home, excepting that the Tribunes of the People grumbled exceedingly, and were very impatient to ſee, that for one Plebeian Conſul granted to the Commons, the Nobles had got three new Curule Magiſtrates out of their own body. The Senate hereupon were prevailed with to conſent, that the *Curule Ædiles* ſhould be choſen out of the *Patricians* every ſecond year; and afterwards they left the People at full liberty to chuſe them every year out of either body.

* The Provincial Prætors, created in after-times, were allowed ſix Lictors.

† *Plutarch* ſays, that this fourth day was added to the *Feriæ Latinæ*.

‖ *Plutarch* tells us that the *Romans* had formerly feared the *Gauls* ſo much, that in a law they made to excuſe Prieſts from military ſervice, there was an exception to the caſe of an *Invaſion from the Gauls*.

§. IX.

§. IX. *ROME* after theſe eſtabliſhments continued at reſt, both from foreign wars and inteſtine diviſions, under the new Conſuls *L. Genucius* a *Plebeian*, and *Servilius Ahala* a *Patrician*. But it ſeems to have been the fate of this city never to be in perfect tranquillity: A peſtilential ſickneſs ſpread itſelf on a ſudden, when no body could account for it. It could not be aſcribed to the irregularity of the ſeaſons. The winter had not been extraordinarily dry, nor had the cold weather been too ſuddenly ſucceeded by an immoderate heat. The ſummer had not been too rainy; nor had the autumnal fruits, for want of ſufficient maturity, cauſed indigeſtions: Nor laſtly, had the *Calabrian* wind blown any dangerous and unwholſome air to *Rome*. This plague ſwept away great numbers, nor did it ſpare the Magiſtrates themſelves. It carried off one Cenſor, three Tribunes of the People, and one Curule Ædile; but its moſt fatal ſtroke was the death of the great *Camillus*, who was more regretted than all the reſt who died of this diſtemper; tho', as *Plutarch* obſerves, his death could not be reckoned immature, whether we conſider his great age, or the conſummate glory he had acquired.

Y. of R. 388. Bef. *J.C.* 364. 90 Conſulſhip. *Oroſ.* B. 3.

CHAP. V.

§. I. *The* Romans *have recourſe to various expedients for putting a ſtop to the plague. The filial piety of the ſon of* L. Manlius Imperioſus. §. II. *The earth opens on a ſudden in the midſt of the* Forum, *and continues open, to the great terror of the City.* M. Curtius, *a young* Patrician, *leaps into the gulph compleatly armed and on horſeback.* §. III. *The* Conſul Genucius, *the* FIRST PLEBEIAN Rome *had ever placed* at the head of an Army, *unfortunately conducts the war againſt the* Hernici, *his Legions are routed, and he himſelf ſlain.* §. IV. *The* Gauls *advance within three miles of* Rome, *encamping on the banks of the* Anio. *Young* Manlius *in ſingle combat ſlays the mightieſt champion of the* Gauls, *a man of a gigantick ſtature; which ſo diſcourages them, that they leave their camp in the night and in confuſion. The next year the* Gauls *appear again in the neighbourhood of* Rome; *but are routed and driven thence by the* Romans. *The* Conſuls *make war with ſucceſs againſt the* Tyburtes *and the* Hernici.

§. I. NOTWITHSTANDING all the Victories which the *Romans* had won, the many Towns they had taken, and the numerous *Colonies* they had planted ſince the birth of their State, their juriſdiction at the time of *Camillus*'s death was not extended above ſix or ſeven leagues from their Capital, and this only on the ſide of *Hetruria*. The frequent contentions between the Nobility and People, not only checked the progreſs of their victorious arms, but revived the hopes of the conquer'd nations. So that the conquerors were obliged to be perpetually running in the ſame round of wars againſt the ſame enemies, whom

whom they found it eaſy to ſubdue, but not poſſible to keep long in ſubjection.

V. of R. 389. Bef. J. C. 363. 91 Conſulſhip.

Such was the ſtate of *Rome*, when *C. Sulpicius* and *C. Licinius Stolo* took poſſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*. The latter was that famous *Licinius* (ſon-in-law to *Fabius Ambuſtus*) who jointly with his Collegue *Sextius* had contrived the four laws, and at the end of ten years, during which he had been *Tribune of the People*, had obtained the publication of them. And now the promiſe *Fabius* had made to his younger daughter was fulfilled, and ſhe had the pleaſure of ſeeing the *Lictors* with their *Faſces* march before her *Plebeian* huſband, and of hearing them thunder at her gate.

Livy, B. 7. c. 2.

The plague ſtill continuing, the *Romans* to put a ſtop to it had recourſe to their old ſuperſtition of the *Lectiſternium*. But this proved ineffectual; and they endeavoured therefore to avert the anger of the Gods by a new inſtitution to their honour. Hitherto *Rome* had no other Publick Sports but thoſe of the *Circus*, that is to ſay, Races and Wreſtling, which were very proper exerciſes for ſo warlike a people. But now they introduced a new ſort of *Shows*, which at firſt were innocent, but afterwards became indecent, and had a natural tendency to corrupt mens manners. Theſe ſhows were called *Scenici*, becauſe they were repreſented on a *Scene*, that is, a ſtage built in the *Shade*. The performers, who were brought to *Rome* from *Hetruria* *, danced to the Flute, and kept time with their motions and geſtures; but their *Entries* had no manner of relation one to another; neither were the Dances accompanied with any verſes or diſcourſes in theſe early times.

Val. Max. B. 2. ch. 1.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 2.

* The *Hetrurian* word which ſignified a *Player* or *Dancer*, was *Hiſter*; and hence the name of *Hiſtriones*, given by the *Romans* to all Stage-players. The firſt ſpeakers on the ſtage fell into the vicious taſte of the *Fescennini*, a people of *Hetruria*, who threw coarſe and unpremeditated jeſts at one another. Theſe were ſoon ſucceeded by ſatires written in verſe, and ſet to the flute; which ſatires were repeated with ſuitable geſtures. And ſome years after, *Livius Andronicus*, who acted his own pieces, turn'd the Satires into regular Plays, and confined himſelf in his compoſitions to one uniform matter. But he was called upon ſo often to repeat his Plays, that he at laſt became hoarſe, and loſt his voice. Hereupon he got the people's conſent that a young man ſhould ſing for him, whilſt he only accompanied the verſes with proper geſtures; and then his action ſoon became more perfect, when his attention was no longer divided between ſinging and acting. When theſe Theatrical Pieces were thus brought into form, the Farces, which had made people laugh, were deſpiſed and neglected. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* youth revived them, and acted them at the end of their ſerious pieces. When the profeſs'd actors had finiſh'd their parts, ſome young *Romans* came upon the ſtage maſk'd, and began to repeat merry verſes, as formerly, but ſuch as were free from obſcenity. Theſe pieces, which were a ſort of compoſition between Satires and regular Plays, had their firſt riſe in *Atella*, a city in *Campania*, and were called *Exodia*, that is, Verſes not belonging to the Play. The *Romans* borrowed them from the *Oſci*, a people of *Campania*. But the *Roman* youth never ſuffer'd the profeſſed actors to bear any part in their *Exodia*, leſt they ſhould diſhonour them. The perſons who acted theſe pieces were not liable to the penalties to which the *Hiſtriones* were ſubject; their names were not blotted out of the roll of the *Tribes* in which they had been incorporated; nor were they excluded from military ſervices, as infamous perſons.

This

This kind of Comedy being performed in a part of the *Circus* near the banks of the *Tyber*, and the river happening to overflow at this time, the People concluded, that the new remedy they had invented to appeaſe the Gods would be ineffectual. However, as they themſelves had been agreeably amuſed, they did not lay aſide the entertainments of the *Scene*.

In the following Conſulſhip of * *L. Æmilius* and *Cn. Genucius*, the plague not ceaſing, the *Romans* bethought themſelves of an old religious ceremony which, according to tradition, had ſucceeded in the like caſes. This was *the driving of a Nail* by a Dictator into the walls of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, on the ſide next *Minerva*'s ſanctuary, which was under the ſame roof. This Goddeſs was deem'd the inventreſs of Numbers; and the *Romans* uſed to number the years of their ſtate by nails. *Livy* tells us, that there was a law written in antique characters and obſolete words, and fixed up in the Chapel of *Minerva*, importing, *That the chief Prætor for the time being ſhould on the Ides of* September DRIVE THE NAIL. (When this law was made, the *Romans* probably were unacquainted with the numeral letters.) The ſame author adds, that the Conſul *Horatius*, who dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter* the year after the expulſion of *Tarquin*, performed at the ſame time the ceremony of driving the Nail, which function was afterwards transferred from the Conſuls to Dictators, as magiſtrates of greater dignity and power; and that the cuſtom having been diſcontinued, it was now thought a matter of ſufficient importance for which a Dictator ſhould be expreſly created.

Y. of *R.* 390. Bef. *J. C.* 362. 92 Conſulſhip. * A 2d time.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 3.

T. Manlius was the perſon named to the Dictatorſhip. It is likely that the plague, which had laſted three years, ceaſed about this time, becauſe *Livy* makes no further mention of it. But *Manlius* being diſſatisfied to have the whole buſineſs of his office confined to a religious ceremony, and it being believ'd that the *Hernici* were preparing to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, he laid hold of this pretext to continue himſelf in power. He order'd troops to be raiſ'd, and even uſed violence to make the citizens inliſt themſelves. However, *the Tribunes of the People* oppoſed his deſign, repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to abdicate. And the *Conſuls* for the new year, † *Q. Servilius* and ‖ *L. Genucius*, were no ſooner in office, than he was cited by *Pomponius*, one of the *Tribunes*, to anſwer before the People for the violence and cruelty which he had exerciſed toward the Citizens. But nothing was ſo much deteſted as his cruel nature, and the ſurname of *Imperioſus* (intolerable in a free city) which he had acquired by his exceſſive ſeverity, ſhewn no leſs to his own blood and kindred than to ſtrangers. For the Tribunes, among other things, accuſed him of inhumanly and barbarouſly treating one of his own ſons for no juſt cauſe, and meerly upon account of ſome natural defects. This ſon of *Manlius*, named *Titus*, had an impediment in his ſpeech, and was beſides of ſlow parts; and for theſe reaſons only, his father

Y. of *R.* 391. Bef. *J. C.* 361. 93 Conſulſhip. † A 2d time. ‖ A 2d time.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 4.

Y. of *R.* 391. Bef. *J. C.* 361. 93 Conſulſhip.

father had confined him to the country, where he made him work like one of his ſlaves.

Cic. Offic. B. 3.

Manlius had a copy of his accuſation given him, and twenty ſeven days to prepare for his defence. All were highly exaſperated againſt him, except the ſon himſelf, who hearing of what paſs'd, and not being able to endure the thought that he too ſhould furniſh matter of accuſation againſt his father; and to the end that Gods and Men might know how far he was from wiſhing to give his father's enemies any aſſiſtance, he reſolved upon a moſt extraordinary method to deliver him, a method (as *Livy* obſerves) ſuitable to his ruſtic education and character, but laudable for the filial piety that inſpired it. Early in the morning he privately and alone left the village to which he had been baniſhed, came to *Rome*, nor ſtopt till he arrived at the door of *Pomponius* the Tribune, who was not yet up. He ſent him word, that the ſon of *Manlius* deſired to ſpeak with him about an affair that would admit of no delay. The Tribune believing that the young man was come either to thank him for the concern he had taken in his misfortunes, or perhaps to diſcover to him ſome new proofs of his father's ſeverity, order'd him to be brought in. *Manlius*, as ſoon as they had ſaluted each other, deſir'd to ſpeak with him in private without witneſſes; upon which every body preſent was order'd to retire. Then the young man drawing out a poniard, and ſtanding over the *Tribune*, threatened to run him through, if he did not immediately and ſolemnly ſwear to deſiſt from the proſecution of his father. *Pomponius* was too much terrified not to ſwear whatever the other pleaſed to dictate; and he excuſed himſelf afterwards to the People for his dropping the proſecution, by alledging the oath which had been extorted from him. The People were not diſpleaſed at the bold enterprize of a ſon in favour of a father, which was the more laudable, inaſmuch as the father's ſeverity had not been able to leſſen the filial piety of the ſon. So that not only the father was diſcharged, but the affair ended much to the honour of young *Manlius*, who the ſame year was promoted, by the ſuffrages of the People, to one of the moſt important poſts in the army. Every *Roman* Legion was commanded by ſix *Legionary Tribunes*, and theſe officers had been hitherto left to the choice of the Generals; but this year the People thought fit to elect part of them in the *Comitia*. Of twenty four *Legionary Tribunes* appointed at this time, the People choſe ſix, and *T. Manlius* was named the ſecond of the ſix. We ſhall ſoon ſee his merit raiſe him above the misfortunes of his education.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 4.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 6. *Val. Max.* B. 5. *Oroſ.* B. 3. S. *Auſtin.* de Civitat. Dei. B. 5.

§. II. THE ſame year a very extraordinary accident threw the City into a conſternation. The ground, perhaps by the violence of an earthquake, opened to a great breadth and depth in the midſt of the *Forum*, and continued gaping in a frightful manner. Neither could this chaſm be filled up by throwing abundance of earth into it, wherein the Citizens laboured with great diligence. The Augurs being conſulted hereupon, told them, *That their purpoſe would never be effected, until that thing*,

thing, wherein the strength and power of the Roman People chiefly consisted, were dedicated and devoted to that place, and that such a sacrifice would secure the eternal duration of the Roman state. Great consternation there was, and much doubt concerning the meaning of this Oracle. At length *M. Curtius*, a *Patrician*, a brave young man, reproving the stupidity of his fellow-citizens, asked them, how they could doubt whether *Rome* had any thing more valuable than Arms and Valour? Having armed himself compleatly, and mounted a horse richly caparison'd, he came to the *Forum*, where the People were assembled in crowds. While they stood silent with wonder and expectation, he turned his eyes one while to the *Capitol* and then to the Pit, and having invoked the celestial and infernal Gods, and devoted himself to death for his country, he leapt at once horse and man into the gulph. The People, both men and women, threw in after him great quantities of corn, fruit, and other oblations; and it is probable that with these, and afterwards with earth and rubbish, the hole was quite filled up. But some authors fabulously report, that the ground immediately closed upon *Curtius*'s precipitating himself into the opening. Y. of R. 391 Bef. J. C. 361 93 Consulship. *Val. Max.* B. 5. ch. 6.

§. III. AFTER this expiation, the *Romans* unanimously resolv'd to turn their arms against the *Hernici*, who had made depredations in the territory of *Rome*, and had refused the satisfaction demanded by the heralds of the Republic. The conduct of the war fell by lot to *Genucius*, the first *Plebeian Consul* that was ever intrusted with the Command of an Army; and both parties were very anxious about the success of his expedition, because according to the event it would be judged whether the Republic had done well to admit *Plebeians* to share in the Consular Dignity. It happened unluckily for the Commons, that *Genucius* proved unsuccessful in the campaign. He fell into an ambush, his legions were routed, and he himself killed. The *Patricians* did not fail to take advantage of this accident. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of *Rome* were owing to the vengeance of the Gods, who had been despised. That the Commons might indeed by force of a law deprive the Nobles of their birth-right, and transfer the *Auspices* to those who could not take them without impiety; but that no such law would prevail against the immortal Gods, whose anger at the profanation of their rites was sufficiently declared by the defeat of the army, and the death of its Commander. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 6.

Servilius the surviving Consul, with the approbation of the Senate, named to the Dictatorship *Appius Claudius*, the man who had the most distinguished himself in the opposition made to the new law complained of. While *Appius* was raising a second army at *Rome*, the *Hernici*, flush'd with their success, advanced to attack the camp of the *Romans* under the command of *C. Sulpicius*, who had been Lieutenant to *Genucius*, and had since that General's defeat collected his scatter'd troops. The *Romans* courageously sallied out of their entrenchments, and repulsed the enemy. *Appius* soon after arrived with his new levies, and having rewarded the

Y. of R. 391. Bef. J.C. 361. 93 Conſulſhip.

bravery of the Lieutenant and his ſoldiers with praiſes, prepared for a general battle.

On the other hand, the *Hernici*, in order to preſerve the advantage they had gained over *Genucius*, exhauſted their whole country of men to reinforce their army; and, among the multitude of their ſoldiers, choſe out three thouſand two hundred, whom they divided into eight *Coborts*, of four hundred each. Theſe were the flower of their army, and made a ſeparate corps that their valour might be the more conſpicuous; and to engage them to behave themſelves bravely, their Generals honour'd them with marks of diſtinction, promiſed them double pay, and exempted them from all the drudgery of military ſervice. In the general action, which ſoon followed, when the *Roman* Knights had made ſeveral efforts in vain to diſorder the enemy's battalions, and when with permiſſion of their General they had diſmounted, and placed themſelves in the firſt line of the foot, the eight choſen *Coborts* made head againſt them, ſo that the flower of both nations came now to a cloſe engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, and it ſeemed to be only the *berſer fortune* of the *Romans* which determined it in their favour. However, they loſt a fourth part of their army, and a great number of *Knights*. *Appius* had no Triumph granted him, which can be imputed to nothing but the unwillingneſs of the People to do honour to the moſt declared enemy of the *Plebeian* party.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 8.

Y. of R. 392. Bef. J.C. 360. 94 Conſulſhip.

§ IV. AND now notwithſtanding the misfortune of *Genucius* and the murmurs of the Nobility, the *Centuries* made no ſcruple to chuſe a Conſul out of the *Plebeians* for the next year. *C. Licinius Calvus Stolo* was elected a ſecond time; and with him was joined *C. Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*. Under theſe Generals the *Romans* advanced into the country of the *Hernici*, and finding no enemy in the field, laid ſiege to *Ferentinum*. This place having ſurrendered, they took the road to *Rome*; but when they came to *Tybur*, they found the gates ſhut againſt them. There had been frequently miſunderſtandings between the Republic and the *Tyburtes*, but now it was war declared; and the *Romans* perhaps believing that the *Tyburtes* could not have the confidence to think of coaping with the Republic, unleſs encouraged by ſome ſecret intelligence with the *Gauls*, who were in motion, thought proper, as in time of imminent danger, to name a *Dictator*. *T. Quinctius Pennus* was the perſon nominated to that dignity; and he appointed *S. Cornelius* to be his General of the Horſe.

The apprehenſions of the Republic were not groundleſs. The *Ciſalpine Gauls* having taken arms again to revenge their defeat, came and encamped three miles from *Rome*, near one of the bridges of the *Anio*. The *Romans*, under the command of the Dictator, immediately advanced to meet them. Nothing but the river parted the two armies, and neither party endeavoured to break down the bridge, leſt it ſhould ſeem to argue fear. This bridge became the ſcene of many combats between the champions of the two armies. One day a *Gaul* of a gigantick ſize advanced upon the bridge, and challenged the ſtouteſt of the enemy to ſingle combat.

combat. His extraordinary ſtature ſtruck ſuch a terror into the braveſt of the *Romans*, that not one of them for a long time durſt enter the liſts againſt him. Young *Manlius* alone, who had ſo remarkably ſignaliz'd his piety to his father, thought he had found a danger worthy of his valour. He went to the *Dictator*, and aſked permiſſion of him to encounter the *Gaul*: *For*, ſaid he, *though I were ſure of victory, I would never fight out of my rank without your command; but if you will give me leave, I will ſhew that huge beaſt, that I am deſcended of the ſame family which drove the* Gauls *headlong from the* Capitol. *Go, Manlius*, anſwered the Dictator, *and be as courageous for the glory of thy country, as thou waſt for the defence of thy father.* The two champions came ſoon to an engagement. *Manlius* had for this combat choſen a ſhort ſword made both for cutting and ſtabbing, and artfully getting within the long one of his enemy, gave him two ſtabs, and laid him breathleſs on the ground. The *Gaul* had a Gold Collar † about his neck, which *Manlius* took from him, and put it about his own in token of victory; and hence it was that he got the ſurname of *Torquatus*, which deſcended to his poſterity. The event of this ſingle combat ſeem'd to the *Gauls* ſo bad an omen for the reſt of the war, that they abandon'd their camp in the night, and diſpers'd themſelves in *Campania*. Nor could they well have retired to their own country without the aſſiſtance of the *Tyburtes*, who furniſhed them with proviſions.

Y. of *R.* 392. Bef. *J. C.* 360. 94 Conſulſhip.

† In Latin, *Torquis.*

Oroſ. B. 5.

This people had too openly declared againſt the Republic to be ſuffer'd to go unpuniſh'd; and ſo ſoon therefore as the *Conſuls* for the new year, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *C. Pætelius Libo* enter'd upon their office, levies were made at *Rome* to chaſtiſe them. *Pætelius* conducted this war, while *Fabius* marched againſt the *Hernici*, who perſiſted in their revolt. The Republic was at this time deſtitute of all aſſiſtance from abroad. The very *Latines*, formerly ſo attached to her, ſtood abſolutely neuter. In the mean time the *Gauls* ventur'd to advance again to the very neighbourhood of *Rome*, and block'd up the gate *Collina*. To make head againſt theſe dangerous enemies, the Republic named *Servilius Ahala Dictator*, without recalling either of the *Conſuls*. *Servilius* came to an engagement with the *Gauls* under the very walls of *Rome*, where the *Romans* fighting within ſight of their fathers, wives, and children, were irreſiſtible. The *Gauls* fled towards *Tybur*, and being favour'd by the *Tyburtes*, who made a ſally to facilitate their retreat, enter'd it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Pætelius*, who attack'd them in their flight. *Pætelius* nevertheleſs obtained a Triumph, while his Collegue *Fabius*, who had fought with ſucceſs againſt the *Hernici*, had only an *Ovation*. The *Dictator*, who had moſt deſerved a Triumph, declined that honour, and laid down his *Dictatorſhip*.

Y. of *R.* 393. Bef. *J. C.* 359. 95 Conſulſhip: *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 11.

CHAP. VI.

§. 1. *A domestic Sedition, which is soon quell'd. An incursion of the* Tyburtes, *who are soon repulsed. The commencement of a new war against* Rome *by the* Tarquinienses. §. II. *The* Gauls *appear on a sudden in the plains of* Prænestæ. C. Sulpicius, *named* Dictator, *with an army, strengthened by the* Latines, *marches against them. By the help of a new stratagem he obtains a compleat victory. The* Hernici, *and the* Tarquinienses *are vanquished by the* Romans. §. III. Two *new* Tribes *are form'd. A Law is pass'd against openly canvassing for votes. Another fixing the legal interest of money at* One per Cent. *per month.* Licinius Stolo, *author of the law against any man's possessing more than five hundred acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is passed against holding the* Comitia *in any place but* Rome. §. IV. *The* Falisci *and* Tarquinienses *having engaged all* Hetruria *to take part with them against* Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, *the* PLEBEIAN Consul *of the last year, is named* DICTATOR *by* Popilius *the* PLEBEIAN Consul *of this, to the great displeasure of the* Nobles. *He obtains a compleat victory over the enemy, and has a Triumph, in spite of the opposition of the* Senate. Two Patricians *are chosen to the* Consulate, *contrary to the intent of one of the* Licinian *laws, and the custom for eleven years past. The next year the* Fasces *are again in the hands of* two Patricians; *and likewise the year following.* T. Manlius (who had never been CONSUL) *is named* DICTATOR *to conduct an army against the* Coerites.

§. I. THE *Tyburtes* made a jest of *Poetelius*'s Triumph, and threatened to be soon again at the gates of *Rome*. This made the *Romans* sensible, that these enemies were neither conquered nor humbled; and the new Consuls therefore, *M. Popilius Lænas* and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, would probably have led an army into the territory of *Tybur*, if they had not been hinder'd by a sudden rising in the City, of the People against the Senate. *Popilius* was *Pontifex* to the Goddess *Carmenta*, as well as *Consul*, and was just offering a sacrifice, when he received the news of the commotion. He ran from the altar in his Pontifical Robe to the place where the People were assembled, and by his influence put a stop to the sedition. And because the robe he then wore was of wool, which was then call'd *Læna* (not *Lana*) he thence got the name of *Lænas*. But *Popilius* was very soon obliged to assume the Soldier. A handful of *Tyburtes*, out of a bravado, and to make good their late threatenings, came in the dead of the night to the very gates of *Rome*, and alarm'd the City. The two Consuls, as soon as it was day, march'd out with their troops at different gates, and easily repulsed these bold enterprisers, whose attempt served only to re-establish tranquillity in *Rome*, and totally extinguish the sedition.

Y. of *R.* 394.
Bef. *J.C.* 358.
96 Consulship.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 12.
Cic. in *Brut.*

In

In this same year the *Tarquinienſes*, a people of *Hetruria*, offer'd the *Roman* territory its arms; nevertheleſs the *Romans* poſtponed their revenge till they had choſen new *Conſuls*.

§. II. THE perſons elected were *C. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The hoſtilities of the *Tarquinienſes* were ſoon followed by a new alarm from the *Boii*, who appear'd on a ſudden in the plain of *Veneſti*, and advanced as far as *Pedum*. But in the midſt of theſe diſturbances of the Republic, the *Latines* (for what reaſon is uncertain) very ſeaſonably renewed their ancient treaty of alliance with *Rome*, and furniſh'd their with the ſame *quota* of men as formerly. With this reinforcement ſhe was in a condition to make head againſt all her enemies. *C. Sulpicius* was named Dictator to conduct the war againſt the *Gauls*. With the beſt Legions of the *Conſuls* armies, ſtrengthened by the *Latin* auxiliaries, he took the field, and met the enemy. Both armies were very ardent to engage; but the *Dictator* retrained the impetuoſity of his troops, think-ing it better policy not to run the hazard of a battle, ſince the *Gauls* muſt neceſſarily be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, having prepared no magazines, and being no longer ſupplied by the *Latines*. The ſoldiers however did not enter into their General's views, and univerſally mur-mured againſt him, as a timorous commander of brave men. They came in crowds to the *Dictator's* quarters, and demanded audience of him, having named *Sextius Tullius* (a man of diſtinguiſh'd courage, and who ſix ſeven years paſt had been firſt Captain of the firſt *Corps* in the army) to be their ſpeaker. *Sulpicius* was ſurpriſed to find himſelf ſurrounded by a number of mutineers, and eſpecially to ſee *Sextius* at their head, whom he had thought an unblameable officer. *Sextius*, in the name of the army, reproached him with the diſadvantageous opinion he ſeemed to have entertained of the valour of his troops, and urged him to lead them to the enemy. His ſpeech to the *Dictator* was follow'd by the acclamations of the multitude, who all cried out for leave to arm and march to battle. *Sulpicius* found himſelf under a neceſſity of promiſing to comply with their deſires; but then, taking *Sextius* aſide, he aſked him, *What it was that had put him at the head of a Faction?* The brave *Centurion* reply'd, that it was not any want of reſpect to his General, or ignorance of the Martial Laws; but to prevent the ſoldiers chuſing an inſolent leader, who might do ſomething injurious to the dignity of the *Dictator*. He then adviſed *Sulpicius* to yield to the deſires of the ſoldiers, who otherwiſe ſeem'd inclined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of fighting, whether he would or not. An accident preſently convinced the *Dictator* of the truth of what *Sextius* had told him. Two beaſts of burden, which eſcaped out of the *Roman* intrenchments, and were ſeized by the *Gauls*, had like to have been the occaſion of a general action. The *Roman* ſoldiers were with difficulty reſtrained by their Centurions. *Sulpicius* therefore thought it no longer proper to delay the engagement, and gave notice in the camp that he would offer battle the next day.

Y. of *R.* 395. Bef. *J. C.* 357. 97 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 12, 13, 14.

Y. of *R.* 395. Bef. *J. C.* 357. 97 Consulship. *Frontin. Strat.*

The *Romans* being inferior to the *Gauls* in number, the *Dictator*, to remedy this disadvantage, made use of a stratagem which had never been practised before. He order'd his Muleteers to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horses, to mount them, march silently up to the hills, and hide themselves in the woods till they received further orders. This extraordinary body of troopers, to the number of about one thousand, appearing opportunely in the plain in the heat of the action, so intimidated the *Gauls*, who fear'd to be surrounded, that they presently dispersed and fled, losing more men in their flight than in the action, for few of them escaped the slaughter.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 15.

Suspicius, when he had been honoured with a Triumph, and had made a present of some of the enemies spoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, abdicated the *Dictatorship*, and the Government returned into the hands of the two *Consuls* for the year. *Plautius* vanquished the *Hernici*, and totally subdued them. But *Fabius* was defeated in battle by the *Tarquinienses*, who, to shew their contempt to the Republic, cut the throats of 307 *Roman* prisoners. However, the Conciliation of the *Latines*, the total Overthrow of the *Gauls*, and the Reduction of the *Hernici*, made this a prosperous year for the Republic. *Rome* was now in almost as flourishing a condition as before it was taken by King *Brennus*.

§. III. SOME *Roman* Citizens being at this time sent into the *Pomptin* Territory, to stop the incursions of the *Volsterni* and *Privernates*, form'd a new *Tribe* there, which with the *Tribe Publicia*, or *Popilia*, lately established in the territory of the *Volsci*, made the whole number of the *Tribes* twenty seven.

Livy, B. 4. ch. 25.

At this time likewise a law was made, at the motion of *Petelius* the Tribune, and with approbation of the Senate, against openly canvassing for votes. It was occasioned by the ambition of the *Novi Homines*, or *upstart Gentlemen*, who, not content with soliciting suffrages in the *Forum Romanum*, went even to the country fairs, and other public meetings, to buy voices. This, says *Livy*, was the first law of the kind preferred to the People; nevertheless, according to the same author, a law was pass'd in the year 321, forbidding the candidates to make their robes whiter than ordinary, and this * in order to give a check to the practice of canvassing for offices.

* *Tollendæ ambitionis caussa.*

Y. of *R.* 396. Bef. *J. C.* 356. 98 Consulship. * A 2d time. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 16. *Val. Max.* B. 8. ch. 6. *Plin.* B. 18. ch. 3.

Under the following administration of *C. Marcius Rutilus* and *Cn. Manlius* * *Imperiosus*, the interest of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of the *Tribunes of the People*, settled at One *per Cent.* per month. This regulation so displeased the avaritious *Patricians*, that, to revenge themselves on the *Plebeians*, they cited the famous *Licinius Stolo* to answer for the breach of one of the four laws (which he himself had so zealously promoted) prohibiting any Citizen to possess more than five hundred acres of land. *Licinius* actually possess'd a thousand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his son, and made him the nominal possessor of one half of them. However, he was convicted, before the *Prætor*, of fraud, and fined ten thousand † *Asses of Brass*. These

* Or 32 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

These inteſtine commotions being over, the *Conſul Marcius* was order'd to conduct an army againſt the *Hernici*, who the year before had declared againſt *Rome*. *Marcius* found the enemy in the field, and purſued them to *Privernum*, which, to preſerve it from being plunder'd, they immediately ſurrender'd. Y. of R. 396. Bef. J.C. 356. 98 Conſulſhip.

But *Cn. Manlius*, the other *Conſul*, gain'd little glory in his expedition againſt the *Faliſci*, whom he had been ſent to puniſh for ſeveral inſults on the Republic. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, but his attempts upon the Conſtitution. He had ventured to aſſemble the *Tribes* near *Sutrium*, and had there made a law in his camp, *That the twentieth part of the price of every ſlave, thereafter ſold, ſhould be paid into the public Treaſury*. The Senate had conſented to this law, notwithſtanding the irregularity of holding the *Comitia* by *Tribes* in the Camp. But the *Tribunes of the People* thought this ſtep of the *Conſul* of dangerous conſequence to the public liberty; and therefore got a law paſſed, forbidding any man to aſſemble the People in *Comitia*, any where but in *Rome*, upon pain of death. However, the law relating to the twentieth part of the price of ſlaves was not repealed. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 16.

§. IV. THE *Conſuls* for the following year, *M. Fabius* * *Ambuſtus* and *M. Popilius* ‖ *Lænas* (both a ſecond time) no ſooner entered on their office, than they took their Military employments by lot. *Popilius* commanded the army which was to act againſt the *Tyberines*. He found them ſhut up within their walls, and ravaged their lands without oppoſition. But *Fabius* had a more difficult war to manage againſt the united *Faliſci* and *Tarquinienſes*. They ſtirred up all *Hetruria* againſt the Republic. The *Hetrurians* advanced towards the *Roman* Territory, as far as the *Salt-Pits*, on the banks of the *Tyber*; and their approach obliged the *Romans* to have recourſe to the uſual remedy in great emergencies. The *Conſul Popilius* was ordered to name a *Dictator*, and as he was a *Plebeian* himſelf, he pitched upon *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Conſul* of the laſt year, to raiſe him to that dignity. The *Dictator* likewiſe choſe a *Plebeian*, *C. Plaucius Proculus*, to be his General of Horſe: ſo that now the government of the Republic was almoſt entirely in the hands of men of true merit, choſen out of the People. The *Patricians*, ſtung with jealouſy at theſe promotions, did all they could to hinder the *Dictator* from having the neceſſaries for the war: but, on the other hand, the People haſtened the preparations for the campaign, and the General marched out to meet the enemy. He ſurpriſed their camp, forced it, and took eight thouſand priſoners. Notwithſtanding ſo compleat a victory, the Senate oppoſed the Triumph of a *Plebeian Dictator*; but the People did him juſtice, and he entered *Rome* triumphantly the day before the *Nones* of *May*. Y. of *R.* 397. Bef. *J.C.* 355. 99 Conſulſhip. * A 2d time. ‖ A 2d time. *Flor.* B. 1. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 17.

And now the time drawing nigh for electing new *Conſuls*, and *Fabius* not being at *Rome*, the Nobility pretended that it was unlawful for any *Plebeian*, tho' a *Dictator*, to preſide in the *Comitia*, becauſe by the *Pontifical* Laws the election of chief Magiſtrates ſhould be conſecrated by *Auguries*;

A. of R. 397. Bef. J.C. 355. 99 Consulship.

disputes, and dispersion, said they, belong of right only to Patricians. And for this cause they prevailed. The Republic had renounc'd for ever that iniquitous and illegal custom, which, in very extraordinary, the Plebeians, in the very year in which they triumph'd so much, were excluded from a share in the Government; two Patricians were chosen Consuls in the ensuing Comitia. The Tribunes of the People exclaimed against the election, as contrary so the custom practised for eleven years past, during which time one of the Consuls had always been a Plebeian. But the president of the Comitia silenced their clamour, by citing a Law* of the Twelve Tables, That only the last Edicts of the People should be of force. For they inferred that the People, by chusing two Patricians, had in effect abolished the former custom.

* See 8th Law of the 9th Table, p. 320.

Y. of R. 398. Bef. J.C. 354. 100 Consul-p. * A 3d time. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 18.

The new Consuls, *C. Sulpicius* * *Petus* and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, after a slight battle took Empulum from the Hybortes, but did nothing else remarkable abroad during their administration. Their chief view was to keep the Consulate in Patrician hands; and when the time came for new elections, they declared that they would never resign their dignity to any other than Patricians. This occasioned great commotions and tumults in the Campus Martius, insomuch that the greater number of the People cried out, that a Secession was necessary, and in reality quitted the assembly, leaving only the least substantial behind them. These gave their suffrages for two Patricians, *M. Fabius* † *Dorsuo* and *A. Quinctius Pennus*; and thus the Nobility carried their point. The Consuls took the field; the former against the Tyburtes, whom he totally subdued; the latter against the Tarquinienses, on whom the Romans now revenged the cruelty committed on the three hundred and seven Roman soldiers formerly mentioned. Quinctius having defeated them in a bloody battle, put all the prisoners to the sword, except three hundred and fifty eight, whom he sent to Rome, where, by order of the Senate, they were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. These victories extended the reputation of the Romans; insomuch that the Samnites sent an embassy to the Republic, courted her friendship, and concluded an alliance with her, probably upon the same foot as that with the Latines and Hernici. Without changing their Laws or Government, they engaged to furnish the Romans with troops in their necessity, and the Romans promised to protect them against their enemies both at home and abroad. This was constantly the first step taken by the politic Republic, in subduing the nations that lay neareſt to her. She flatter'd them with the title of Allies of the Roman People; and when by their assistance she had made herself mistress of the more distant countries, those who had suffered themselves to be lull'd asleep under the title of Allies, found themselves involved in her conquests; and tho' they were still call'd Allies, they were treated as Subjects.

Y. of R. 399. Bef. J.C. 353. 101 Consul-p. ‖ A 3d time.

Tho' the People were still very desirous to have one of the Consuls Plebeian, the Nobility, as their creditors, had them so much under at this time, that they kept the Consulship in their own hands; and *C. Sulpicius* * *Peticus* and *M. Valerius* † *Poplicola* were again promoted to that dignity.

* A 4th time. † 2d time.

dignity. While the Republic was preparing her levies to act againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, ſhe received advice from the *Latins*, that the *Volſci* were upon the point of entering the *Roman* Territory; and this obliged her to divide her forces between the two *Conſuls*. *Sulpicius* marched into *Hetruria*, *Valerius* againſt the *Volſci*. *Valerius* had already encamped on the confines of the Territory of *Tuſculum*, when he was recalled to *Rome* to nominate a *Dictator*. This was occaſion'd by letters from *Sulpicius*, which imported, that the *Cerites* were undoubtedly diſpoſed to take part with the *Tarquinienſes*; that his army was not ſtrong enough to repreſs the inſolence of theſe enemies united; and that even the *Faliſci* had joined the latter. In order therefore to have a third army on foot, to oppoſe the *Cerites*, while the two *Conſuls* check'd the progreſs, the one of the *Volſci*, the other of the *Tarquinienſes* and *Faliſci*, *Valerius* was directed to name a *Dictator*. Accordingly he named *T. Manlius Torquatus* to that dignity, who appointed *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his General of Horſe. Tho' *Manlius* had never been *Conſul* (a neceſſary ſtep to riſe regularly to the *Dictatorſhip*) yet his merit was ſuch, that no oppoſition was made to his promotion.

V. of R. 400. *Bef. J. C.* 352. 102 Conſul-p.

But now the inhabitants of *Cære*, intimidated by the preparations made againſt them, inſtead of purſuing the war, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to implore the clemency of the Senate. The Senate referred the Deputies to the People, who being moved to compaſſion by the repentance of the *Cærites*, and eſpecially when reminded that *Cære* had been formerly the *Aſylum* of the *Veſtals*, and the Receptacle of their Gods, granted them a truce for an hundred years, and the *Dictator*, inſtead of marching againſt them, led his troops againſt the *Faliſci*. But neither on this ſide did he find an enemy in the field to contend with; ſo that having laid their country waſte, he immediately return'd to *Rome*.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 20.

CHAP. VII.

§ I. *The Magiſtrates take effectual meaſures to relieve the Debtors, in order to maintain peace at home.* §. II. *The* People *ſuffer two* Patricians *to be declared* Conſuls. *Nevertheleſs in this very Conſulate the Commons prevail for the firſt time to have a* PLEBEIAN *choſen to the* CENSORSHIP. § III. *And notwithſtanding that the preſent* Conſuls *name a* Dictator *to hold the* Comitia *for the election of their ſucceſſors, in order to get two* Patricians choſen, M. Popilius Lænas, *a* Plebeian, *is promoted (now a third time) to the Conſulate with* L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius *falling ſick, the* Plebeian Conſul *has the ſole conduct of a new war with the* Gauls. A PRÆTOR *acts as a* General, *for the firſt time. Two* Patricians *are choſen* Conſuls. *The* Gauls *ſpread themſelves on the ſea-coaſt of* Latium. M. VALERIUS (*afterwards ſurnamed* CORVUS) *a Legionary* Tribune, *kills in ſingle combat a Champion of the* Gauls, *and this occaſions a general action, in which the* Romans *obtain the victory.* Valerius, *tho' but twenty three years of age, is choſen to be one of the* Conſuls. §. IV. *The* Romans *conclude a Treaty*

with the Carthaginians. §. V. *The Intereſt money is lower'd to* Half per Cent. Valerius Corvus (*now a ſecond time* Conſul) *defeats the* Volſci, *and takes from them* Satricum. *The* Secular Games *are celebrated for the ſecond time.* §. VI. *A* Dictator *is named, on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the* Aurunci. *He builds a Temple, which he had vowed, during a battle with the enemy, to* Juno Moneta. *The year following, the* Romans *imagining that the Goddeſs, agreeable to her name* MONETA, admoniſh'd *them by Prodigies of the impending wrath of the Gods,* P. Valerius *is named* Dictator, *to order the celebration of the* Feriæ Latinæ.

Y. of *R.* 400. Bef. *J.C.* 352. 102 Conſul-p.

§. I. ALL things were quiet in the city, till the time came for new Elections. The *Dictator*, who was to have preſided in the *Comitia*, had formed the deſign of hindering any *Plebeian* being choſen to the *Conſulſhip*; but the *Tribunes of the People* perceiving his intention, *oppoſed* the aſſembling of the *Centuries*, till the expiration of his *Dictatorſhip*, and of the *Conſuls* year, both which ended at the ſame time. An *Interregnum* enſued; and the two parties were irreconcileable. The People began to make complaints about their debts, as well as of the infraction of the *Licinian Law*, relating to the election of *Conſuls*; and the diſputes grew to ſuch a height, as ſeem'd to threaten an open revolt. This apprehenſion induced the Senate at length to ſuffer the *Licinian Law* to take place, and to permit the *Centuries* to chuſe one of the *Conſuls* out of the *Plebeians*. **C. Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, was joined with *P. Valerius Poplicola* in the Conſulate. Theſe Magiſtrates made it their firſt care to reconcile the two Parties, by eaſing the Debtors. To this end, they choſe out five † men of known probity, to take an account of all debts, and ſee them diſcharged. Theſe five were call'd *Bankers*, and they had the command of the Public Treaſury, to enable them to perform their commiſſion, which they did to the ſatisfaction of all parties. Thoſe who thro' ſloth and careleſſneſs, rather than want, had plunged themſelves in debt, either borrowed Money of theſe Bankers, giving ſecurity to the public, or elſe depoſited the value of their debts in their creditors hands, in effects, which were valued by the Bankers. By this means the greater number of the Debtors were relieved without wronging any perſon, and with little loſs to the public,

Y. of *R.* 401. Bef. *J.C.* 351. 103 Conſul-p. * 2d time.

§. II. BUT while the Republic was taking theſe methods to ſecure peace at home, ſhe was ſuddenly alarm'd with the report of a new war, which ſhe muſt quickly ſuſtain abroad againſt the twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria*; upon which the Senate immediately named *Julius Iulus Dictator*, The report however proved groundleſs, and was (probably) raiſed by the *Patricians*, only to get a man at the head of affairs, who might prevent the *Licinian Law* from taking place in the enſuing elections. And indeed he employ'd all his credit and power to that end, but without ſuc-

† C. DUILIUS. P. DECIUS MUS. M. PAPIRIUS. | | Q. PUBLIUS. T. ÆMILIUS.

ceſs;

ceſs; for the People were ſo warm and ſteady in oppoſing his deſign, that both he and the *Conſuls* were out of office before they could get the *Comitia* aſſembled.

In the *Inter-regnum* which enſued, *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Fabius* governed by turns; and the People, by the complaiſance which they had for theſe men, ſeem to have been actuated by ſome particular pique againſt the late *Dictator*, in their oppoſition to his deſires; for now they readily ſuffer'd two *Patricians* to be raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*. † *Sulpicius* himſelf was one of them, and *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus* the other. The former march'd againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, and the latter againſt the *Faliſci*: But theſe two nations being tired out by the calamities of war, ſubmitted to the Republic, and obtained a truce for forty years.

† A 5th time.

The preſent interval of peace ſeemed a proper ſeaſon for holding the *Comitia*, to elect new *Cenſors*. A day was accordingly fixed for this purpoſe, and it was the firſt time that any *Plebeian* was ſeen to ſtand *Candidate* for that important office. *C. Marcius Rutilus*, having been twice *Conſul* and once *Dictator*, thought he might well aſpire to any dignity in the Republic. He was the firſt of the Commons who had been raiſed to the *Dictatorſhip*; and, in ſpite of all oppoſition of the Nobles, he had obtain'd a TRIUMPH for his exploits in that ſtation. And now the faction of the People prevailing in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, he was declared *Cenſor* with *Cn. Manlius* a *Patrician*.

It is not improbable, that preciſely at this time the power of filling up *the vacant places in the Senate, which had been formerly exerciſed by the Kings of *Rome*, and afterwards by the Conſuls, was taken from the latter and given to the Cenſors, and that this was done in purſuance of a law for that purpoſe, which according to *Feſtus*, was obtain'd by *Ovinius* †, one of the *Tribunes of the Commons*. The People would

Y. of *R.* 402. Bef. *J. C.* 350. 104 Conſul-p.

* The ceremony of doing it, which was ever practiſed in *Rome*, was this: After the *Cenſus*, and the *Luſtrum* which always followed it, were over, the *Centuries* ſtill continued under arms in the *Campus Martius*. Then the *Cenſors* appear'd, and from an eminence read the liſt, in which the names of all thoſe, of whom the Senate was to conſiſt, were written. The perſon firſt named became then the Prince of the Senate, that is, the Preſident of that aſſembly, in the abſence of the *Conſuls*. This was ſometimes an office for life. Whoever was named in the *Cenſor*'s liſt, had the right of ſitting and voting in the Senate: but even thoſe who had long been Senators, if they were not named in the new liſt, they were deemed *ipſo facto* deprived of their dignity; ſo that it was indeed a reproach to be omitted in theſe liſts, but not an indelible one. Some appealed from the judgment of the *Cenſors* to other Tribunals; and others reform'd their manners, and by a wiſe conduct became fit to be raiſed to the higheſt poſts, the Cenſorſhip itſelf not excepted.

† The *Roman* Hiſtorians have told us nothing of the *Ovinian* Law. Only *Feſtus* mentions it, and that without aſſigning the time or occaſion which gave birth to it. Formerly, ſays *Feſtus*, a Senator was not thought diſgraced or degraded, tho' his name was omitted in reading over the liſt of the Senators; becauſe the Kings choſe and excluded whomſoever they pleaſed, without any other reaſon but their own wills. And the Conſuls, Dictators, and Military Tribunes exerciſed the ſame power, and made ſuch *Patricians* or *Plebeians*, Senators, as were moſt attached to them, without any regard to others, upon whom they were not concerned in intereſt to beſtow this mark of diſtinction. Things continued

Y. of *R.* 402. Bef. *J. C.* 340. 104 Conſul-p.

no doubt be very ready to add a new luſtre to a dignity, to which, contrary to cuſtom, they had juſt got admittance, and by this means they were amply revenged on the *Patricians*, for their infraction of the *Licinian Law*. What is very extraordinary, we don't find that this important change cauſed any diſturbance in the Republic.

§. III. BUT tho' the *Patricians* had not been able to avoid ſharing the *Cenſorſhip* with the *Plebeians*, they ſtill hoped to ſecure the Conſulate wholly to themſelves; and the better to ſucceed in that deſign, the preſent *Conſuls* named a *Dictator* to preſide at the next election, imagining, that an abſolute Governor would be more reſpected in the *Comitia*, and have more influence. The perſon fix'd upon was *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who had been thrice *Conſul*. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions,

Y. of *R.* 403. Bef. *J. C.* 349. 105 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 7.

M. Popilius Lænas, a *Plebeian*, was now choſen *Conſul*, a third time; and his Collegue, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, falling ſick ſoon after his election, and when he ſhould have taken the field, the Senate had the farther mortification of ſeeing the *Plebeian Conſul* ſole General of the Troops. *Popilius* immediately order'd levies to be made, to ſtop the progreſs of the *Gauls*,

Appian in *Celtic.* *Livy*, B. 7.

who were ravaging the *Latine* Territory, and approached towards *Rome*; and to be the ſooner in readineſs for marching, he appointed the * Enrollment without the Gate *Capena*, and not upon the *Capitol*. So great a number of ſoldiers inliſted themſelves on this occaſion, that the Conſul, by order of the Senate, divided them into two armies, and left one to guard the City, under the command of *M. Valerius Poplicola*, the preſent *Prætor*. And this was the firſt time that the *Prætor* was ſeen at the head of an army. *Popilius* with four *Legions* and ſome auxiliaries marched againſt the enemy, defeated them, plundered their camp, and led back to *Rome* his victorious army, enriched with ſpoil. He was decreed a Triumph at his return; but the ceremony was deferr'd on account of a wound he had received in the battle, and of which he was not yet recover'd. His Collegues *Scipio* continued likewiſe ſtill ſick; ſo that the Republic, ſeeing both her chief Magiſtrates out of a condition to diſcharge their functions, deſir'd them to name a *Dictator* to preſide at the election of new *Conſuls*. Accordingly they named *L. Furius Camillus* (ſon of the Great *Camillus*) to that dignity, who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* to be his General of the Horſe. Theſe two eminent *Patricians* employ'd their utmoſt efforts to make the election fall only on men of their own order, and they ſucceeded. The *Dictator* prevailed to have himſelf choſen one of the *Conſuls*; and *Appius Claudius*, ſurnamed *Craſſus*, another *Patrician*, was appointed his Collegue.

Y. of *R.* 404. Bef. *J. C.* 348. 106 Conſul-p.

tinued on this foot, till the Tribune *Ovinius* paſs'd a Law, which empowered the Cenſors to make Senators, and to exclude all but perſons of known probity out of this venerable body. From that time, thoſe of this body, who were omitted in the Cenſors liſt, were thought degraded, and not ſuffer'd to go into the Senate.

* The gate *Capena*, now called the gate of St. *Sebaſtian*, led to the *Appian Way*; as we learn from *Frontinus*, who tells us, that the Cenſor *Appius* made a great road from this gate quite to *Capua*.

And

And now the *Gauls*, who after their late defeat had fled for refuge to the hills of *Alba*, came down again, and ſpread themſelves upon the Sea-coaſt in the country of the *Latines*. At the ſame time ſome *Greeks* (from what part is uncertain) made a deſcent on the very ſame coaſt where the *Gauls* were ravaging and pundering, *i. e.* from the mouth of the *Tyber* to *Antium*; but the *Gauls*, jealous of their booty, forced theſe new invaders back to their ſhips. While the *Greeks* ſtill hover'd about the Coaſt, and the *Gauls* were yet in *Latium*, the Republic loſt one of her Generals, who ſhould have acted againſt theſe Robbers; *Appius*, one of the *Conſuls*, died during the preparations for the war. It ſeemed expedient to nominate a *Dictator* to act in concert with the ſurviving *Conſul*; but the Senate were unwilling to give *Camillus* any ſuperior. He had obliged them in the late Elections, his perſonal merit was great, and his very name of *Camillus* was a good omen in a war with the *Gauls*; all theſe conſiderations made them accept of him as ſole Governor of the Republic; ſo that he wanted little more than a greater number of *Lictors* to commence a regular *Dictator*. His firſt care was to raiſe two armies. The *Latines* were ſummoned to furniſh their contingent of Auxiliaries; but they refuſed to be commanded by a *Roman* General; and, in a National Diet, reſolved to ſhake off the diſhonourable yoke. However, the *Conſul* found *Roman* Citizens enough, who by Law were obliged to ſerve, to compoſe a body of ten *Legions*, amounting to 45,000 men. *Camillus* left two of theſe *Legions* to guard the city; gave four to *L. Pinarius* the *Prætor*, whom he ſent to defend the ſea-coaſt againſt the *Greeks*, and he himſelf encamped with the other four in the *Pomptin* territory, a country full of marſhes and rivers; for he had no deſign of coming to a battle with the *Gauls*; his only view was to haraſs the enemy in their poſts, intercept their convoys, and, if poſſible, to ſtarve them. While both armies continued unactive, a fierce *Gaul* of a gigantic ſtature appeared between the two camps, defying the braveſt man in the *Roman* Legions to ſingle combat. *M. Valerius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, great grandſon of the famous *Valerius Voluſius*, accepted the challenge, and is ſaid to have obtain'd a victory by means of a Raven, which had perched upon his helmet ever ſince day-break, and which, during the fight, flew in the face of the Giant, and ſo blinded him with his wings, that *Valerius* eaſily ſtab'd him. The *Gauls* ſeeing their champion ſlain, immediately crowded round his body, to hinder him from being ſtript of his armour; and the *Romans* at the ſame time ran to defend *Valerius*, and this by degrees brought on a general battle, in which the *Gauls* were again defeated. Thoſe of them that eſcaped took their way through the country of the *Volſci*, and croſſing *Campania* retired as far as the coaſts of the *Adriatick* ſea. As for the brave *Valerius*, the General rewarded him with a crown of Gold and ten Oxen; and he ever after bore the name of *Corvus* *.

Nothing now remained for the *Conſul* to do, in order to finiſh his year with honour, but to drive away the *Greek* pirates that infeſted the coaſts of

A. of R. 404. Bef. *J.C.* 348. 106 Conſul-p.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 25.

Diod. Sic. B. 16.

Aul. Gell. B. 9. ch. 11.

Livy, B. 7. c. 26.

Auth. of Lives of Illuſt. Men.

* *Raven.*

Y. of *R.* 404. Bef. *J. C.* 348. 106 Consul-p.

of *Latium*. With this view he join'd his army to that of the Prætor *Pinarius*; but the obstinacy of those adventurers, who, tho' they durst not land, continued hovering at sea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he had imagined. In the mean while the time for the new election of Consuls drew near, so that he was obliged to name a *Dictator* to preside in the *Comitia*; and on this occasion the famous *Manlius Torquatus* was again raised to that dignity. A *Dictator* could not fail to have a considerable influence in the assembly of the *Centuries*; and *Manlius*, who was extremely pleased with the exploit of *Valerius*, so much resembling his own former victory over a gigantic *Gaul*, found means to prevail with the People to chuse him one of the Consuls, tho' but twenty-three years of age, and too young to have a place in the Senate. With him they joined *Papilius* † *Lænas*, now *Consul* a fourth time.

Y. of *R.* 405. Bef. *J. C.* 347. 107 Consul-p. † A 4th time.

As for *Camillus*, he made so good an appearance on the coast, that the *Greeks* not daring to come ashore, and at last wanting fresh water and other necessary provisions, put out to sea.

§. IV. WHILST the *Romans*, after these successes, enjoyed an interval of peace both at home and abroad, some ambassadors came to *Rome* from *Carthage*. It does not appear that the *Romans* were acquainted with any nation out of *Italy* before they knew the *Carthaginians*. But as early as the first year after the expulsion of *Tarquin the Proud*, we find that *Rome* and *Carthage* enter'd into a Treaty, the form of which was yet to be seen in *Polybius*'s time; who tells us, that he translated the words of it with all possible fidelity from the old *Roman* language; and he has transmitted it to us. It was conceived in these terms:

"There shall be peace and friendship between the *Romans* and the "Allies of the *Romans*, and the *Carthaginians* and the Allies of the *Car-*"*thaginians*, on the following conditions:

"The *Romans* and the Allies of the *Romans* shall not navigate beyond "the * *Fair Promontory*, unless constrained by tempest or an enemy. If "at any time they shall chance to be forced ashore [beyond that promon-"tory] they shall not be permitted to take or buy any thing but what "they need for repairing their vessels, and for their sacrifices. None "shall make longer stay ashore than five days.

"Those who shall come to traffick, shall pay no other duty than what "is allow'd to the Cryer and Register; and these two officers shall make "oath of what shall be bought and sold in their presence, as well in "*Africa* as *Sardinia*. If the *Romans* shall chance at any time to visit "such places in *Sicily* as are in subjection to the *Carthaginians*, they shall "not suffer any molestation whatsoever, but shall have justice done them "in all things.

* That is, to the Southward of it, towards the left of *Africk* on the other side the *Fair Promontory*, as likewise in *Sardinia* and those parts of *Sicily* which were dependent on *Carthage*.

"The

"The *Carthaginians* shall do nothing to the detriment of the people of "*Ardea*, *Antium*, *Laurentum*, *Circeii*, or *Terracina*, or any other of the "*Latines* whomsoever, if they be subject [to the *Romans*] and if any be not "subject, yet the *Carthaginians* shall make no attempt on their towns; if "they make seizure of any such towns, they shall deliver up the same unhurt "to the *Romans*. They shall not build any fort in the country of the *La-* "*tines*; and in case they shall at any time land there in arms, they shall "not remain there one night." *Polyb*, B. 3. c. 22. Y. of *R*. 405. Bef. *J. C*. 347. 107 Consul-p.

The treaty which *Livy* speaks of as concluded between *Rome* and *Carthage*, in the present consulship, was *perhaps* that which *Polybius* gives us, as the *second* treaty between the two republics. It differed from the first in the following particulars: *Liv*. B. 7. c. 27.

"The *Tyrians* and those of *Utica* were comprised in it. For it was a "treaty between the *Romans* and their Allies on one side, and the *Cartha-* "*ginians*, *Tyrians*, *Uticences*, and their Allies on the other. *Polyb*. B. 3. c. 24.

"To the *Fair Promontory* were added *Mastia* and *Tarseium*, as places "beyond which the *Romans* were not to carry on any commerce. [The Geographers know not the situation of these places.]

"The *Romans* might trade to the towns of *Sicily*, subject to the *Carthagi-* "*nians*; but were to have no commerce in *Sardinia*, nor in any part of *Africa*, "except the City of *Carthage* only. Here they were to be allowed the same "rights and privileges [*in point of Trade*] as the Citizens themselves; and "the *Carthaginians* were to have the like treatment in *Rome*.

"If the *Carthaginians* should take any Town in the Territory of the *La-* "*tines*, not under the *Roman* dominion, they might keep the Pillage and "Captives, provided they relinquished the town; but if the *Carthaginians* "should make any Captives among those of the *Latines*, who, tho' not sub- "ject to *Rome*, were in league of amity with her, and should bring such "Captives into any *Roman* port, and these Captives should be discovered "and challenged by any *Roman*, they should be set at liberty.

"The *Romans* were to be subject to the like restrictions with regard to "the *Carthaginians* and their Allies."

The negotiating of this Treaty was the chief business of the Consuls for the present year. They were succeeded by *C. Plautius Hypsæus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who, tho' twice *Dictator*, had never been *Consul* before. Nothing remarkable happened under their administration, except the reducing of the interest of money from one *per Cent*. [per month] to half *per Cent*. and the allowing the debtors, upon their paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to discharge the remainder by annual and equal payments. But the next year, when *Valerius* ‖ *Corvus* and *C. Pætilius Libo Visolus* were in possession of the *Fasces*, a new war broke out with the *Volsci*. The city of *Sarnicum*, formerly belonging to them, had been destroyed by the *Latines*, above thirty years since; the *Antiates*, a people of the *Volsci*, had within three years past rebuilt and repeopled it, and had made it a place of rendezvous for their confederates; they had likewise endeavoured to stir up the *Latines* against *Rome*. *Valerius* marched against them Y. of *R*. 406. Bef *J. C*. 346. 108 Consul-p. *Livy*, B. 7. c. 27. Y. of *R*. 407. Bef. *J. C* 345. 109 Consul-p. ‖ A 2d time.

Y. of R. 407. Bef. J.C. 345. 109 Consul-p.

them upon the first news of their motions, routed them, and took Sutrium, which he burnt, sparing only the Temple of the Goddess *Mineria*; after which he returned to *Rome*, and entered it in Triumph with four thousand captives before his chariot. But according to the *Capitoline* Marbles, the Triumph of *Valerius* was not the most pompous show with which the *Romans* were entertained in his Consulate, the *Secular Games**, which had been instituted in the year of *Rome* 297, were now celebrated for the second time.

§ VI. THE *Romans* were no sooner delivered from the *Volsci*, than they were attacked by the *Aurunci*, a petty nation near the confines of *Latium*, on the coast of the *Tyrrhenian* sea; and the Republic was struck with more terror than she ought to have been, by an enemy so little formidable. The Consuls *M. Fabius Dorso* and *Servius Sulpicius Camerinus* were ordered by the Senate to nominate a *Dictator*, all the Courts of Justice were shut up, and the levies were made with the utmost rigour. *L. Furius* † *Camillus*, whom the Consuls named to the *Dictatorship*, marched away to meet the enemy, and was greatly surprised, when he came within sight of them, to find that they made no better appearance than a gang of robbers. He began to suspect, that they were assisted by the troops of some more considerable nation, that lay concealed; and he was confirmed in this suspicion, when he saw that they offered him battle. The *Aurunci* being so few in numbers, must certainly have performed wonders in the action, to have forced the *Dictator* to have recourse to his Gods, and to vow a Temple to *Juno Moneta*. (This name had been given to the Queen of the Gods a little before the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. It was pretended, that from the Temple of *Juno* had come a voice, accompanied with an earthquake, and that the voice had *admonished* the *Romans* to avert the evils that threatened them, by sacrificing a sow with pig. Hence she was called *Moneta*.*) The *Aurunci*, tho' they fought bravely, were too weak to resist the *Roman* forces, they were defeated, and *Furius* returned victorious to *Rome* to perform his vow. *Duumvirs* were chosen, in the *Comitia* by Tribes, to direct the building of the Temple which he had promised the Goddess. It was erected on the *Capitol*, in the same place where the house of the ambitious *Manlius* had stood. Afterwards the Temple of *Juno Moneta* became a public Mint, and from thence the Medals, which were stampt for current coin in trade, took the name of *Monetæ*. Mean while the succeeding Consuls, C. *Marcius* ‖ *Rutilus* and T. *Manlius* § *Imperiosus*, consecrated this new Temple the fifth of *June*, and immediately the *Romans* imagined that the Goddess, agreeably to her name MONETA, *admonished* them of the impending wrath of the Gods, by hail-stones of an extraordinary hardness and size, thick darkness in the day-time, and such like prodigies. Hereupon it was thought proper to name a *Dictator*, whose business should be to order the solemnization of the festival called

Y. of R. 408. Bef. J.C. 344. 110 Consul-p. † A 2d time Dictator.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 28. *Cic.* de Divin. B. 1.

* From *monere*.

Y. of R. 409. Bef. J.C. 343. 111 Consul-p. ‖ A 3d time. § A 2d time. *Macrob. Satur.* B. 1, ch. 12. *Oros.* B. 3. ch. 7. *Livy*, B. 7. c. 1. 28.

* The nature and origin of these Games will be spoken of hereafter.

Feria

Feriæ Latinæ. *P. Valerius* being raiſed to that office, not only obliged the *Roman* Tribes of the City to obſerve the Feſtival, but call'd thoſe of the Country and the *Latines* alſo to *Rome* for that purpoſe. The Temples were opened, victims were there offer'd, the Senate marched thither in ſolemn proceſſion, and the People repaired thither at certain appointed hours. And thus were the *Romans* for ſome time wholly employ'd in taking advantage of the admonitions of an imaginary Goddeſs, to avert the anger of heaven. Y. of *R.* 409. Bef. *J.C.* 343. 111 Conſul-p.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *In the adminiſtration of* M. Valerius Corvus (*3d time* Conſul) *and* Cornelius Coſſus Arvina, *happens the* FIRST RUPTURE *between the* ROMANS *and* SAMNITES, *on occaſion of a war which the latter had carried on with ſucceſs againſt the people of* Capua *in* Campania. *The* Campanians, *to engage the* Romans *to ſuccour them in their diſtreſs, make a ſurrender of themſelves and their country to the Republic. Hereupon* Valerius *is directed to march an army into* Campania, *and* Cornelius *to carry the war into* Samnium. Valerius, *in an action with the* Samnites, *has the advantage.* §. II. Cornelius, *on the other hand, by an imprudent march brings his army into danger of being entirely cut off by the enemy; however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by a ſtratagem, ſuggeſted and executed by a Legionary Tribune named* P. Decius Mus; *and preſently after, following the advice of the ſame* Decius, *he gains a victory over the* Samnites. Decius *is rewarded with many honours.* §. III. Valerius *obtains a ſecond victory over the* Samnites *in* Campania. *Theſe ſucceſſes make the* Romans *reſpected abroad.*

§. I. THE *Dictator* having, for ſome reaſon (not mentioned by the Hiſtorians) reduced the Government to an *Inter-regnum*, the Preſident of it held the *Comitia* by *Centuries* for electing new *Conſuls*. The choice fell (as the laſt year) upon two *Patricians*. *M. Valerius* * *Corvus* was now raiſed a third time to the *Conſular* dignity, and with him was joined *Cornelius Coſſus*, ſurnamed *Arvina*. It was during their adminiſtration, that the *Romans* and *Samnites* firſt became enemies. A city to which the Republic had no relation at that time, ſow'd thoſe ſeeds of diſcord between the two nations, which produced a laſting hatred. Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J.C.* 342. 112 Conſul-p. * A 3d time.

The *Sidicini*, a people of *Auſonia*, ſituated beyond the *Liris*, being attack'd by the *Samnites*, who doubted not to make an eaſy conqueſt of their ſmall territory, applied themſelves to the *Campanians* for aſſiſtance. It was the intereſt of the latter to ſuccour their diſtreſſed neighbours, and ſtop the progreſs of the *Samnites*; but they undertook the defence of the oppreſſed with more oſtentation than real ſtrength. For tho' they poſſeſs'd a very fruitful country, and tho' commerce daily encreaſed their riches, *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 29.

Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J. C.* 342. 112 Conſul-p.

this wealth of private perſons was the weakneſs of the State. Luxury reigned univerſally; the Houſes were magnificent, but the City without Fortifications. The Merchant, vain of his wealth, miſtook his vanity for courage, and looked down with ſcorn upon enemies that were not ſo rich as he.

This contempt, ever imprudent, often fatal, of an enemy's ſtrength, proved the ruin of *Capua*. The *Samnites*, who had a proſpect of more glory and advantage in the conqueſt of the *Campanians* than of the *Sidicini*, turn'd their arms againſt the former, and having defeated them in two pitch'd battles, in which the vanquiſh'd loſt all their youth, drew near to beſiege their City, that had now no other defence than weak walls, and inhabitants fill'd with conſternation.

The Magiſtrates in this diſtreſs had recourſe to *Rome*; they ſent a pompous embaſſy to implore the alliance and aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. Their ambaſſadors laid before the Senate all the motives both of glory and intereſt, which could engage the Republic to undertake their defence; the extremity to which they were reduced, and the power of their enemies, which would be conſiderably augmented by the conqueſt of ſo rich a city as *Capua*. They added, "*Such is the miſery of our preſent condition, that if we* "*are not immediately ſuccour'd by our friends, we muſt fall under the power* "*of our enemies. If you defend us, you will ſecure to your ſelves allies full* "*of fidelity and gratitude; we ſhall honour you as Founders of our State, as* "*our Parents, nay even as the immortal Gods. If you abandon us, what will* "*be the conſequence we dread even to imagine.*" To this humble addreſs the Senate, whether out of regard to the faith of Treaties, as *Livy* repreſents it, or to draw more ſolid advantages from the aſſiſtance they ſhould give the *Campanians*, than a vain title and empty praiſes, anſwer'd the ambaſſadors by the Conſul *Valerius*, *That they thought the* CAMPANIANS *worthy of their aſſiſtance, and wiſh'd they could with honour ſuccour them; but that the Republic had an ancient alliance with the* Samnites, *which would not allow her to take arms againſt them! that the Senate however would ſend Deputies to their camp to intreat them as Friends and Allies to deſiſt from their hoſtilities.* The *Campanian* Deputies had hitherto ſpoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the *Romans*, but now not thinking the anſwer they had received ſufficient to build great hopes on, the chief of them (purſuant to the powers with which they had been inveſted before they left *Capua*) made this farther declaration: *Though the* Romans *refuſe to protect us and ours againſt violence and injuſtice, they certainly will not neglect to defend their own. The People of* Campania, *the City of* Capua, *our Lands, our Temples, every thing we have divine and human, we abſolutely give and ſurrender to you,* O Conſcript Fathers, *and to the* ROMAN PEOPLE; *from this time forward therefore all our loſſes will be yours.* This ſaid, the ambaſſadors proſtrated themſelves on the threſhhold of the Senate-houſe, and holding up their hands to the Conſuls, ſhed a flood of tears. Self-intereſt and compaſſion made new impreſſions on the minds of the Senators; they were moved, ſays *Livy*, at the ſad revo-

lution

lution to which human affairs are liable; to see a nation, late so rich and flourishing, so proud and luxurious, and from whom its neighbours had implored assistance against oppression, reduced in a short time to so dejected a state of mind, as to give themselves and all their possessions into the power of a foreign people. And as the donation was made in due form, by Ambassadors authorized to make it, the Senate did not think their alliance with the *Samnites* obliged them to refuse it. Without hesitation therefore they sent away Deputies with instructions to entreat the *Samnites* as friends, to spare a province which belong'd to *Rome*; and, in case of refusal, to give them notice, in the name of the People and Senate of *Rome*, to quit the country immediately. But the *Samnite* Magistrates were so far from being intimidated by the Majesty of the *Roman* Name, that, in the very presence of the Deputies, they order'd the Commanders of their Troops to go instantly and ravage *Campania*.

Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J.C.* 342. 112 Consul-p.

This insult filled both the *People* and *Senate* with indignation; and the *Romans* applied themselves wholly to the making preparations for a war. All the due forms of demanding satisfaction and proclaiming war by the *Feciales* having been observed, the two *Consuls* took the field, each at the head of an army. It fell to *Valerius*'s lot to command in *Campania*, and *Cornelius* was to enter the country of the *Samnites*. *Valerius* posted his troops near mount *Gaurus* in *Campania*; and being there advantageously situated, he was in no haste to come to a battle, but tried the *Samnites* in slight skirmishes, to learn their way of managing their arms. At length he assembled his troops, exhorted them *not to be afraid of new enemies, or of a new manner of fighting*; bid them remember *their former Victories, and by what General they were now commanded*; *that it was* Valerius, *who had thrice obtained the* Consulship, not by Intrigue, or the Nobleness of his Birth (*to which* Rome *had now no regard*) *but by his Bravery alone*; reminded them, *that he was descended from the Great* Poplicola, *and had himself been always a* Poplicola *in the true meaning of the word. Go then,* ROMANS, he added, *fall upon the enemy, and in return for my affection to you, gain me the honours of a Triumph.*

Never was Consul more popular; never was General more tenderly beloved by his soldiers. He took a pleasure in mixing with them, and sharing the labours of the meanest among them. *Valerius* frequently made one at their diversions, whether Wrestling or Running, and did not disdain to enter the lists with a common soldier. He always kept his temper, and, whether victorious or vanquished in these exercises, his countenance never changed. He was continually bestowing favours, but with a just regard to times and persons. He was easy in his private conversation, and gave every man full liberty to express his sentiments in his own manner; but as for himself, he ever maintained a certain dignity in his discourses. It was natural for Troops to love and respect a General of this character. They march'd out of the camp with a more than usual ardour for victory.

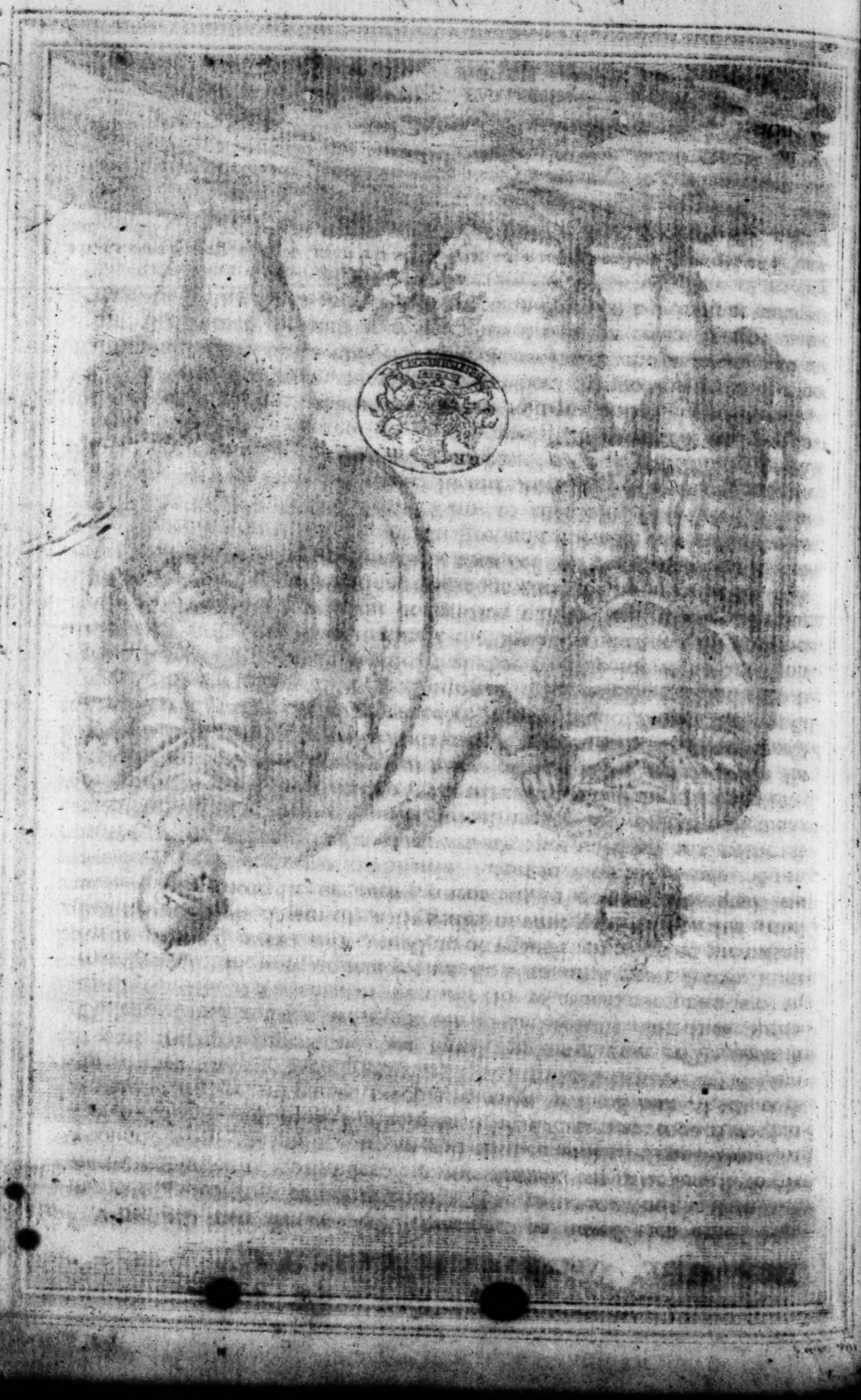
Livy, B. 7. ch. 33.

Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J. C.* 342. 112 Conſul-p.

When the two armies were drawn up, and faced each other, their numbers appear'd to be pretty equal. The battle was fought with wonderful reſolution on both ſides, but the *Samnites* began at length to give ground, when the night put an end to the conflict. The *Romans* had never engaged with more ſtubborn enemies, and perhaps would not have known that they had gained much advantage, if the *Samnites* had not deſerted their camp in the night.

§ II. BUT whilſt *Valerius* was ſignalizing his courage in *Campania*, his Collegue *Cornelius Coſſus*, who had been advantageouſly poſted near *Saticula* on the confines of *Samnium*, left his camp (for what reaſon is unknown) and marched his Troops through a mountainous country into a foreſt, all the roads of which were narrow, and out of which there was but one paſſage, and that through a deep valley. It was not in his power to alter his march, when he diſcover'd, that both the wood and the valley were lined with *Samnites*, and that he was in a manner ſurrounded by the enemy. In this diſtreſs *P. Decius Mus*, a *Legionary Tribune*, propoſed to the *Conſul* to detach him with the *Principes* and *Haſtati* of one *Legion*, to take poſſeſſion of an eminence which overlook'd the *Samnites*, and which they had neglected. He added, *When you ſee me poſted there, continue your march, without fear, through the valley; the enemy will not dare to attack you while they are expoſed to our darts.* The *Conſul* approved of the motion. *Decius* was not diſcover'd by the enemy till he had juſt gain'd the eminence; and then the *Samnites* were in ſuch a ſurpriſe, that they could come to no determination what to do, whether to attack the *Conſul*, or *Decius*. In the mean time *Cornelius* took advantage of their irreſolution, and marched through the valley without moleſtation; and ſoon after the night came on.

Decius had at firſt expected to be attacked by the enemy on his hill, and hoped by the advantage of the ground to be able to withſtand them. When he found that they neither came to aſſail him, nor yet raiſed any rampire between him and them, he aſſembled his ſoldiers, and exhorted them not to follow the enemy's example, but to form ſome deſign with expedition, and to execute it with courage. Then while it was yet daylight, changing his habit with a private ſoldier, and being accompanied by his *Centurions*, whom he made do the like, that the enemy might not diſtinguiſh them to be Officers, he took a view of all the avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return ſilently to the main body, at the ſecond watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were reaſſembled, he laid before them the neceſſity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to ſtay for daylight, or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy while they were aſleep. The latter being univerſally approved, *Decius* led his troops down from the rock in great ſilence; but when they had got half way through the enemy's camp, a *Roman* ſoldier ſtruck his foot againſt the buckler of a *Samnite*, and the noiſe awakening a centinel, he gave the alarm in that quarter. The *Samnites* ran to arms, without knowing whether it were *Decius* with his troops, the *Conſul* with his army,





A. *A Roman Soldier in the* Sagum.
B. *A Roman General in his* Paludamentum.

army, or ſome *Samnite* of the camp, who had diſturbed their reſt. In the midſt of this uncertainty, *Decius* order'd his men to give a great ſhout, which ſo increaſed the conſternation of the *Samnites*, that they were in a manner frozen with fear, and the *Romans* eaſily made their eſcape. When they were come near the *Conſul*'s camp, *Decius* commanded them to halt: *It is not fit*, ſaid he, *that after ſo glorious an exploit you ſhould enter the camp in ſilence and darkneſs; reſt yourſelves therefore here till the light returns.* The next morning *Decius* and his troops marched into the camp, with the acclamations of the army, who called them their *Preſervers*, and gave thanks to the Gods for their happy return. But when the *Conſul* (having ſummon'd all his ſoldiers to hear his harangue) was beginning to make the Panegyric of *Decius*, this brave Tribune adviſed him, inſtead of loſing time in Panegyrics, to march away immediately, and ſurpriſe the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had ſent out detachments in queſt of him. This advice was followed; the *Romans* ſurpriſed the *Samnites* ſcatter'd about the hills and woods, and purſued them into their camp, where thirty thouſand of them were cut to pieces.

Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J. C* 342. 112 Conſul-p.

This ſucceſs added much to the glory of *Decius*, who was honour'd with all the military rewards that were ever given to a Subaltern. Beſide a Crown of Gold, he received from the General a preſent of an hundred Oxen, and a white Bull with gilded horns. As for the ſoldiers of his detachment, the Conſul, in recompence of their merit, aſſigned them a double quantity of Corn, not only for the preſent, but during life, and he gave each of them two *Saga* *. The army likewiſe ſhewed their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an *Obſidional Crown* †. And laſtly his own detachment, which he had brought ſafely out of the danger into which he had led them, beſtowed a mark of diſtinction on their leader, and crowned him with a *Civic* Crown, or a Crown of Oak-leaves, which was deemed the moſt honourable of all rewards. Thus adorn'd with three Crowns, he offered up his white Bull in ſacrifice to *Mars*, and diſtributed his hundred Oxen among the companions of his danger and ſharers of his glory.

Aul. Gel. B. 5.

Author of the Lives of Illuſt. Men.

§. III. BUT the campaign was not yet ended. The *Samnites* having recover'd their courage, and raiſed new forces, appeared before *Sueſſula*, a town ſituated between *Nola* and *Capua*. *Valerius* march'd againſt them, and when he came within a ſmall diſtance of them, encamp'd his troops within as narrow a compaſs as he poſſibly could, and by this he deceiv'd

Livy, B. 7. ch. 37.

* The *Sagum* of the *Romans* was a military habit, open from top to bottom, and uſually faſten'd on the right ſhoulder with a buckle, or claſp. It was not different in ſhape from the *Chlamys* of the *Greeks* and the *Paludamentum* of the Generals. The only difference between them was, that the *Paludamentum* was made of a richer ſtuff, was generally of a purple colour, and both longer and fuller than the *Sagum*. The adjoining Plate will ſhew the form of this garment which the *Latin* authors call *Sagum*, and *Chlamys* and *Paludamentum*.

† It was cuſtomary among the *Romans* for the garriſon of a beſieged place to crown the General who came to its relief, and raiſed the ſiege, with a Chaplet or Garland made of the Graſs growing in the place. It was called *Corona Obſidionalis*.

the

Y. of R. 410. Bef. J.C. 342. 1st Conſul-p.

the enemy; for they taking a view of his camp, and finding it ſo ſtrong, imagined the *Romans* to be but weak in number, and therefore, full of confidence, offer'd them battle. *Valerius* kept cloſe within his intrenchments, and made ſuch a ſhew of fear, that the *Samnite* ſoldiers were for immediately forcing his lines. However the officers reſtrained their impetuoſity; and believing that the *Romans* muſt ſoon want proviſions, they judged it a wiſe part to continue quiet in their camp, and watch them, not reflecting that the *Romans* were in a friend's country, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport them. In ſhort, the *Samnites* themſelves were the firſt who wanted neceſſaries, and were obliged to ſend out large detachments to convoy proviſions to their camp. *Valerius* obſerving this, ſeized the moment when the greater part of the enemy's troops were diſperſed about the country, attacked their camp, forced it, made a great ſlaughter there, and then with his cavalry chaſed the ſeveral parties that were abroad foraging. In this action the *Romans* took one hundred and ſeventy ſtandards from the enemy.

The ſucceſſes of *Valerius* and *Cornelius* (to whom the Senate decreed the honours of the TRIUMPH) made the Republic reſpected abroad; the *Faliſci* enter'd into a treaty of alliance with her, and that whole *Lucumony* of *Hetruria* became *Roman*. The *Latines*, who had ſtood neuter to ſee the event of the war, commenced hoſtilities againſt the *Peligni* (a *Samnite* nation) as it were to aſſiſt the *Romans*; and laſtly, the *Carthaginians* ſent a compliment of congratulation to the Republic, with a preſent of a Gold Crown of twenty five pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of thankſgiving for her victories.

Euſeb. Chron. By a *Cenſus* taken this year it appear'd, that the number of *Romans* able to bear arms amounted to 160,000.

CHAP. IX.

Some Cohorts of Roman *ſoldiers, who had been left in* Capua *all the winter, plot to make that delightful City their own, and to ſettle there. The meaſures taken by one of the* Conſuls, *to defeat this ſcheme, occaſion a deſertion. The deſerters are joined by great numbers of malecontents from* Rome. *They force an old ſoldier, whom they find employ'd in huſbandry, to be their leader.* Valerius Corvus *is hereupon named* Dictator, *to march an army againſt the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from* Rome, *and prevails with them to ſubmit; yet they, beſides pardon, obtain ſome conceſſions from the Republic.*

Y. of R. 411. Bef. J.C. 341. 113. Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 38, 39, &c.

THE *Conſuls* for the new year were *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian* (now raiſed to that dignity a fourth time) and *Q. Servilius Ahala*, a *Patrician*. The latter encamped the army allotted him in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, while the former marched with another into *Campania*. A body of *Romans* had, at the requeſt of the *Campanians*, been

been left in *Capua* all the winter to defend them from the enemies incursions. When *Marcius* arrived in that City, he perceived a great alteration in thoſe ſoldiers of the Republic. Diſcipline had been neglected; their auſterity of manners was changed into effeminacy, and their ſobriety into intemperance. The charms of the climate and the air, which they breathed in idleneſs, had ſo far bewitched them, that they did not care to hear their own country mentioned; and the leſs, as at home they were oppreſſed by their creditors. They had enter'd into a plot among themſelves, to drive the natives out of *Campania*, ſeize it for their own poſſeſſion, and ſettle there. *Marcius* was informed of all this; and as he was a man of great experience and prudence, he made uſe of the gentleſt methods to induce them to drop their deſign. He check'd the ſedition for the preſent, by indulging them in the hope that they might put their ſcheme in execution whenever they pleaſed: For he cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that they ſhould ſpend the following winter in the ſame places. This hope prevailed likewiſe among the other *Romans* diſperſed up and down in *Campania*. In the mean time he contrived, under various pretences, to ſend away the moſt factious, at firſt one by one, and afterwards by whole *Cohorts*; yet ſo, that no ſoldier was diſmiſſed with diſgrace. But at length the Troops obſerved the General's conduct, and penetrated into his intentions. They preſently imagined, that their companions had been tried and condemn'd at *Rome*, and that they themſelves muſt undergo the ſame fate. In this apprehenſion, the firſt expedient that occurr'd to them was deſertion; and the ſoldiers of one *Cohort* were ſo bent upon it, that they ſtrait march'd away and poſted themſelves near *Anxur* in *Lautulæ*, which was the name the *Romans* gave to the narrow paſs there, between the ſea on one ſide, and high mountains on the other. To theſe deſerters all thoſe whom the *Conſul* had diſmiſſed, or who were oppreſſed by debts, reſorted; and new deſertions following cloſe upon the firſt, the malecontents in a little time increaſed to a moderate army. But ſtill they were at a loſs for a leader. To ſupply this want, they ſurprized by night in his bed one *T. Quinctius* (an eminent ſoldier, who had retired from public life to his farm) and forced him to go along with them, and lead them as their General to *Rome*.

Y. of *R.* 411. Bef. *C.* 341. 113 Conſul-p.

The City was ſo terrified at the approach of theſe Mutineers, that the Republic had recourſe to her uſual remedy in great emergencies; the *Conſuls* named a *Dictator*. *Valerius Corvus* was the man pitch'd upon, and he at the head of an army met the Rebels eight miles from *Rome*, in the *Appian Way*. The *Dictator* had always diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by a tender love for his ſoldiers; and theſe very mutineers were a part of the victorious army which he had commanded the laſt year. He endeavoured therefore to bring them back to their duty by gentle methods; and advancing into the middle ſpace between the two armies, expoſtulated with them in the ſofteſt terms on their ſtrange and unaccountable behaviour, ſo contrary not only to the tender regard they owed their country, but even to the grateful returns which he himſelf might have expected from them, conſidering

Faſt Capit. Livy, B. 7. Auth. of the Lives of Illuſt. Men.

Y. of *R.* 411. Bef. *J. C.* 341. 113 Conſul. p. *Livy*, B. 7.

conſidering how zealous he had ever been for their intereſts, and with what condeſcenſion and kindneſs he had always treated them in the higheſt ſtations to which he had been promoted, as well as in his private capacity. He told them, that his prayer to the Gods before he left *Rome* had not been to conquer them in battle, but to reconcile them to their country; and that he was ſo far from deſiring to reduce them by force of arms, that if they reſolved to fight, they muſt be the firſt to ſound the trumpet for the charge, and muſt begin the attack too, before he would draw his ſword againſt them. Then addreſſing himſelf to *Quinctius*, "Whether it be willingly or by force, T. QUINCTIUS, that you "are engaged on that ſide, you will do well, in caſe of a battle, to "retire into the hindmoſt ranks; for it will be leſs diſhonourable for you "to turn your back and fly before your fellow-citizens, than to fight "againſt your country. But if it be only in order to peace and reconci- "liation that you appear at the head of your party, you may conſiſtently "with your honour and duty continue there to be their interpreter. Speak "then, make your demands, aſk any conditions that are reaſonable, and "they ſhall be granted. Nay, it will be better to grant you even unrea- "ſonable terms, than that we ſhould begin a deteſtable Civil War, and "*Romans* imbrue their hands in *Roman* blood."

Valerius had no ſooner ended, than *Quinctius* turning to the rebels, told them with tears in his eyes, that he could be of no ſervice to their cauſe, unleſs in obtaining for them an advantageous peace; and he adviſed them to put themſelves entirely into the hands of the *Dictator*, who had a fatherly affection for them, and leave it to him to manage their intereſts at *Rome*. This motion was followed by a ſhout of approbation; and then the *Dictator* having given the Mutineers hopes of all reaſonable conceſſions, return'd to the City, and obtain'd from the Senate an Act of Grace, which was afterwards confirm'd by the People in *Comitia*. And in the ſame aſſembly, and at the requeſt of the Rebels, were paſſed ſome new Military Laws, which revenge alone inſpired them to demand. Particularly they inſiſted, that the pay of the Cavalry ſhould be reduced; and this becauſe not one ſingle man of that corps had joined them in their revolt.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 41, 42.

Some authors ſay, that at this time all Uſury was aboliſh'd in *Rome*, by a Law made at the motion of *Genucius* a *Tribune of the People*; and that the Commons paſs'd likewiſe theſe other Laws; That no man ſhould have the ſame office twice within ten years, or poſſeſs two different offices in the ſame year; and, that the two *Conſuls* might be both choſen out of the *Plebeians*. If theſe articles were obtained at this time, it is evident that the Rebel army muſt have been exceedingly formidable. *Livy* tells us, that the hiſtorians differ in moſt of the circumſtances of this event.

CHAP. X.

§. 1. Privernum *revolts, but is quickly reduced. The* Samnites *turn their arms once more againſt the* Sidicini, *who being refuſed ſuccour by the* Senate

at Rome, give themſelves to the Latines, *already in arms, to recover their independance. The* Campanians *follow the example of the* Sidicini. *An army formed of theſe three nations enters* Samnium. §. II. *The* Samnites *ſend an embaſſy to the* Republic, *to complain of her ſuffering the* Latines *and* Campanians *to commit hoſtilities in* Samnium. *They receive an unſatisfactory anſwer.* (Alexander *King of* Epirus, *uncle of* Alexander *the Great, comes into* Italy *and concludes a treaty of friendſhip with* Rome.) §. III. *The* Latines *demand of the* Romans *as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations*, that one of the Conſuls and half of the Senate of *Rome* be for the future choſen out of the LATINES. *This demand is rejected, and war is declared.* §. IV. Manlius *and* Decius, *the two* Conſuls, *have one and the ſame dream concerning the event of the war.* §. V. Manlius *cauſes his own ſon to be beheaded, for a breach of diſcipline.* §. VI. *The* Romans *come to a battle with the* Latines. Decius, *to ſecure the victory to his troops, devotes himſelf to death. The* Latines *are totally routed.* Manlius *gives them a ſecond overthrow, after which both they and the* Campanians *ſubmit.* §. VII. *The next year*, T. Æmilius, *the* Patrician Conſul, *being directed by the* Senate *to name a* Dictator, *names* Q. Publilius, *his* Plebeian Collegue; *who obtains ſome new laws in favour of the* Plebeians. §. VIII. *The* Romans *determine the fate of the ſeveral conquered Cities. The* Latines, *from being* Allies, *are made* Subjects *of* Rome.

§. I. THUS was tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in *Rome*; but the condeſcenſions ſhewn to rebels, and the war in which the Republic was engaged with the *Samnites*, occaſioned ſome of her neighbours to quit her alliance. The *Privernates*, in the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Plautius* * *Hipſæus* and *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, were the firſt who by their revolt made it appear that the dread of her power was diminiſhed. However, theſe enemies were eaſily ſubdued by the troops which *Plautius* march'd againſt them. He took *Privernum*, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in it. On the other hand, *Æmilius* ſpread terror in the provinces of the *Samnites*, who were ſo weaken'd by their former loſſes, that they ſuffer'd their lands to be laid waſte without oppoſition, and at length ſued to the *Conſul* for a peace. He referr'd their Deputies to the Senate, of whom they demanded two things; to be admitted into the favour and alliance of the Republic, and to be allowed to make war on the *Sicidini*. Both theſe requeſts were granted, on the *Samnites* giving the *Roman* troops a year's pay, and furniſhing them with three months proviſions.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 42.

Y. of R. 412. Bef. *J. C.* 340. 114 Conſul-p. * A 2d time. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 1.

A peace being thus ſettled with the *Romans*, the *Samnites* turned their arms againſt the *Sidicini*; and theſe in their diſtreſs had recourſe to the Republic for protection, offering to make the ſame ſurrender of themſelves, their country and their liberty, as the People of *Campania* had done before: but the *Conſcript Fathers* refuſed the donation, as made too late, and only when extreme neceſſity forced them to it; upon which they immediately gave themſelves to the *Latines*, who of their own accord had already taken up arms. Nor did the *Campanians* forbear to follow

Y. of *R.* 412. Bef. *J. C.* 340. 114 Conſul-p.

follow the example of the *Latines*, ſo much ſtronger an impreſſion had the injuries done them by the *Samnites* made on their minds, than the benefits received from the *Romans*.

A conſiderable army formed out of theſe three nations, and under the conduct of a *Latine* General, enter'd the territory of *Samnium*, laying waſte all before them; but not being able to bring the *Samnites* to a battle, ſoon retired out of their country.

§. II. THE retreat of the enemy gave the *Samnites* an opportunity of ſending Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, who when admitted by the Senate to an audience, complained of their hard fortune, in that they ſuffered no leſs ſince their alliance with the *Romans*, than they had done when in enmity with them; and humbly prayed, that the *Romans* would be ſatisfied with having ſnatched out of their hands a certain victory over the *Campanians* and *Sidicini*, and not ſuffer them alſo to be ſubdued by thoſe the moſt baſe and cowardly People of all *Italy*. *If the* Latines *and* Campanians, added the Deputies, *are ſubjects to you, why don't you forbid them to enter our country in a hoſtile manner? If they are rebels, why don't you chaſtiſe them?* Theſe queſtions puzzled the Senators, unwilling to own their weakneſs, and that they had no longer power over the *Latines*, and fearing at the ſame time to alienate them entirely by a new provocation. The Conſul *Plautius* therefore in the name of the Senate gave this cautious anſwer: *The* Campanians *are our ſubjects, and we will therefore force them to deſiſt from troubling you: But as for the* Latines, *our Treaty of Alliance with them does not oblige them not to enter into any war without our conſent; and therefore we can promiſe nothing in relation to them:* An anſwer which as it left the *Samnites* in a melancholy uncertainty with relation to the intentions of the Republic, ſo it provoked the *Campanians* by the imperious ſtyle of it; and as for the *Latines*, they grew ſo proud upon it, as to imagine they could now demand nothing which the *Romans* would dare to refuſe them. Under colour of preparing to carry on the war with the *Samnites*, they convened frequent aſſemblies of their Chiefs, where they formed deſigns againſt *Rome*, in all which the *Campanians* took part. But though they endeavoured to keep their conſultations as ſecret as poſſible, the Senate were fully informed of what was doing; and becauſe the impending war ſeemed like to be a long one, the *Fathers* obliged the preſent *Conſuls* to abdicate, reſolving to bring on the election of new ones before the uſual time. But ſome religious ſcruples, concerning the holding the *Comitia* by *Conſuls* depoſed before the expiration of their year, being thrown in the way, the Government was firſt reduced to an *Inter-regnum*, and then the *Centuries* choſe *T. Manlius* * *Torquatus* and *Decius Mus* to be *Conſuls* for the next year.

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p. * A 3d time. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 3.

At this time *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and brother to *Olympias*, the mother of *Alexander the Great*, came into *Italy*, being invited thither by the *Tarentines* to aſſiſt them againſt the *Bruttians*. He had hoped to find as plentiful a harveſt of glory in *Sicily*, *Italy* and *Africa*, as his nephew had

had reaped in *Perſia* and the reſt of *Aſia*. But his ſucceſs was not equal to his expectations*; for tho' he gained ſome ſlight victories over the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians* at his firſt coming, he was forced to ſeek the friendſhip of the more powerful nations of *Italy*, and particularly of the *Romans*, who readily made an alliance of friendſhip with him, it being of more importance to them to ſuppreſs the revolt of the *Latines*, than to protect the *Bruttians* from the *Greeks*. A. of R. 413. Bef. J. C. 339. 115 Conſul-p.

§. III. AND the firſt ſtep the *Conſuls* took in order thereto, was, to cite ten of the chief leaders of the *Latines* to appear at *Rome*, and give an account of the preparations they were making againſt the *Samnites*. The *Latines* had choſen themſelves two *Prætors*, or Preſidents of their great Council (who were likewiſe to be the managers of the war) *L. Annius* and *L. Numicius*, the one a native of *Setia*, the other of *Circeii*, two *Roman* colonies. Theſe men being eſpecially ſummoned by name, aſſembled the Council, acquainted them with the ſummons, pointed out the heads upon which they preſumed their examination would turn, and aſked what anſwer they ſhould make to the *Roman* Senate. The members of the Diet were divided in their opinion; upon which *Annius* in a long harangue laid before them their own ſtrength and flouriſhing condition; the credit they had with their neighbours, ſo as to be able to engage even the *Roman* colonies in their cauſe; the preſent weakneſs of the Republic, ſufficiently diſcovered in the anſwer given by the Senate to the *Samnite* Deputies; and in concluſion exhorted the aſſembly to ſhake off all dependance upon *Rome*, and even to refuſe an alliance with her, unleſs ſhe would conſent that one of her *Conſuls*, and the half of her *Senate* ſhould for the future be choſen out of the *Latines*: And he offered to go in perſon to *Rome*, and make this demand in the preſence of the *Senate* and *People*, and even of *Jupiter Capitolinus* himſelf.

This motion being univerſally applauded, *Annius* with nine more Envoys appear'd ſoon after in preſence of the *Conſcript Fathers* aſſembled in the *Capitol*. The *Conſul Manlius* ſpoke firſt, and in the name of the Senate forbad the *Latines* to make war againſt the *Samnites*. To this *Annius*, more like a conqueror who had taken the *Capitol* by force of arms, than an Ambaſſador protected by the law of nations, anſwer'd, *That the* Romans *had choſen an ill time to give their orders in ſuch an arbitrary manner, when the* Latines *were in nothing inferior to them. That in a union between two nations, where the ſtrength on both ſides was equal, the authority likewiſe ſhould be equally ſhared*; and then he made the demand before mentioned: which ſo highly provoked the *Conſul*, a man no leſs haughty and paſſionate than the *Latine Prætor*, that not being able to contain his anger, he loudly declared, *That if the Conſcript Fathers ſhould*

* *Aulus Gellius* (B. 17. ch. 21.) tells us, that this Prince uſed to ſay, that the country he propoſed to conquer was a country of *Men*; whereas the provinces which his nephew *Alexander* went to ſubdue were inhabited by *Women* only.

Y. of R. 413. Bef. J. C. 339. 115 Conſul. p.

ever fall into ſuch a madneſs, as to receive the law from a Citizen of Setia, *he would himſelf enter the Senate-houſe ſword in hand, and kill every* Latine *he ſhould find there.* Then turning to the ſtatue of *Jupiter*, he invoked the God to be witneſs of the pride and ingratitude of the *Latines*. The reſt of the Senators joined their exclamations full of diſdain to thoſe of the *Conſul*; while *Annius*, as ſome ſay, in return to their repeated invocations of the Gods, who had been witneſſes of the leagues and treaties between the Republic and the *Latines*, raiſed his voice, and ſcoffed at the *Roman Jupiter*. Certain it is, that he left the Senate-houſe in a rage, and retired with ſuch precipitation, that ſtumbling at the threſhold of the door he fell from the top of the ſteps to the bottom, and for ſome time lay ſenſeleſs. *Manlius* coming out of the aſſembly to diſmiſs the Ambaſſadors, and ſeeing *Annius* lying ſtretched on the ground, cried out, *Happy omen for the war we are going to begin! Can we any longer doubt whether there be a God that governs the world? or whether we have reaſon to dedicate this Temple to* Jupiter? *Why do we delay one moment to take arms, after ſo happy an Augury, ſo plain a declaration of the will of the Gods? I will hereafter lay the* Latine *Troops as low, as you ſee here one of their Commanders.* Theſe words were highly applauded by the People, in whom they raiſed ſuch a ſpirit, that the care of the Magiſtrates, rather than any regard to the law of Nations, preſerved the Ambaſſadors from being inſulted at their departure. Inſtantly the Senate paſs'd a decree for a war with the *Latines*, which the People ratified in their *Comitia*. Then the two *Conſuls* raiſed two armies, conſiſting entirely of *Romans*; becauſe they were now going to engage with their old allies, and their uſual companions in victory.

Livy, B. 8. ch. 6.

§. IV. MANLIUS and DECIUS march'd into *Campania*, and encamp'd near the enemy at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*. The night before the battle, which ſoon followed, they are ſaid to have both dreamt the ſame dream. A man of a gigantic ſtature and majeſtic look appeared to them, and told them, *That the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whoſe General ſhould devote himſelf to the* Dii Manes. As ſoon as it was day the Generals communicated their dreams to each other; and the *Aruſpices* being conſulted, pretended to make ſuch diſcoveries in the entrails of the victims, as confirmed the dreams. Upon this it was agreed in a council of war, that *Manlius* ſhould command the right wing, and *Decius* the left; and that he whoſe troops ſhould firſt give way, ſhould ruſh into the midſt of the enemy's battalions, and devote himſelf to certain death to ſave his country.

§. V. IN the ſame council of war it was determin'd, that the ancient ſtrict diſcipline ſhould be obſerved, and that no officer or ſoldier ſhould dare to fight with the enemy out of his rank; and this was proclaimed through all the camp; a precaution extremely neceſſary at this time, when the *Romans* were at war with the *Latines*, with whom they were perſonally acquainted (having often ſerved together) who ſpoke the ſame language, were arm'd after the ſame manner, and obſerv'd the ſame way

of fighting, and of marshalling their troops. It happened soon after, that young *Manlius*, the *Consul*'s son, being at the head of a detachment of horse, met an advanced squadron of the enemy, whose Commander knowing him, challenged him to single combat. *Manlius*, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late order of the Generals, accepted the challenge, kill'd his adversary, stript him of his armour, and, loaded with the glorious spoils, came strait to his father's tent. *Father*, said he, *I have followed your example, and proved myself your son: I was challenged, like you, by an enemy to single combat; I have slain him, and I here lay his spoils at your feet.* The *Consul* hearing these words, turned his back upon his son, ordered the troops to be assembled, and then in their presence made him this reply: *Since you*, Titus Manlius, *in contempt of the Consular Dignity and the Authority of a Father, and in contradiction to my express orders have been so rash as to leave your rank to fight the enemy; since you have destroyed, as far as in you lay, that Military Discipline which has been hitherto the support of the* Roman *People, and reduced me to the hard necessity of forgetting my self and mine, or the regard I owe to the publick interest,* Rome *must not suffer the punishment of your fault; we must expiate it ourselves. A sad example shall we be, but a wholesom one to the youth of the* Roman *Soldiery. As for me, both the innate affection of a Father for a Son, and that specimen which thou, deceived by a vain appearance of honour, hast given of thy valour, move me exceedingly: But since either the* Consular *Authority must be established by thy death, or quite destroyed by thy impunity, I cannot think, if there be any of the* Manlian *blood in thee, thou wilt be backward to repair the breach thou hast made in the Military Discipline, by undergoing the punishment due to thy offence.* This said, he order'd * the *Lictors* to tie him to a stake and strike off his head. All present were stunn'd at the cruel sentence, as if it had been pronounced against themselves; and if they continued quiet, it was more out of fear than modesty. But no sooner was the young man beheaded, and his blood seen to gush out, than they recover'd themselves, and vented their anger in imprecations and invectives against their General. They cover'd the body of the young man with the spoils of the enemy he had vanquished, and express'd their affection by the most pompous obsequies they could perform for him in the field. This severity of *Manlius* however made his army wonderfully tractable for the future, and strictly observant of discipline, which proved of great moment in the general engagement with the enemy a few days after.

V. of R. 413. Bef. J. C. 339. 115 Consul-p.

Livy, B. 8.

§. VI. THE *Romans* on a day of battle drew up their soldiers in three lines, distinguish'd by the names of the HASTATI, the PRINCIPES, and the TRIARII.

The HASTATI, who composed the first line, had their name from the javelins called *Hastæ* which they bore.

* According to *Zonaras*, B. 7. *Manlius* first crowned his son as a Victor.

The

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p. *Varro*, B. 4. de Ling. Lat.

The PRINCIPES, who made the ſecond line, were ſo call'd becauſe originally they were placed in the front of the battle, and *began* * the attack; and in thoſe times they were generally the richeſt and the nobleſt of the *Roman* youth. They fought with ſwords.

The TRIARII were ſo named becauſe they made the *Third* line. They were commonly veterans, or hardy old ſoldiers, the main ſtrength and hopes of their party. They bore the javelin called *Pilum*, whence they had the name of *Pilani Milites*; and for the ſame reaſon the ſoldiers of the two lines *before* them had that of *Antepilani* †.

Originally

* Mr. *Kennet* thinks it probable, that this was before the inſtitution of the *Haſtati*.

† How differently ſoever the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii* might be arm'd in theſe times, they afterwards bore much the ſame arms; and therefore *Polybius* has not divided them in his deſcription, but ſpeaks of them all together.

In *Polybius*'s time, a Legion of 4000 men had 600 *Triarii*, 1200 *Principes*, and as many *Haſtati*; the reſt were VELITES. If the Legion happen'd to be more numerous, each of the three laſt corps was increaſed in proportion, but the TRIARII never exceeded 600.

The VELITES were commonly young men of mean condition; they had their name *à Volando*, or *à Velocitate*, from their ſwiftneſs or expedition. They hover'd in looſe order before the army. Their arms were

The *Spaniſh Sword*, which the *Romans* thought of the beſt ſhape and temper, and fitteſt for execution, being ſomething like the *Turkiſh* Scymitar, but more ſharp at the point. The ſoldiers wore it on their right ſide.

Haſtæ, or light and ſlender javelins. Each man had ſeven.

Parma, a kind of round buckler 3 foot in diameter, of wood cover'd with leather.

Galerus, a light caſque for their head, generally made of the ſkin of ſome wild beaſt.

The arms of the HASTATI, PRINCIPES, and TRIARII (beſide the ſword abovementioned) were the *Scutum*, the *Pilum*, the *Galea*, and the *Lorita*.

* *Plut.* in *Mar.* The *Scutum* was a buckler of wood, the parts being joined together with little plates of iron, and the whole cover'd with a bull's hide. An iron plate went about it without to keep off blows, and another within to hinder it from taking any damage by lying on the ground. In the middle was an iron Boſs or *Umbo* jutting out, very ſerviceable to glance off ſtones and darts, and ſometimes to preſs violently upon the enemy, and drive all before them. They are to be diſtinguiſh'd from the *Clypei*, which were leſs, and quite round, belonging more properly to other nations, tho' for ſome little time uſed by the *Romans*. The *Scuta* themſelves were of two kinds; the *Ovata* and the *Imbricata*; the former is a plain oval figure, the other oblong, and bending inward like half a cylinder. *Polybius* makes the *Scuta* four foot long, and *Plutarch* * calls them ποδηρεις, *reaching down to the Feet*. And 'tis very probable that they cover'd almoſt the whole body, ſince in *Livy* ‡ we meet with ſoldiers who ſtood on the guard, ſometimes ſleeping with their head on their ſhield, having fix'd the other part of it on the earth.

The *Pilum* was a miſſive weapon, which in a charge they darted at the enemy. It was commonly four-ſquare, but ſometimes round, compoſed of a piece of wood about three cubits long, and a ſlip of iron of the ſame length, hooked and jagged at the end. They took abundance of care in joining the two parts together, and did it ſo artificially, that 'twould ſooner break in the iron itſelf than in the joint. Every man had two of theſe *Pila*; and this number the Poets allude to:

Bina manu lato criſpans haſtilia ferro.
VIRG. *Æn.* i. 317.

Quæ duo ſola manu geſtans acclivia monti
Fixerat, intorquet jacula ——
STATIUS *Theb.* 2.

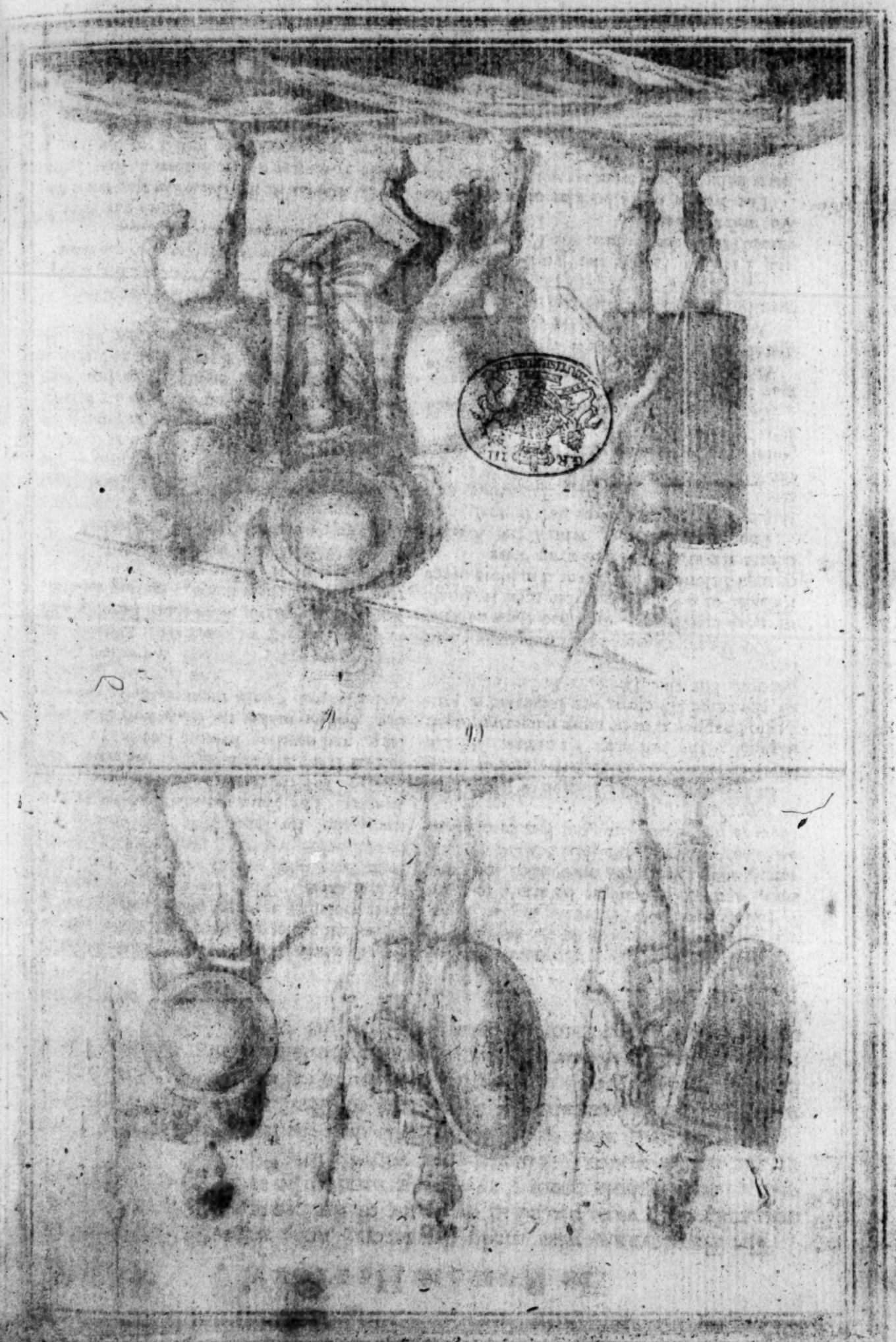
* *C. Marius* in the *Cimbrian* war contrived theſe *Pila* after a new faſhion; for before where the wood was join'd to the iron, it was made faſt with two iron pins; now *Marius* let one of them alone as it was, and

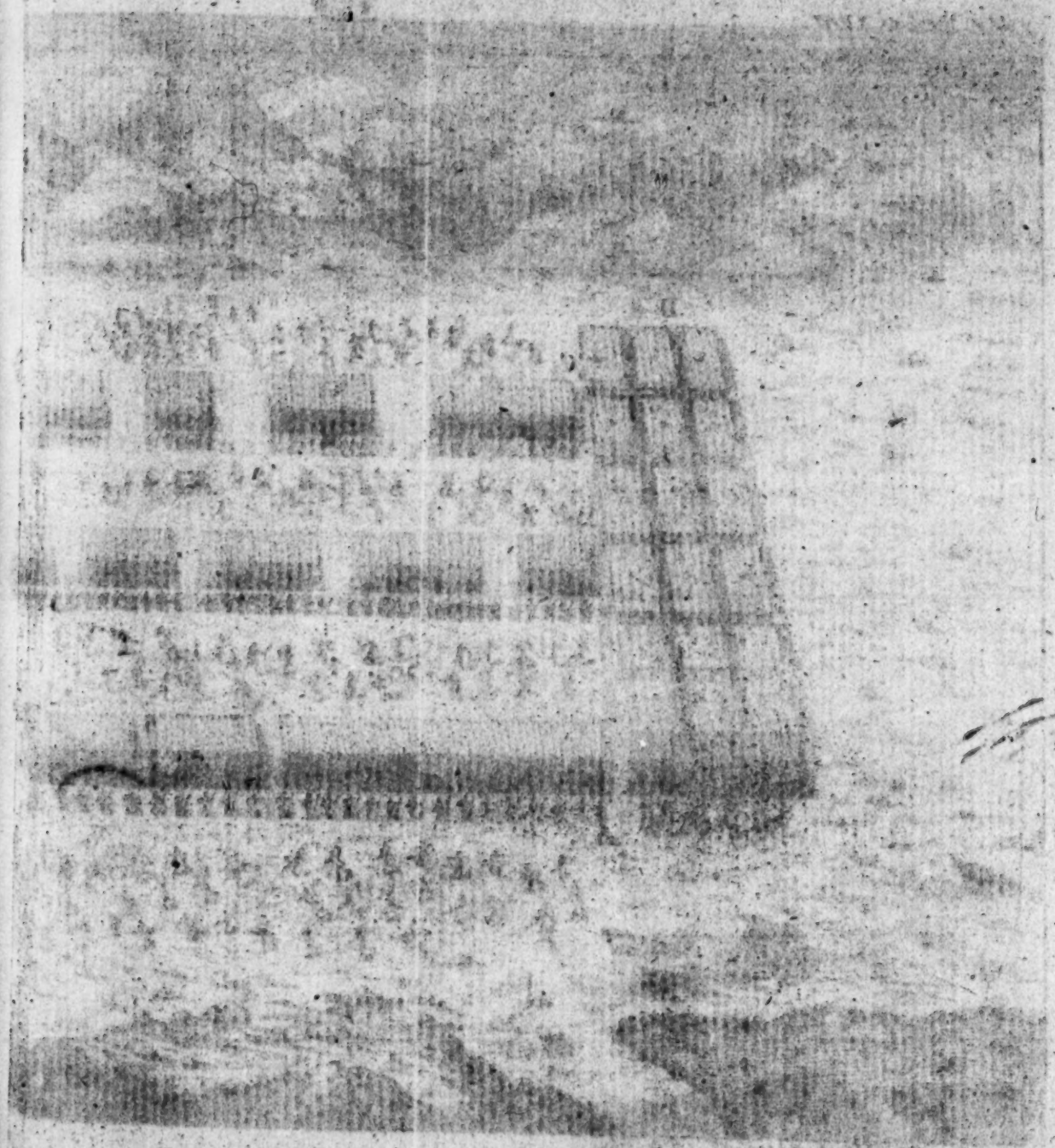
† *Plut.* in *P. Æmil.* ‡ B. 44.

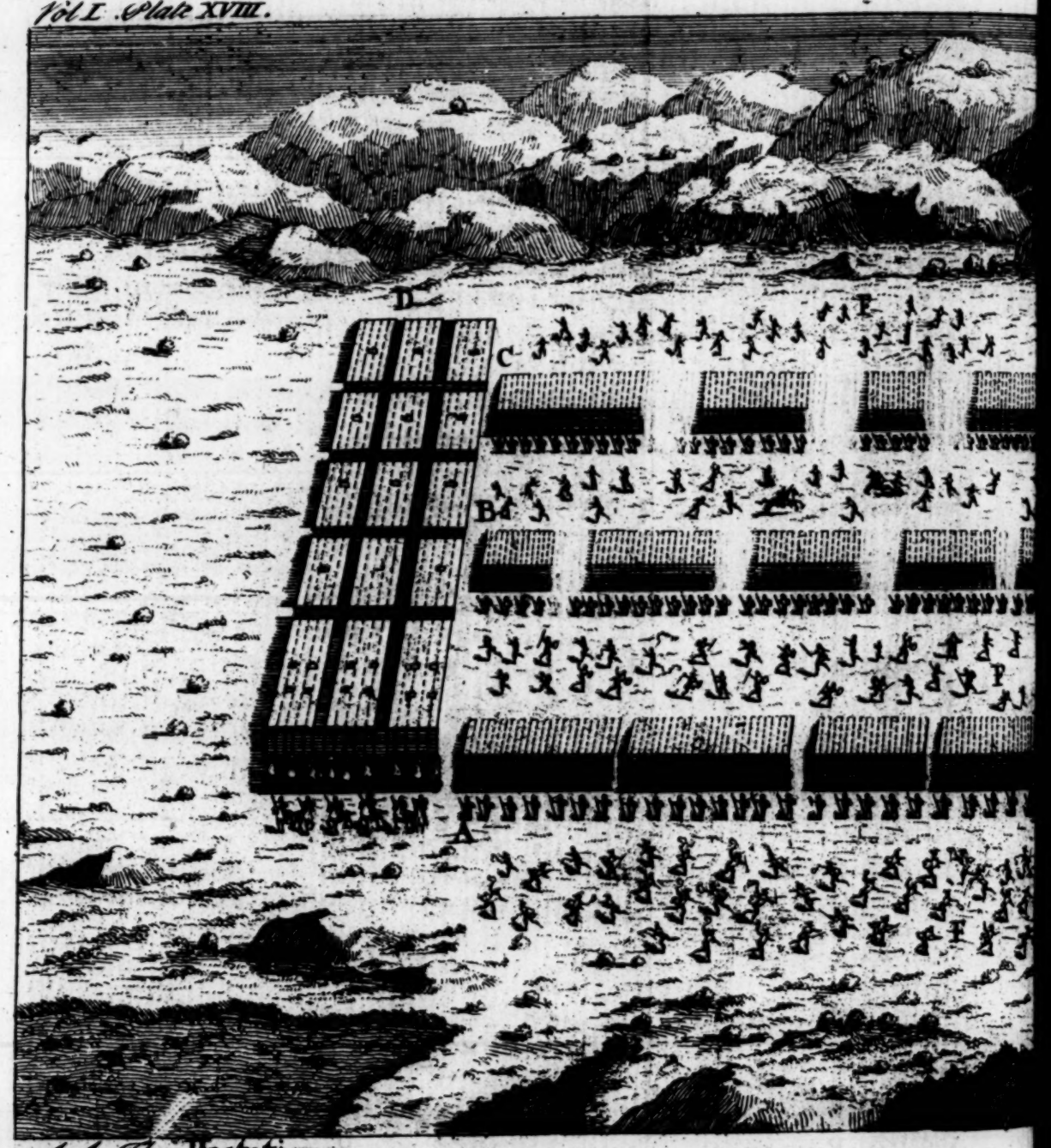
pulling



The different sorts of Roman *Bucklers.*

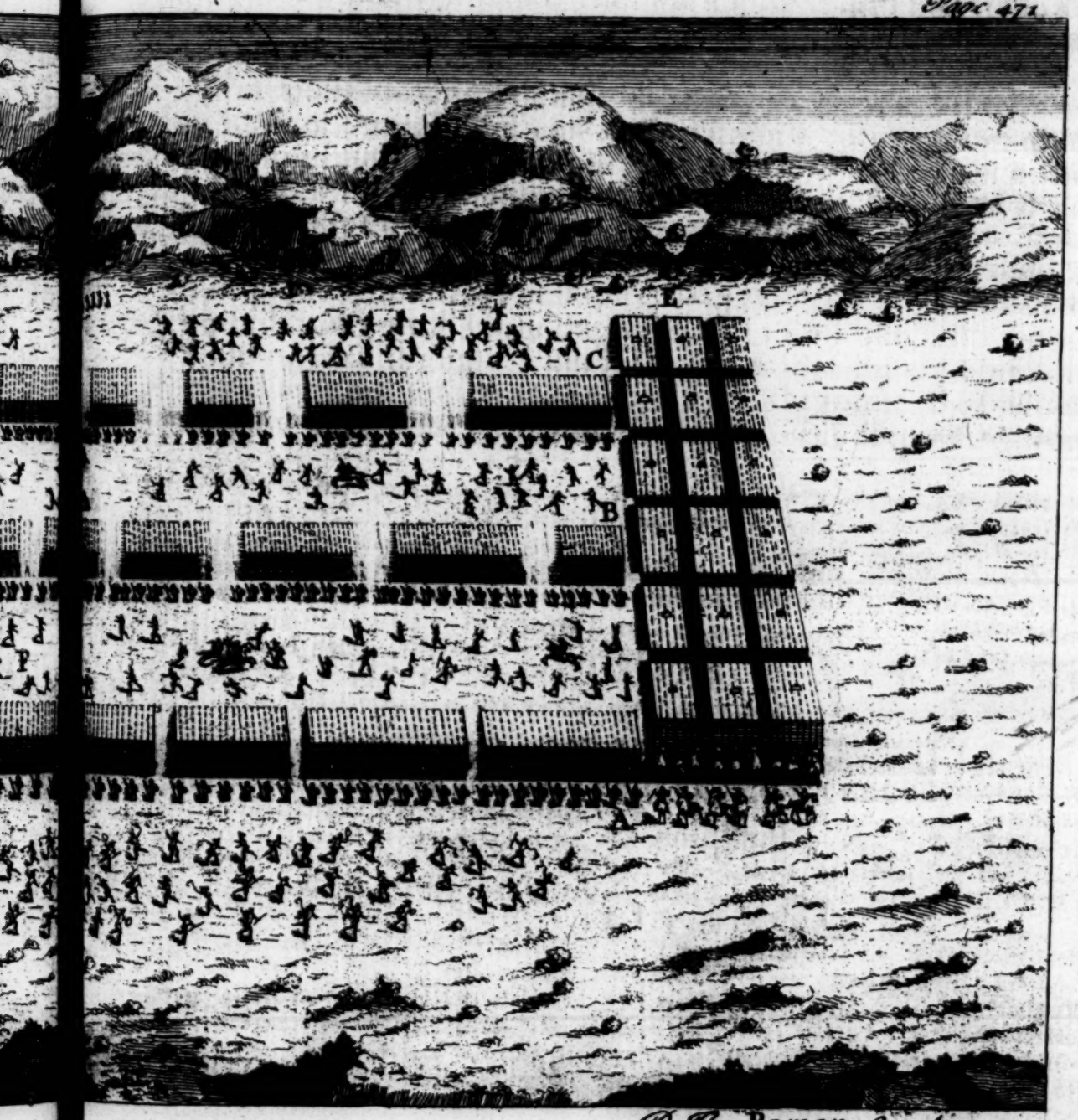






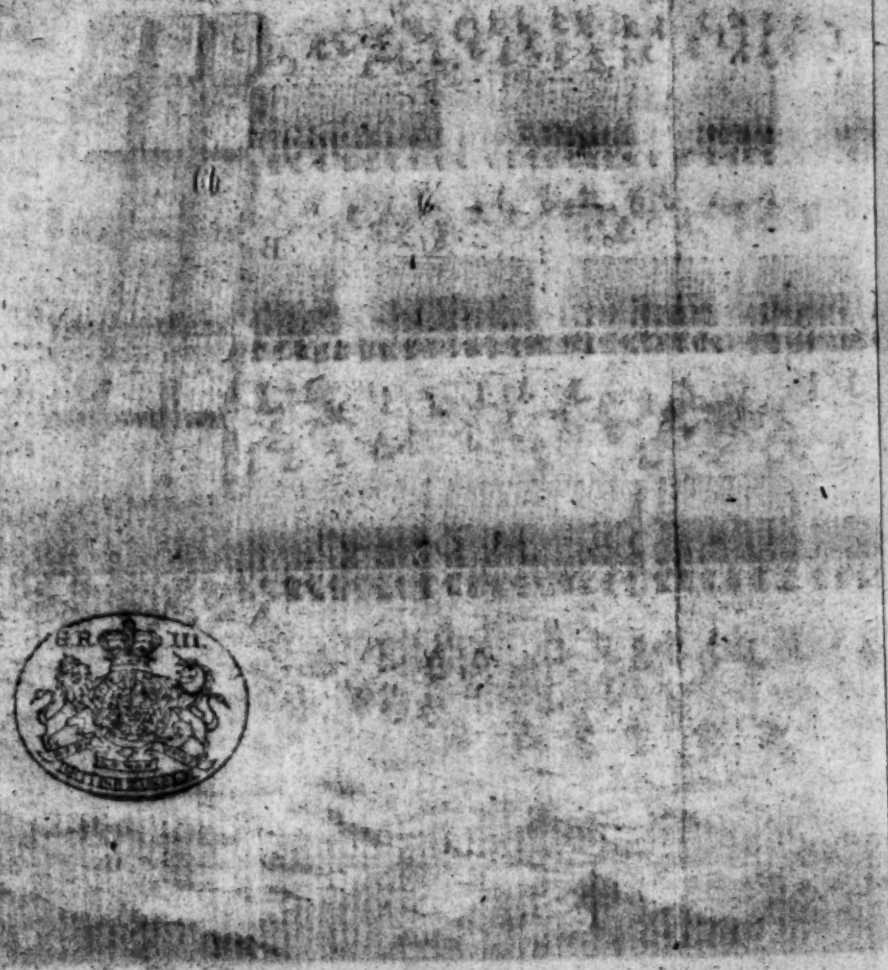
AA. The Hastati.
B.B. The Principes.
CC. The Triarii.

A. Roman *Army dra*[illegible] *up in*



...drawn up in Battalia.

D. The Roman Cavalry.
E. The Cavalry of y^e Auxiliaries.
FFFF. Light-armed Soldiers.



GR III.
BRITISH MUSEUM

Originally each of these three lines was entire, there were no breaks or intervals between the *Manipuli* or companies that compoſed it; nor were there any void ſpaces left between the lines, ſo that the whole body of infantry was cloſe and compact, like the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J.C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p.

But at the time of this war of the *Romans* with the *Latines*, the method of marſhalling the troops was different.

Between the firſt and ſecond lines was a ſpace of fifty foot; and the TRIARII were drawn up at the diſtance of an hundred foot behind the PRINCIPES. *Juſtus Lipſius* de Mil. Rom. B. 4. c. 1.

And as ſpaces were left between the lines, ſo likewiſe between the MANIPULI, or companies of each line. But theſe openings were not ſo diſpoſed, as to yield a *direct* paſſage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear. The *Manipuli* of the ſecond line ſtood behind the openings* of the firſt, and the *Manipuli* of the third behind thoſe of the ſecond, ſo that the order of the whole reſembled that of a *Quincunx*.

When the HASTATI happened to be overpower'd, they retired ſoftly toward the PRINCIPES, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and together with them renewed the fight. But if the PRINCIPES and the HASTATI thus joined were too weak to ſuſtain the fury of the battle, they all fell back into the wider intervals of the TRIARII; and then all together

pulling out the other, put a weak wooden peg in its place; contriving it ſo, that when 'twas ſtuck in the enemies ſhield, it ſhould not ſtand out-right as formerly; but the wooden peg breaking, the iron ſhould bend, and ſo the javelin ſticking faſt by its crooked point, ſhould weigh down the ſhield.

The *Galea* was a Head-piece, or Morrion, coming down to the ſhoulders, commonly of braſs.

The *Lorica* was a Brigandine, or Coat of Mail, generally made of leather, and work'd over with little hooks of iron, and ſometimes adorn'd with ſmall *ſcales* of thin gold; as we find in *Virgil*;

Loricam conſertam hamis. Æn. iii. 467.

And,

Nec duplici ſquamâ lorica fidelis & auro.
Æn. ix. 707.

Sometimes the *Loricæ* were a ſort of Linen Caſſocks, ſuch as *Suetonius* attributes to *Galba*, and like that of *Alexander* in *Plutarch*; or thoſe of the *Spaniſh* troops deſcribed by *Polybius* in his account of the battle of *Cannæ*.

The poorer ſoldiers, who were rated under a thouſand Drachms, inſtead of this Brigandine, wore a *Pectorale* or breaſt-plate of thin braſs about twelve fingers ſquare; and this, with what have been already deſcribed, render'd them compleatly armed; unleſs we add the *Ocreæ*, or Greaves, which they wore on their legs; which perhaps they borrowed (as many other cuſtoms) from the *Grecians*, ſo well known by the title of —ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ.

In the elder times of the *Romans*, their horſe uſed only a round ſhield, with a helmet on their head, and a couple of javelins in their hands, great part of their body being left without defence. But as ſoon as they found the great inconveniencies to which they were hereby expoſed, they began to arm themſelves like the *Grecian* Horſe, or much like their own Foot, only their ſhield was a little ſhorter and ſquarer, and their lance or javelin thicker, with ſpikes at each end, that if one miſcarried, the other might be ſerviceable. *Kenn.* Antiq. P. II. B. IV. Ch. IX.

* Tho' *Livy* ſpeaks on this occaſion of ſpaces between the *Manipuli* of the firſt line [*Manipuli diſtantes inter ſe modicum ſpatium*] there appears no reaſon for them, unleſs we are to ſuppoſe that certain light-arm'd ſoldiers, of whom he tells us every *Manipulus* of the firſt line had twenty, advanced before the line to ſkirmiſh (as the *Velites* afterwards uſed to do) and that thoſe openings were left for them to retire into, after they had made that charge in their looſe manner. He ſays, they bore a javelin to fight with in cloſe combat, and ſeveral of a lighter ſort to dart againſt the enemy at a diſtance.

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 349. 115 Conſul-p.

being united into a firm maſs, they made another effort much more impetuous than any before: If this aſſault proved ineffectual, the day was entirely loſt as to the Foot, there being no farther reſerves *.

Livy ſpeaks of the RORARII and the ACCENSI, as two corps of troops that were a kind of ſupernumeraries to the TRIARII, but not ſoldiers equal to them for ſtrength or courage.

In the middle of the ſpace between the PRINCIPES and the TRIARII, where ſtood the *Roman* Eagles, the Conſuls and Lieutenant Generals took their poſts. Behind the Generals, the TRIARII (while the *Haſtati* and *Principes* were fighting) kept firm with their right knees on the ground, their great bucklers on their ſhoulders, and reſting themſelves on their ſpears, which, pointing upwards, form'd a kind of Paliſade before them.

As for the *Roman* Cavalry, they were always poſted at the two corners of the army, like wings on a body, and fought ſometimes on foot and ſometimes on horſeback, like our Dragoons. At this time they were not numerous in the *Roman* army, there being but 300 to a Legion of 5000 Foot. The forces of the preſent Conſuls conſiſted of four ſuch Legions and 1200 Horſe.

The *Latine* troops being drawn up in the ſame manner with the *Romans*, it was probable that the ſeveral Officers of the two armies would encounter each other; and *Livy* tells us, that the *Romans*, not being men of ſo much bodily ſtrength as the *Latines*, the Centurions of the *Roman* Legions obtain'd leave of the Conſuls to have each of them a *Sub-centurion* to defend and aſſiſt him.

The Conſuls *Manlius* and *Decius*, before they drew their troops out of their camp, offer'd ſacrifice to the Gods. The *Haruſpex* is ſaid to have ſhew'd to *Decius* the liver of his victim wounded in the inner ſide (a bad omen for him) but to have declared, that the ſacrifice was in all other repects acceptable to the Gods; and that as to *Manlius*, the ſigns were all as favourable as could be wiſh'd. *Decius* anſwer'd, that he was well ſatisfied, provided his Collegue had ſucceſs.

When the day of battle came, *Manlius* commanded the right wing, *Decius* the left. It was fought on both ſides at firſt with equal ſtrength and courage; but at length the *Roman Haſtati* of the left wing were forced to give ground, and retire into the intervals of the *Principes*. This diſadvantage put *Decius* in mind of his agreement with his Collegue on occaſion of their dreams. He call'd out therefore to *Valerius* the *Pontifex Maximus*, to perform on him the ceremony of Conſecration, in order to

* The ſtratagem of rallying thus by means of theſe openings in the lines, has been reckoned almoſt the whole art and ſecret of the *Roman* diſcipline, and it was almoſt impoſſible it ſhould prove unſucceſsful, if duly obſerved: For fortune, in every engagement, muſt have failed them three ſeveral times, before they could be routed; and the enemy muſt have had the ſtrength and reſolution to overcome them in three ſeveral encounters for the deciſion of one battle; whereas moſt other nations, and even the *Grecians* themſelves, drawing up their whole army as it were in one front, truſted themſelves and their fortunes to the ſucceſs of a ſingle charge. *Kennet*'s Antiq. Part II. Book IV. Ch. X.

his

his *Devotement* to death to ſave his Legions. *Valerius* commanded him to put on his Purple Robe, (or *Prætexta*) cover his head, put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and then ſtanding with both his feet upon his javelin repeat after him the following words: "O *Janus Jupi-*
"*ter*, Father *Mars*, *Quirinus*, *Bellona*; O ye *Lares*, ye * *Novenſiles*, ye
"Deified † Heroes, ye Gods who have power over us and our enemies,
"ye Gods of Hell, I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you
"to proſper the arms of the *Roman* People, and to ſtrike their enemies
"with terror, affright, and death; and I do for the ſafety of the *Roman*
"People and their Legions *devote* my ſelf, and with my ſelf, the Legions
"and Auxiliaries of our enemies, to the Infernal Gods and the Goddeſs
"of the Earth."

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J.C.* 349. 115 Conſul-p.

† *Indigites.*

Decius having made this prayer, order'd his *Lictors* to go in all haſte, and tell his Collegue *Manlius*, that he had *devoted* himſelf for the ſafety of the *Roman* army. Then tucking up his robe, and girding it about him, he mounted his horſe and rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemies battalions. *Livy* ſays, that at firſt they were terrified at the ſight of him, and ſeemed as if they were planet-ſtruck; and that he was no ſooner fallen to the ground with numberleſs wounds, than the *Latine* Cohorts all around him diſperſed themſelves § and fled. As for the *Haſtati* and *Principes* of the *Roman* left wing, they now renewed the charge with more reſolution than ever; and they were ſtrengthened by the *Rorarii*, who came and joined them in the attack. The *Triarii* ſtill waited with their right knees on the ground, till the ſign ſhould be made for them to riſe.

When the news was brought to *Manlius* of his Collegue's death, he ſhed ſome tears, giving him the praiſes he deſerv'd. And now as the *Latines* had the advantage in ſeveral parts of the battle, he doubted a while whether he ſhould order the *Triarii* to riſe; but judging it better to reſerve them to the laſt extremity, he commanded the *Accenſi* ‖ from the rear of all to advance to the aſſiſtance of the *Haſtati* and *Principes*. The *Latines* taking thoſe freſh troops to be the *Roman Triarii*, inſtantly order'd their own *Triarii* to the charge, and this proved the loſs of the battle to the *Latines*; For when they had wearied themſelves, and broken or blunted their weapons in repulſing the *Romans* once more, and when, after they had repulſed what they fancied to be the laſt reſerve of their

* Nine Deities, according to *Varro*, brought to *Rome* by the *Sabines*; viz. *Lara*, *Veſta*, *Minerva*, *Feronia*, *Concord*, *Good Faith*, *Fortune*, *Chaſte*, *Health*. Some take them to be the nine Muſes.

§ *Cicero* (B. 3. de Nat. Deor.) derides that ſuperſtitious credulity, which aſcribed ſuch wonderful effects to theſe *Devotements*. He could not conceive how men of ſenſe could form to themſelves any ſuch beings as miſchievous Gods, who thirſted after human blood. So that he looked on theſe voluntary *Devotements* as no more at bottom than heroic acts of valour, or the laſt efforts of Generals, who, when their troops were diſheartened and broken, threw themſelves into the midſt of the enemy's battalions, in order to engage their ſoldiers to follow them.

‖ Father *Renilli* on this occaſion ſpeaks of the *Accenſi*, as light arm'd ſoldiers, who fought with ſlings; but if ſo, how could the *Latines* miſtake them for the *Roman Triarii*?

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p.

enemies, they thought themſelves ſure of the victory, the *Roman Triarii* by order of *Manlius* appeared on a ſudden, as if they had ſtarted out of the ground. Their arms were ſhining and their ſtrength entire. Having received the *Haſtati* and *Principes* into the intervals of their ranks, they firſt gave a ſhout, that diſmayed the enemy, and then fell upon them with ſuch fury, and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that ſcarce a fourth part of the *Latine* army remained alive.

The *Samnites*, for whoſe ſake this battle was fought, continued all the time at a diſtance, but within ſight, drawn up in Battalia at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*, and only ſerved to keep the *Latines* a little in fear. The chief honour of the victory undoubtedly belonged to *Manlius*, both *Latines* and *Romans* agreeing afterwards in this, that the former would have conquered had *Manlius* been their General.

Thoſe of the *Latines* who eſcaped the ſlaughter fled in diſorder to *Minturnæ*, a little above the mouth of the *Liris*, where *Numicius* their General exhorted and encouraged them to try the fortune of arms once more with the *Romans*; and his motion was approved. In order to get an augmentation of his troops, he artfully cauſed letters to be ſpread about in *Latium* and the country of the *Volſci*, repreſenting the flight of the *Latines* as only an honourable retreat, and by this means he drew many to his camp, who had not aſſiſted at the late action; and having thus haſtily formed a new army, he marched immediately away, taking the road to *Capua*. *Manlius*, informed of the enemy's motions, met them in their march, gave them another overthrow, and then enter'd *Latium* to lay it waſte. He met with no reſiſtance; the *Latine* towns ſurrender'd at diſcretion, as did *Privernum* in the territory of the *Volſci*. *Campania* was likewiſe totally brought into ſubjection to its former maſters. The *Conſul* diſpoſſeſſed the *Campanians*, *Latines*, and *Privernates* of their eſtates, and diſtributed them among the Commons of *Rome*. However, the *Latines* and *Campanians* were not all deprived of their eſtates without diſtinction. The *Laurentini* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian* Knights to the number of ſixteen hundred, had not been concerned in the revolt; and they were therefore continued in their poſſeſſions and privileges; nay, the latter were made *Citizens* of *Rome*, but without right of ſuffrage; and an annual penſion, to the value of near thirty ſhillings, was aſſigned each of them out of the publick revenues of *Campania*.

Faſt. Capit.

Manlius had deſerved the honours of a Triumph, and doubtleſs he obtained them: But he could not recover the good will of the *Roman* youth, who bore him an implacable hatred for his ſeverity. It is not improbable that his uneaſineſs on this account had an effect upon his health, for he ſoon after fell ſick; and as a *Roman* General was wanted in the field, to oppoſe ſome freſh incurſions of the *Antiates*, he named to the Dictatorſhip *L. Papirius Craſſus*, who appointed *L. Papirius Curſor* to be his *Maſter of the Horſe*. The *Dictator* kept his troops ſome months in the field at free quarter, and then returned to *Rome* to preſide at the election of new *Conſuls*.

§. VII.

§. VII. IT had been cuſtomary, for ſome time paſt, to obſerve the law which directed to chuſe one of the two *Conſuls* out of the *Plebeians*; and now *Q. Publilius*, a *Plebeian*, was joined with *Tib. Æmilius*, a *Patrician*, in the Government. The former proving ſucceſsful in an expedition againſt a body of *Latines* (rebelling on account of their lands being taken from them) who had got together near *Ferentinum*, obtained the honours of a Triumph. Upon which *Æmilius*, jealous of his Collegue's glory, demanded the ſame honours, as the reward for ſome advantage he had gained over another body of *Latines* aſſembled at *Pedum*, though he had not finiſhed his expedition; but the *Conſcript Fathers* abſolutely refuſed his requeſt, till he ſhould take that place either by ſurrender or aſſault, a refuſal ſo highly reſented by *Æmilius*, that never did any *Tribune of the People* inveigh more bitterly againſt the Nobility, than the *Patrician Conſul* did on this occaſion. The ſubject of his ſeditious harangues was the unequal diſtribution the Senate had made of the Lands in *Latium*; and he began to raiſe a diſturbance. The Senate, to put an end to it, order'd him to name a *Dictator*, under pretence of carrying on the war more vigorouſly with the *Latines*. *Æmilius* obey'd, but at the ſame time revenged himſelf on the *Conſcript Fathers*, by nominating his *Plebeian* Collegue *Publilius*, who appointed *Brutus Scæva*, another *Plebeian*, to be his *General of the Horſe*. The *Dictator* being a man entirely devoted to the People, immediately ſeized this favourable opportunity to eſtabliſh their rights on a ſolid foundation, and even to extend their privileges. And theſe things he effected, firſt, by reviving an old law paſs'd in the year 304, but ſince neglected, That the Decrees made by the Commons, at the requeſt of their Tribunes, ſhould be obſerved by all the ſubjects of the Republic in general, and not by the Commons only; ſecondly, by a new law, That for the future the laws which were to be paſs'd by the *Centuries* ſhould be firſt approved by the Senate before they were brought to the *Comitia*, whereas hitherto the *Comitia* uſed to paſs the laws firſt, and the Senate had a power of accepting or rejecting them; and thirdly, by getting it enacted, *That one of the* Cenſors *ſhould always for the future be* Plebeian.

A. of *R.* 414. Bef. *J. C.* 338. 116 Conſul p.

The Senate, who were much mortified at this downfal of the *Patricians*, reſolved to revenge themſelves on *Æmilius*; and, knowing how tender he was of his honour, attacked him on that ſide. To ſhew the *Romans* how negligently he had conducted himſelf in the diſcharge of the commiſſion he had received to finiſh the *Latine* war, they order'd the new *Conſuls*, *L. Furius Camillus*, grandſon of the Great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a *Plebeian*, to undertake the ſame enterprize, and to lay ſiege to *Pedum*. And that the Generals might not be foil'd in the attempt, they plentifully furniſh'd them with men, ammunition, arms, and proper engines. Upon the report of *Camillus*'s march to beſiege *Pedum*, the forces of *Tybur*, *Præneſte*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, *Velitræ*, and *Antium* haſten'd to relieve the place; but theſe troops were defeated, and *Camillus* the ſame day took the town by aſſault. The *Conſuls* having finiſhed the war, and

Livy, B. 8. ch. 13.

Y. of *R.* 415. Bef. *J. C.* 337. 117 Conſul-p.

Y. of *R.* 415 totally ſubdued *Latium*, returned to *Rome*, where they not only had the
Bef. *J.C.* 337. honours of a Triumph, but, by order of the Republic, two *Equeſtrian*
117 Conſul-p. ſtatues erected for them in the *Forum*.

And now the great affair in the Senate was to determine the fate of the conquer'd. *Camillus*, in his harangue upon this occaſion, told the *Fathers*, that the ſucceſs of their arms againſt the *Latines* had been ſuch, that it now depended on their pleaſure *whether* LATIUM *ſhould be any more*; but that it deſerved their conſideration, whether it would not be of greater advantage to the Republic to ſhew mercy to the conquer'd, and admit them to the privileges of *Roman Citizens*, thereby increaſing the number of her ſubjects, than utterly to exterminate them, and reduce their country to a deſert. The *Conſul* declared himſelf for the firſt, and the *Conſcript Fathers* in general were inclined to clemency: But as ſome of the *Latine* Cities had been more criminal than others, they made a diſtinction in their treatment of them. *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, were made *Roman* * *Municipia*; their ſoldiers were to be incorporated in the *Legions*, and to be no longer upon the foot of *Auxiliaries*. *Tuſculum* had had the ſame privilege before, and it was now confirm'd. But *Velitræ* was razed, and its Senate and inhabitants baniſh'd to another city, beyond the *Tyber*, becauſe it had often rebell'd ſince it was made a *Roman Colony* (in the year 261.) *Antium* was not deſtroy'd; the *Antiates* were granted the freedom of *Roman Citizens*; but they were forbidden the ſea; and their fleet, conſiſting of ſix † Gallies, was partly burnt and partly carried away into the *Roman* ports. With the braſs *Beaks* [*Roſtra*] of theſe veſſels the *Conſul Mænius* adorned the Pulpit from whence the *Roman* Magiſtrates harangued the People, and hence it was ever after call'd the *Roſtra*. The inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneſte* were deprived of all their lands, for having formerly aſſiſted the *Gauls*; and laſtly, all the *Latines* in general were forbidden to aſſemble their Diets as formerly; to marry out of their reſpective cities; or to have common markets or fairs for trade.

† *Flor.* B. 1. ch. 11. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 14.

As for *Cumæ* and *Sueſſula*, and the other cities of *Campania*, they were treated as *Capua* had been, i. e. their lands were all taken from them and divided among the *Romans*. Thus a three year's war was ended in the ſubduing of two fine countries to the Republic; and the *Latines* from being the *Allies* of *Rome*, became her *Subjects*.

* The privileges granted by the *Romans* to the Municipal Towns were more or leſs, according to the ſervices they had done the Republic. The Citizens of ſome *Municipia* had only the *Title* of *Roman* Citizens. Others enjoyed all the privileges properly belonging to that title. They were enrolled in the Tribes, had a right of ſuffrage, could ſtand candidates for offices, and ſerved in the army upon the foot of Legionaries.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

§. I. PUBLILIUS, *tho' a* Plebeian, *obtains the* PRÆTORSHIP; *ſo that all the great Dignities in the State, except thoſe of the Prieſthood, are now common to the two Orders.*

From this year 416, *to the year* 425, *the moſt memorable events are,* The *invention of Moveable Towers and Cover'd Galleries, by the* Conſul Atilius Regulus (*in the year* 418) *at the ſiege of* Cale, *the chief City of the* Auſones, *allies of the* Sidicini. *The Republic's changing the cuſtom of raiſing a new army upon every change of* Conſuls. *The reduction of the* Sidicini (*probably in* 420.) *The addition of* 2 *new Tribes* (*in* 421) *to the* 27 *old ones. A plot formed* (*in* 422) *by ſome hundreds of* Roman *Women to poiſon their Husbands. The revolt of* Privernum (*in* 423.) *The reduction of that City* (*in* 424,) *and the courageous and noble anſwer given by one of the Citizens, when queſtioned by the* Roman Senate *concerning the conduct which the* Privernates *would obſerve for the future.*

§. I. ROME had never been in a better condition to attempt the Conqueſt of all *Italy* than now, when thoſe warm contentions for power at home, which had often retarded the progreſs of the *Roman* arms abroad, were at an end. The *Plebeians* ſhared almoſt all the great offices in the State with the *Patricians*; the *Conſulſhip*, *Quæſtorſhip*, *Ædileſhip*, and *Cenſorſhip*: they were excluded only from the *Prætorſhip* and the *Sacerdotal Dignities*. And in the following year, when *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *P. Ælius Pætus* were in poſſeſſion of the *Faſces*, *Publilius* a Plebeian ſtood candidate for the *Prætorſhip*, and obtain'd it. The *Conſul Sulpicius* had refuſed to admit his name among thoſe of the other candidates; but the Senate were eaſy in the matter, thinking it perhaps unreaſonable and abſurd that a *Plebeian*, who had been *Conſul* and *Dictator*, ſhould meerly on account of his birth be excluded from the *Prætorſhip*. And thus the People being arrived at the height of their deſires, (for they did not yet pretend to the *Pontificate* and *Auguraie*) all pretences for faction were entirely taken away. Real, perſonal merit, not high birth, not the merit of mens anceſtors, was now chiefly regarded in the diſtribution of honours: So that this period of time may more properly than any of the former be called *The Age of* ROMAN VIRTUE. Y. of *R.* 416. Bef. *J. C.* 336. 118 Conſul. p.

The Republic, thro' the indolence of her preſent *Conſuls*, neglected to revenge the *Aurunci* on their enemies the *Sidicini*, who this year had invaded their country, and made themſelves maſters of their principal City. The *Aurunci* had ſubmitted to the *Romans* in the Conſulſhip of *Manlius Torquatus*, and had continued faithful amidſt all the confuſions of the *Latine* war. They well deſerved therefore to be ſuccour'd; and accordingly the *Conſuls* of the new year, *L. Papirius* and *Cæſo Duilius*, were now order'd to lead an army to their aſſiſtance; and tho' the *Auſones* joined their Y. of *R.* 417. Bef. *J. C.* 335. 119 Conſul. p.

their neighbours the *Sidicini*, theſe united forces were eaſily put to the rout. They fled for ſhelter behind the walls of their Cities; and the *Conſuls* return'd to *Rome* without reaping much glory from the campaign.

Y. of *R.* 418. Bef. *J. C.* 334. 120 Conſul-p. But in the following Conſulſhip of *M. Valerius Corvus* (now raiſed to that dignity a fourth time) and *M. Atilius Regulus*, the former (to whom his Collegue at the requeſt of the Senate had yielded the command of the army without drawing lots) laid ſiege to *Calé*, the chief city of the *Auſones*. He invented *Cover'd Galleries* and *Moveable Towers* for the ſcreening of his men, and the carrying on of the attacks, and at length took the place by aſſault.

Faſt. Capit. After this the two *Conſuls*, having firſt nominated a *Dictator* to preſide at the enſuing elections, joined their forces, and marched againſt the *Sidicini*; but notwithſtanding that they uſed all expedition to finiſh their conqueſt before the expiration of their year, they were forced to leave the

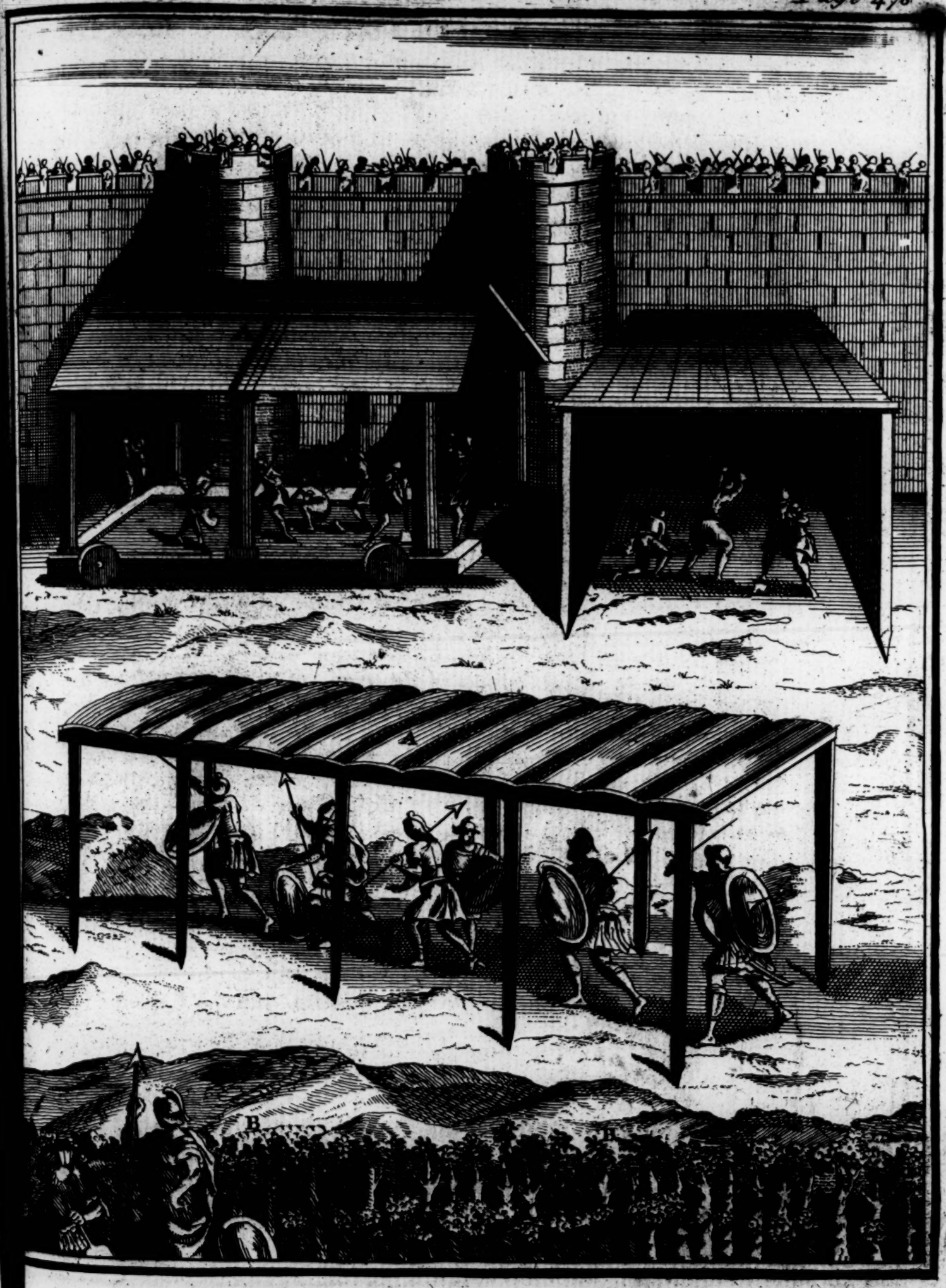
Y. of *R.* 419. Bef *J.C.* 333. 121 Conſul-p. completion of it to their ſucceſſors, *T. Veturius Calvinus* and *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*. As ſoon as theſe new Magiſtrates were named, and before they entered on their office, they, to make themſelves acceptable to the Commons, ſollicited and obtained a decree for ſettling a *Colony* of *Roman Citizens* at *Calé*, and dividing the diſtrict of that City among them; and that the diſtribution of the lands might be made the more equally,

Livy, B. 8. the Senate choſe out three men of known equity to conduct and ſettle the *Colony*, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men.

The *Romans* ſeem at this time to have quite aboliſhed that cuſtom they formerly had, of raiſing a new army upon every change of chief Magiſtrates. An army raiſed by one General now paſſed from him to his ſucceſſor, and ſo on till the end of the war. Accordingly *Veturius* and *Poſthumius* put themſelves at the head of the troops which *Corvus* had commanded, and enter'd the country of the *Sidicini*; who, to avoid a battle, ſuffer'd their territory to be laid waſte, and appeared no more in the field. Nevertheleſs, a report was ſpread at *Rome*, after the return of the *Conſuls*, that the *Sidicini* had once more aſſembled a formidable army, and were joined by the *Samnites*, which cauſed ſo great an alarm, that the *Conſuls* by order of the Senate named a *Dictator*, as in a time of imminent danger. Their choice fell upon *P. Cornelius Rufinus*. This ſupreme Magiſtrate however ſoon abdicated, upon ſome pretended defect in his inauguration. Nay, ſuperſtition prevailed ſo far at this time, that becauſe a plague raged at *Rome*, and becauſe the College of *Augurs* declared that all the *Auſpices* of the year had been infected by the contagious air, the chief Magiſtrates were all diſplaced, and the Republic fell into an *Inter-regnum*.

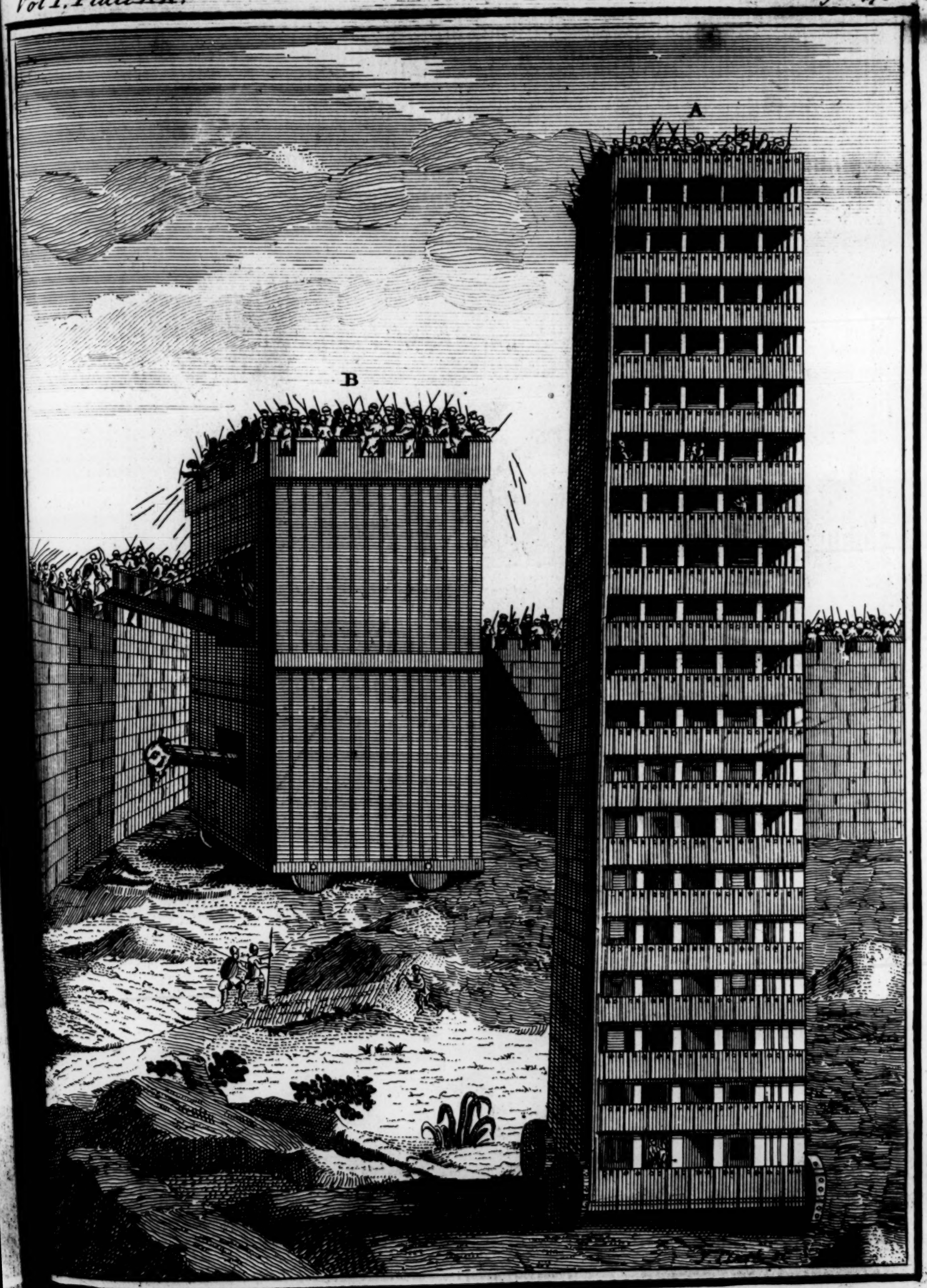
Y. of *R.* 420. Bef. *J.C.* 332. 122 Conſul-p. Livy *ſays nothing of what happen'd in the year* 420, *when* L. Papirius Curſor *and* C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus *were* Conſuls, *according to the* Faſti Capitolini. It was very probable a year barren of events, unleſs the *Sidicini* were then ſubdued, which is not unlikely, ſince we find no other epoch of their reduction.

In

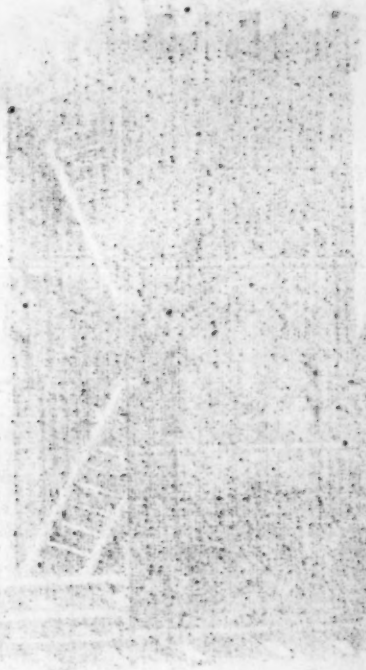


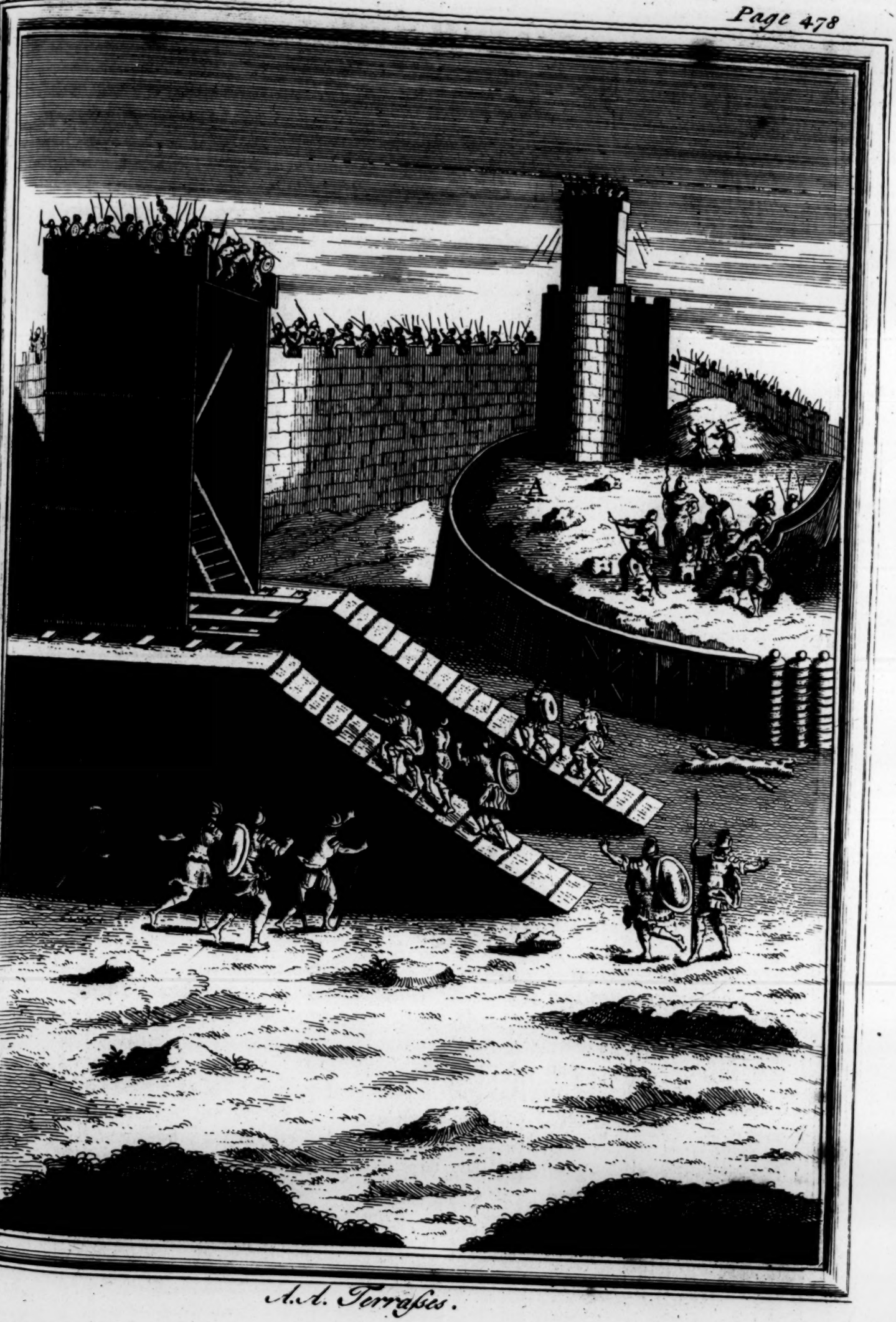
A. *Different Sorts of* Covered Galleries.
B. Vine - *for covering Besiegers.*



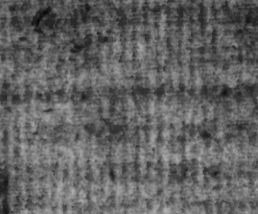


A Tower of twenty Stories. B. A Tower with a Draw-Bridge.





A. A. Terraſſes.



In the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *A.* Cornelius* and *Cn. Domitius*, a rumour that thoſe terrible enemies the *Gauls* were preparing for a war with the Republic, occaſioned the ſudden nomination of *M. Papirius Craſſus* to be *Dictator*; but, while he was levying troops to oppoſe their attempts, more certain accounts came that all was quiet on that ſide. The report which was ſoon after ſpread, that the *Samnites* were forming deſigns againſt the *Roman* ſtate, did not ſtrike ſo much terror: Nevertheleſs the *Dictator*, not to be wanting in precaution, continued an army, that was already encamped in the country of the *Sidicini*, in the ſame poſt. The *Samnites* were indeed raiſing troops, but it was to defend *Italy* againſt *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, who, under pretence of ſuccouring the *Tarentines* (then at war with the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*) had made a deſcent at *Pæſtum*, and began to grow formidable to all the eaſtern parts of *Italy*. What ſuſpended the progreſs of his arms, is unknown; but, after ſome ſmall advantages obtained againſt the enemies of the *Tarentines*, and after making a Treaty with the *Romans*, *Metapontani*, and *Pediculi*, he left *Italy*.

Y. of *R.* 421. Bef. *J.C.* 331. 123 Conſul-p. * A 2d time.

The *Romans* being freed from the fear of the *Gauls* on one hand, and of the *Samnites* on the other, applied themſelves to works of Peace. The late addition of ſo many new *Citizens* as *Rome* had received ſince the reduction of the *Latines* made it neceſſary to take a new *Cenſus*, and to increaſe the number of the *Tribes*. To the twenty ſeven already in being were added the *Mecian* and *Scaptian*; the firſt near *Lanuvium*, the ſecond between *Tybur* and *Præneſte*.

Vell. Paterculus, B. 1. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 27.

But in the midſt of this repoſe from foreign alarms, and in the beginning of the new *Conſulſhip* of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Valerius Potitus*, there ſprung up in the boſom of the Republic a new kind of monſters, more terrible than any army of invaders from abroad. Some women of diſtinction, to the number of 170, according to ſome, or 360, according to others, formed a plot to poiſon their huſbands, and took the opportunity of an epidemical diſtemper to put their deſign in execution. Their wickedneſs being diſcovered to *Fabius*, one of the Curule Ædiles, by a ſhe ſlave of one of the Ladies, and their perſons being ſeized, two of the priſoners, *Sergia* and *Cornelia*, both *Patrician* women, were brought before the aſſembly of the People. Being there examined, they denied that in the medicines which they had prepared, and which had been found with them, there were any poiſonous ingredients. The ſlave, to verify her accuſation, propoſed, that the two Ladies ſhould take their own potions; and the experiment was immediately ordered to be made. Upon this *Cornelia* and *Sergia* deſired to confer with their accomplices, which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poiſon, and ſo delivered themſelves from a more lingering death. The Republic aſcribed this unheard of prodigy to a ſpirit of madneſs, ſent as a puniſhment from the angry Gods; to appeaſe whom they nominated a *Dictator*, to drive a Nail into the Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

Y. of *R.* 422. Bef. *J.C.* 330. 124 Conſul-p. St. *Auguſt.* de Civ. Dei. *Oroſ.* B. 3. *Val. Max.* B. 2. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 18.

This tranſient *Dictatorſhip* quickly gave way to the *Conſulſhip* of *L. Papirius* † *Craſſus* and *L. Plautius Venno*. In the beginning of their adminiſtration,

Y. of *R.* 423. Bef. *J.C.* 329. 125 Conſul-p. † A 2d time.

Y. of *R.* 423. Bef. *J. C.* 329. 125 Conſul-p.

niſtration, a deputation came to *Rome* from the *Poluſtini* and the inhabitants of *Fabrateria* (both in the territory of the *Volſci*) to demand protection againſt the *Samnites*, by whom they were threaten'd with an irruption. The Senate, ever fond of being the protectors of the oppreſſed, did not reject their petition, but ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire the *Samnites* to put a ſtop to their hoſtilities againſt thoſe two nations. The *Samnites* complied, and then the Republic immediately turned her arms againſt the *Privernates*. Theſe rebels, in conjunction with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fundi*, were headed by *Vitruvius Vaccus*, originally of that town, which after the *Latine* war had been admitted to the rights of *Roman Citizenſhip*. *Vitruvius* had made himſelf an inhabitant of *Rome*, and had enjoyed all the privileges of a Citizen born there, but through the meer vanity of commanding an army, had excited his countrymen to revolt. However, he durſt not keep the field when the *Conſuls* appear'd; he fled for refuge to *Privernum*. *L. Plautius* with one part of the army enter'd the territory of *Fundi*, the Senators of which City came out to meet him, and endeavoured to juſtify themſelves from having any ſhare in the revolt. The *Conſul* wrote to *Rome* in their favour, and then march'd to rejoin his Collegue, who had already block'd up *Privernum*. The ſiege of this place was not yet over, when the Senate recall'd one of the *Conſuls* to *Rome*, to preſide in the *Comitia* for electing new ones.

Livy, B. 8.

The *Romans* were the terror of their neighbours, but the *Gauls* in *Italy* were the terror of the *Romans*. And the Republic being alarm'd at the news of the *Gauls* being in motion, thought fit to bring on the elections before the uſual time, in order to provide fit Generals for ſo important a war.

In the midſt of theſe apprehenſions the *Romans* did not forget their ſports and diverſions. They at this time built ſumptuous Porticoes at the entrance of the *Circus*, for a ſhelter to the Horſes, which were before ſo expoſed to the ſun, that they were often fatigued before they began the race.

Y. of *R.* 424. Bef. *J. C.* 328. 126 Conſul-p.

L. * *Æmilius* and *C. Plautius*, the new *Conſuls*, entered on their office the very day of their election, and they drew lots for their commands. It fell to *Æmilius* to act againſt the *Gauls*; his Collegue was to carry on the ſiege of *Privernum*. How much the very ſhadow of the *Gauls* terrified *Rome*, may be judged of by the extraordinary preparations at this time to oppoſe them. The levies were made with the utmoſt rigour; no excuſe was allowed; the meaneſt artificers, and thoſe of ſedentary occupations, were without diſtinction put into the roll. But after all theſe precautions and many other, advice came that the *Gauls* were quiet; ſo that *Æmilius* joined his Collegue before *Privernum*. The town was taken, and the rebel *Vitruvius* being made priſoner, was condemned by the Senate to be firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. *Æmilius* and *Plautius* both triumphed on account of this new conqueſt; and the former, who had ſpent but little time before the place, obtained the ſurname of *Privernas*. The *Romans* are ſometimes reproach'd with unjuſtly giving all the glory of an enterprize to the laſt General concerned in it, and who

* A 2d time.

finished it, notwithstanding that the former commanders had brought it to such a maturity, as to be past the danger of abortion. But it should be considered, that this conduct in a people whose chief aim was to extend their empire was founded in wise policy: By giving all the honour of a successful war to him who ended it, they animated their Generals to exert themselves on all occasions to make a rapid conquest. Y. of *R.* 424. Bef. *J.C.* 328. 126 Consul-p.

What now remained was to punish the *Privernates*. Those of their Senators who had staid in *Privernum* after its revolt, were condemned to the same punishment which had been inflicted on the Citizens of *Velitræ*, that is, they were banished beyond the *Tyber*, and forbid to appear any more on this side of it under the penalty of a great fine. And tho' the *Consul Plautius* interceded with the Senate for the innocent multitude, and particularly for the prisoners taken in the war, whom he brought to the door of the Senate-house, he did not immediately draw the *Conscript Fathers* over to his sentiments; they were divided in opinion. One of the *Privernates*, by an haughty answer, endangered all his fellow-captives. Being asked by a Senator, who inclined to rigour, what punishment he thought the *Privernates* deserved, *The same*, said he, *which is due to men who think themselves worthy of* LIBERTY. So brisk an answer exasperated some of the assembly, which *Plautius* perceiving endeavour'd to prevent the ill effect of it, by putting a milder question to the prisoner, and which should naturally draw a softer answer from him: *Suppose*, said the Consul, *we should pardon you; In what manner may we expect you will behave yourselves for the future?* The prisoner answer'd, *If the peace you grant us be a good one, we shall maintain it faithfully and inviolably; if the terms of it be hard, don't count upon us long.* These words made different impressions on the judges. Some construed them as menaces, and as indications of a disposition to a new revolt; but the greater part and the wiser found a magnanimity in them worthy of a man and of a free man. Those especially of the Senators who had been CONSULS adhered to *Plautius*'s opinion, who loudly declared, and repeated it often, *That a people whose only desire was* LIBERTY, *and whose only fear was that of losing it, were worthy to become* ROMAN. Accordingly the Senate pass'd a decree in favour of the prisoners, and *Privernum* was made a *Municipium*.

CHAP. XII.

§. I. *The* Romans *give umbrage to the* Samnites, *by planting a Colony in their neighbourhood. And the* Palæpolitans *make an irruption into the* Roman *Territory.* §. II. *A remarkable instance of the* Romans *abhorrence of Malice, in the prosecution of a criminal.* §. III. *A new rupture between the* Roman *Republic and the* Samnites. §. IV. *The* Romans *take some Towns from the* Samnites. *And* Publilius *takes* Palæpolis *by means of a stratagem laid and executed by two of the Citizens. For which exploit, tho' he be but a* Proconsul, *he is decreed a* TRIUMPH. §. V. *The* Tarentines, *being jealous of the growing power of* Rome, *by an artful stratagem seduce the*

Lucanians *from the* Roman *interest, into a league with the* Samnites.
§. VI. *About this time the infamous paſſion of* a Roman, *named* Papirius, *for one of his inſolvent Debtors, occaſions the paſſing of a law at* Rome, *whereby* CREDITORS *are diſabled from* ſeizing the Perſons *of their* DEBTORS.

§. I. IT was now cuſtomary for the *Romans* either to ſend *Colonies* to the conquered Cities, or to give the inhabitants the right of *Roman Citizenſhip*. For they had found to their coſt the ill conſequences of that independence in which they had left the *Latines* after their firſt reduction of them. In purſuance of this new policy, the Senate in the
Y. of R. 425. Bef. J.C. 327. 127 Conſul-p. *Conſulſhip* of *C. Plautius Proculus* and *P. Cornelius Scapula*, ſent a Colony of *Romans* to *Fregellæ*, a City in the Territory of the *Sidicini*, which the *Romans* had rebuilt after the *Samnites* had raz'd it. The repairing and fortifying of this place, and the planting a *Colony* in it, gave umbrage to the *Samnites*, and proved the occaſion of that furious war which ſoon after broke out between them and the Republic.

In the mean time the inhabitants of *Palæpolis* made incurſions into the *Roman* Territory. Theſe People were originally *Eubœans*, who came into *Italy* and built *Cumæ*. From thence they ſpread themſelves farther; and a *Colony* of *Cumans* built *Naples*, or *Neapolis*, i. e. *The New City*; and finding in the neighbourhood of *Naples* a Town ready built, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of it and call'd it *Palæpolis*, or *Palaiopolis*, i. e. *The Old City*.

§. II. THE news of this irruption of the *Palæpolitans* was brought to *Rome* juſt before the holding of the aſſemblies of the *Tribes* and of the *Centuries*; the firſt for the Election of *Tribunes of the People*, the ſecond for that of *Conſuls*. It is remarkable, that in the *Comitia* by *Tribes* the People at this time choſe one *Q. Flavius*, a man of a moſt infamous character, to be one of their *Tribunes*. The occaſion of it was extraordinary. He had been accuſed not long before of doing violence to a Lady. *Valerius*, one of the *Curule Ædiles*, was his chief proſecutor; and the evidence
Val. Max. B. 8. was clear. Fourteen of the twenty nine *Tribes* had already voted him guilty, when the accuſed, in order to move the reſt of his judges to favour him, made vehement proteſtations, and call'd heaven and earth to witneſs his innocence. Upon this *Valerius* cried out with a louder voice, *What is it to me whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou be deſtroyed?* The *Tribes* were ſo offended at theſe words, that they acquit-
Livy, B. 8. ch. 22. ted the criminal by a majority of ſuffrages. *Flavius*, ſoon after, loſt his mother; and it being then cuſtomary to offer ſacrifices in honour to the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than uſual, and, in gratitude to the People for their late favour, diſtributed the fleſh among them. They in return now choſe him *Tribune*, though abſent.

Y. of R. 426. Bef. J.C. 329. 128 Conſul-p. * A 2d time. §. III. THE *Comitia by Centuries* appointed *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Publilius* * *Philo* to be the new *Conſuls*. *Publilius* marched an army towards *Palæpolis*, and foreſeeing that this place would not eaſily be



Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each — 100

A Map of GREAT GREECE an
First Geographer to the King o

48 42 41 40 39 38

26 Promon Sacrum 32 33 27

Nicæa or Marian Sa Col.
THE
Aleria Colony
Rhatus
ISLE OF
CORSICA
Urcinum
Marisa
Straits of Taphros
Cape St Lucia
Hercules I.
Tibula
The Tower of Libisso
Colony
THE
Olbia
Nosa
ISLE OF
Cornus
Thyrsus
SARDINIA
Uselis Colony
The Sacred
Cagliari Colony
Tegula
Sulci
Sulci Promontory

PICENUM
Adria Col
Aternus R.
Pinna
Apenine Hills
VESTINI
Aternum
Orton
MARRUCINI
Super aquum Col
PELIGNI
MARSI
Fibia
FRENTANI
Fucinus Lake
Aufidena
Trivent
SAMNIUM
CARACENI
Æserina Colony
Bovianum
Sepinum
AUSONES
PENTRI
Allifæ
Murgantia
Minturnæ Colony
Cales Col.
Saticula
Male ventum
Beneventum Col.
Vulturnum Colony
CAMPANIA
HIRPINI
Naples Col.
Abellinum
PICENTINI
Salernum Colony
Cape Misenum
Peltuinum
Posidonia Colony
Velia
Œnotrides Isles
Cape Palinurus

THE TYRRHENIAN S

ISLES OF LIPARI
Lipari Colony
Vulcan I.
Messana
SICILY

Plate XXII

of the Islands of SARDINIA and CORSICA By Mons. Deliſle
France, and Member of The Royal Academy of Sciences.

34 35 36 37 48

ILLYRICUM

Epidaurus

THE ADRIATICK SEA

Merina
Mont Garganus
Teanum Apulia
Sipontum
Colony
Arpi
Aufidus R
Salapia
PULIA
Canna
Barium
Canuſium
PEUCETIA
Venuſium
PEDICULI
Florentinum
Acherontia
IAPYGIANS
CALABRIA
Meſſapia
Brundusium Col.
OR MESSAPIANS
Lupiæ
Tarentum
Hydruntum
SALENTINI
Iciris R.
Heraclea
Siris R.
Nerulia
Pandosia
Sibaris Thuriæ
or Copiæ Colony
THE
Promontory of Iapigia
IONIAN SEA
BRUTII
Petilia
Cosentia
Crathis R.
Esaras R.
Croton
Lacinian Promontory
Hipponium
Colony
Mamertum
Rhegium
Colony
Locri

Ulcinium
Liſſos
Apollonia

48 42 41 40 39 38

33 34 35 36 37

Vol. I. Page 482.



taken while ſupplied with men and proviſions from *Naples*, he pru- Y. of *R.* 426.
dently encamped his troops in the narrow tract of ground between the two Bef. *J. C.* 326.
Cities. In the mean time *Cornelius*, who had poſted himſelf with another 128 Conſul-p.
army near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in awe (who were thought to be gain'd over by the *Samnites* to join them againſt *Rome*) receiv'd undoubted intelligence, that the *Samnites* openly ſollicited the *Roman Colonies* to revolt. Upon this the Senate diſpatched Ambaſſadors into *Samnium*, to learn the reaſon of a conduct ſo contrary to the faith of Treaties. The Ambaſſadors met with a haughty reception. The *Samnites* complained of the proceedings of the Republic, and particularly of the rebuilding and fortifying of *Fregellæ*, which (they ſaid) was a wrong done to the *Samnite* nation; and to reproaches they added even menaces. The Ambaſſadors, without loſing their temper, propoſed to refer the matter to the arbitration of their common allies. *Arbitrators!* cried the *Samnites*, *we will have none, but the Gods and our Swords; Battles will determine our pretenſions better than Words and Judges*; Mars *ſhall put an end to our diſputes, in the plains of* Campania. *Let our armies face each other between* Capua *and* Sueſſula, *and there try, whether the* Samnites *or the* Romans *ſhall be Lords of* Italy. The Ambaſſadors replied, *We ſhall not go whither our enemies invite us; but whitherſoever our Generals ſhall think fit to lead us.*

§. IV. SUCH was the ſituation of affairs abroad when the time drew near for the new Elections. The Senate, without recalling the *Conſuls* to *Rome*, ordered a *Dictator* to be named to preſide at them. But when *Cornelius* had nominated *M. Claudius Marcellus*, a *Plebeian*, the *Augurs* pretended, for ſome frivolous reaſon, that the nomination was invalid; and though the People murmured at that ambitious College, who, they ſuppoſed, made Religion the pretence, when their view was only to wound the *Plebeian* intereſt, the Government fell into an *Inter-regnum*, and then Y. of *R.* 427.
the *Comitia* choſe *C. Pætelius Libo* and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, *Conſuls* Bef. *J. C.* 325.
for the enſuing year. They both put themſelves at the head of the army 129 Conſul-p.
which *Cornelius* had commanded, and with which he had already enter'd *Samnium*, and they had the good fortune to be joined by the People of *Lucania* and *Apulia*, two nations to which the *Romans* had been hitherto almoſt utter ſtrangers. With this reinforcement they penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and took three Towns from them.

But theſe conqueſts were of little conſequence in compariſon of that made by *Publilius*, whom the People at the motion of their *Tribunes* had continued in the command of the army before *Palæpolis*, with the title of *Proconſul*. He had already, as was before mention'd, cut off the communication between that place and *Naples*, ſo that the beſieged were much ſtraiten'd for want of proviſions. Nor was this the greateſt calamity which the *Palæpolitans* ſuffer'd. Four thouſand *Samnites* and two thouſand of the inhabitants of *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, under pretence of defending *Palæpolis*, had, before it was inveſted, got into the Town, where they kept the citizens, in a ſtate of cruel ſlavery, treating them

Y. of *R.* 427. Bef. *J. C.* 325. 149 Conſul. p.

as priſoners of war, and even doing violence to their wives and to their children of both ſexes. In this diſtreſs having long waited in vain for relief from the *Tarentines*, whoſe preſence they hoped would deliver them from the oppreſſion of their defenders, the inhabitants at length reſolved to put the place into the hands of the *Romans*. The *Palæpolitans*, as has been obſerved, were originally *Greeks*, and the ſtratagem they made uſe of had in it much of *Grecian* artifice. *Nymphius* and *Charilaus*, the two chief Magiſtrates of the City, undertook, with the conſent of the principal inhabitants, to act two different parts in order to the execution of the common deſign. *Charilaus* eſcaped as a deſerter to the *Roman* camp, where he applied himſelf to the *Proconſul*, and imparted to him the deſire of his countrymen to purchaſe the friendſhip of the *Romans* by ſurrendering their City to them. He declared, that he had nothing in view but the intereſt of his Country and of the *Roman* Republic, and demanded no condition to his own private advantage. *Publilius* received him kindly, applauded his generoſity, and readily enter'd into the ſcheme propoſed. He put him at the head of 3000 *Romans*, who at a proper time were to attack the place in that part which was defended by the *Samnites*. In the mean time *Nymphius*, who had ſtaid in *Palæpolis*, inveighed moſt vehemently againſt his Collegue for his deſertion, and by his counterfeited anger ſo effectually blinded the *Samnite* Commanders, that without any ſuſpicion they fell into the ſnare he had prepared for them. He adviſed them, as the ſureſt method to force the *Romans* to withdraw their troops from the neighbourhood of the City, immediately to equip the Fleet which lay in the Port, and make a deſcent in the *Roman* Territory; and he offer'd to undertake in perſon the execution of his project. This motion was highly approved, and as the ſhips lay dry on the ſhore, all diligence was inſtantly uſed to ſet them afloat. *Nymphius* contrived to have the *Samnite* Troops chiefly employed in that laborious work, which, under pretence of better concealing the deſign, he order'd to be done in the night; and when by this means he had left that part of the wall, by which the *Romans* were to enter, but weakly guarded, he gave notice to his Collegue, with whom he all along kept a private correſpondence, to begin the attack. *Charilaus* with his 3000 *Romans* advanced without loſs of time, and, being favoured by the inhabitants, eaſily made himſelf maſter of the place. As for the *Samnites* (who were moſt of them buſied without the Town) finding themſelves betrayed, they made the beſt of their way to their own country without arms or baggage, being ever after the deriſion of their countrymen, who continually reproached them with the *Palæpolitan* Equipment.

Notwithſtanding that the *Romans* had got poſſeſſion of the Town by the good will of the inhabitants, yet inaſmuch as it was by means of the ſiege that the latter were brought to take thoſe meaſures they did in favour of the Republic, the *Proconſul* was decreed a Triumph for his ſucceſs. *Livy* obſerves, that two particular honours were done *Publilius*, which had never been done before to any *Roman*: The being continued after the

Livy, B. 8. ch. 26.

expiration

expiration of his Conſulſhip at the head of the ſame army he had commanded when *Conſul*, and the being decreed a Triumph for exploits performed in an inferior ſtation. V. of *R.* 447. Bef. *J. C.* 305. 129 Conſul-p.

§. V. THE taking of *Palæpolis* made the *Tarentines* jealous of the growing power of the Republic. They had a little before this loſt their chief ſupport by the death of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, who being warn'd by an Oracle to avoid the Waters of *Acheron* and the City of *Pandoſia*, had left his own country, in which were a City and River of thoſe names, and met his fate in *Italy*, where there happen'd to be another *Pandoſia* and another *Acheron*. The ſtory, as related by *Livy*, is to this effect. The King of *Epirus* had made a ſecond deſcent in *Italy* to aſſiſt the *Tarentines* againſt the *Bruttians* and *Lucanians*; and having taken ſome Towns of importance from the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and encamped them on three different hills ſeparated by deep vallies. The *Italian Acheron* roll'd its waters in one of thoſe vallies, and the little City of *Pandoſia* ſtood on the banks of it. The violent rains, which came on a ſudden, filled up the vallies, and cut off the communication between *Alexander*'s three bodies of Troops. The enemy ſeized this occaſion to attack them ſeparately, while they could not aſſiſt each other, and having eaſily defeated the two diviſions of the army where the King was not, they ſtrait encompaſſed the hill where he had poſted himſelf. *Alexander* by his bravery forced a paſſage through the enemy, and having rallied his ſcatter'd ſoldiers, came to a river, where the freſh ruins of a bridge, which the flood had broken down, pointed out the right road for him to take. While they attempted to paſs the ſtream, uncertain whether it were fordable or not, an *Epirot* ſoldier, oppreſſed with fear and fatigue, made this ſudden exclamation, *Juſtly indeed art thou called* Acheron! *(i. e. River of Sorrow.)* The King hearing this, and remembering the Oracle, ſtopt ſhort, unreſolved whether to go forward or not; but in that inſtant *Sotimus*, one of his Pages, telling him that his own Guards (conſiſting of 200 *Lucanian* Exiles, whom he had taken into his ſervice) had in concert with the enemy plotted his deſtruction, and the King ſeeing them in reality advancing to aſſault him, he ſword in hand puſh'd on his horſe, and had almoſt reached the oppoſite ſhore, when one of thoſe faithleſs guards at a diſtance lanced a javelin at him, which pierced him through, and killed him. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 24.

The uneaſineſs of the *Tarentines* was much encreaſed by the conduct of the *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, who had gone over to the *Romans*, and declared for them againſt the *Samnites*. The *Tarentines*, being very ready at tricks and artifices, contrived to deceive the *Lucanians*, and bring them off from the party they had eſpouſed. They bribed a company of young *Lucanians*, of good families, tho' of little honour, to tear their backs with whips, and then ſhew themſelves to the People, pretending, that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the *Roman Conſuls*, to whoſe camp curioſity had led them. The *Lucanians* were ſo ſtupid *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 27.

Y. of *R.* 427. Bef. *J. C.* 325. 129 Conſul-p.

ſtupid a people, that without examining into the truth of ſo improbable a fact, they immediately demanded a National Aſſembly, which being convened, it was there decreed, That war ſhould be declared with the *Romans*; that the ancient alliances ſhould be renewed with the *Samnites*; and that an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the latter for that purpoſe. The *Samnites* could ſcarce believe the deputation real; and, before they would hearken to the Ambaſſadors, demanded hoſtages, and inſiſted on the Towns of *Lucania* receiving *Samnite* garriſons. Theſe things were readily granted, nor was the cheat diſcover'd till it was too late to repent.

§. VI. AT this time the poor Debtors at *Rome* had the good fortune to ſhake off the heavieſt yoke that lay upon them. By one of the laws of the *Twelve Tables*, Creditors were impowered to ſeize the Perſons of their inſolvent Debtors, and keep them in irons. Theſe wretches, till they had diſcharged their debts by their labour or otherwiſe, were in all reſpects ſlaves, except in name. They were called *Nexi*, i. e. *Bound*, whereas the Slaves were called *Servi*. A young *Plebeian*, named *Publilius*, of extraordinary beauty and of a good family, had voluntarily made himſelf a ſlave to one *Papirius* in order to pay his fathers's debts. *Papirius* conceived a deteſtable paſſion for the young man, and, upon his refuſing to comply, cauſed him to be whipt unmercifully. *Publilius* made his eſcape out of the houſe, complained publickly of the cruel uſage, and told the occaſion of it. The ſtory filled the People with compaſſion for the young man, and with reſentment and fury againſt his maſter. They gather'd together tumultuouſly, and having by their clamours obliged the *Conſuls* to aſſemble the Senate, preſented *Publilius* before them with his back all bloody and torn, and then on their knees demanded juſtice. The Senate had regard to their intreaties; and tho' they decreed nothing againſt *Papirius* (perhaps for want of ſufficient proof) they paſs'd a law, which was afterwards confirmed by the People in *Comitia*, *That for the future no perſon whatſoever ſhould be held in feſters or other bonds, unleſs for ſome crime that deſerved it, and only till the criminal had ſuffered the puniſhment due by law; and that* CREDITORS *ſhould have a right to attach the* Goods *only, and not the* Perſons *of their* DEBTORS.

Varro de Lingua Lat. B. 6.

Livy, B. 8. ch. 28.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. *The* Veſtini, *a People on the coaſt of the* Adriatic *ſea, take arms againſt* Rome, *to their own loſs.* §. II. L. Papirius Curſor *is named* Dictator *to conduct the war againſt the* Samnites. *His General of the Horſe,* Quintus Fabius, *is guilty of a breach of diſcipline. The ſeverity of the* Dictator *on this occaſion.* §. III. *Finding his ſoldiers ill affected to him becauſe of his ſeverity in command, he changes his manner on a ſudden, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the* Samnites

nites *to ſue for peace.* §. IV. *The* Senate *grant the* Samnites *only a year's truce, which the latter break ſo ſoon as they hear that* Papirius *has quitted the* Dictatorſhip. *The* Romans *obtain a compleat victory over them.* §. V. *The* Samnites *repenting of their breach of the Truce, endeavour to pacify the* Romans.

§. I. THE Republic, in the following Conſulate of *L. Furius Camillus* and *D. Junius Brutus*, began to be embarraſſed by the great numbers of enemies ſhe had to deal with. Beſide the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, the *Veſtini* had declared againſt her. Theſe were themſelves an inconſiderable people upon the coaſt of the *Adriatic* ſea; but they had powerful neighbours, who in all probability would arm in their defence if the Republic ſhould attack them. This conſideration made the Senate demur; but at length pride prevailed over prudence; it was not for the honour of *Rome* to let herſelf be inſulted without revenging it. The two *Conſuls* therefore took their commands by lot, and it fell to *Camillus* to conduct the war againſt the *Samnites*, and to *Brutus* to act againſt the *Veſtini*. *Brutus*'s firſt care was to hinder the *Veſtini* from joining the *Samnites*, which he did, by encamping on the frontiers between the two nations. He ſoon after defeated them in battle, and took from them *Cutina* and *Cingilia*. Y. of *R.* 428. Bef. *J. C.* 324. 130 Conſul-p.

§. II. *CAMILLUS*, who had made it his buſineſs to keep the *Samnites* upon the defenſive in their own country, fell ſick, and was obliged to return to *Rome*; and, being there order'd to name a *Dictator*, he pitched upon *L. Papirius Curſor*, the greateſt Captain the Republic could then boaſt of, who appointed *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to be his *General of the Horſe*. Theſe took poſſeſſion of the command of the army in *Samnium*: But there having been ſomething obſcure in the *Auſpices* conſulted before their departure from *Rome*, ſcruple and ſurperſtition tormented the *Dictator* when he came to enter upon action. To remove the pain of his doubts and fears, he return'd to the City to renew the *Auſpices*; but firſt forbad *Fabius*, with whom he intruſted the command of the army in his abſence, to venture a battle with the enemy. *Aurel. Vict.* de Viris Illuſtr.

Fabius being fond of glory and beloved of the army, and diſdaining to have his hands ſo tied up, reſolved to hazard an action, notwithſtanding the *Dictator*'s prohibition. He attacked the *Samnites*, whom he found in leſs diſorder than he had at firſt expected, and was once very near loſing the day: But then the *Roman* Cavalry, unbridling their horſes, drove upon the enemy with ſuch a ſudden and irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that the latter were put into confuſion, and entirely broken and defeated. Twenty thouſand of them remained dead upon the field of battle. This victory made the young Conqueror grow inſolent; and inſtead of lodging the ſpoils of the enemy in the *Quæſtor*'s hands, to be ſold for the advantage of the public, he cauſed them all to be burnt, that they might not do honour to the *Dictator*, by being carried in his Triumphal Proceſſion; neither did he ſend any account of his victory to the *Dictator*, but only *Val. Max.* B. 3. c. 2. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 30.

Y. of R. 428. Bef. J.C. 324. 130 Consul-p.

only to the *Senate*, an instance of great disrespect to the General under whose *Auspices* he had fought.

These proceedings incens'd *Papirius*, and he hasten'd to the camp, to punish his disobedient *General of the Horse*. *Fabius* having timely notice of his coming, and of his design, called together the troops, and made an harangue to them, wherein he inveighed against the *Dictator*, *Whose resentments*, he said, *threaten'd not only his life, but the lives of many of the other Officers, and even of the private Soldiers, who had helped him to gain the victory. That therefore it was the common interest of the army to protect him; and that to them he committed the defence of his life and fortune.* The soldiers with one voice cried out to him to take courage, and they promised to defend him to the last breath. *Papirius*, not long after, arrived. Having instantly assembled the Troops, he ordered the Crier to call *Quintus Fabius*, *General of the Horse*, to appear before him. When *Fabius* was come near the *Tribunal*, and silence made, the *Dictator* question'd him concerning his violation, not only of the common laws of Military Discipline, but of the express orders of a *Dictator*, whom he could not but know to have a sovereign authority in the Republic, and whom even the *Consuls* themselves, Magistrates who succeeded to the Regal Power, obey'd. *Fabius* had a bad cause to defend, and was confused in his answers; one while complaining that the *Dictator* was both accuser and judge, and then exclaiming loudly, that he would sooner lose his life, than the glory of his exploits; this moment he attempted to excuse himself, and the next accused the *Dictator*; which provoking *Papirius* still more, he commanded the *Lictors* to strip the criminal, and prepare their Rods and Axes. But when these executioners were beginning to tear off his clothes, he cried out to the Soldiers for assistance, and by some means made his escape, retiring among the *Tuarii*. These things put the army into a great commotion, and raised a clamour throughout the whole assembly; some beseeching, others threatening. The officers who were near the *Dictator* endeavoured by reasoning and by intreaties to mitigate his resentment against a young man of great hopes, and of a family so highly and so justly honoured in *Rome*. They represented to him the danger to which he might expose himself by too far exasperating the multitude, who, blind with anger, might be carried to do something extravagant and desperate. All was in vain, *Papirius* continued inflexible; and their remonstrances seemed more to increase his indignation, than to soften him towards *Fabius*. But when he would have commanded silence, the noise was so great that neither his criers nor himself could be heard, and night alone put an end to the tumult. *Fabius*, tho' summon'd to appear again the next day, did not think it prudent to stand a second trial, but escaped to *Rome*, there to present himself before less passionate judges.

Val. Max. B. 2.

Livy, B. 8.

Eutrop. B. 2.

As soon as he arrived, his father (who had been thrice *Consul* and once *Dictator*) thought it necessary to get the Senate assembled without delay, and obtain a favourable decree for him before the return of the *Dictator*. The Senate was met, young *Fabius* had already work'd

upon

Liv, B. 8. ch. 34.

Y. of R. 428. Bef. J. C. 324. 130 Conful p.

[illegible] of their Tribunes; They have [illegible] but by their [illegible] Live then, QUINTUS FABIUS, more [illegible] Country to your [illegible] your own Father, in my place, would not have forgiven. You shall be received again into my favour —— upon any terms. But as for the Roman People, to whom you owe your life, the best return you can make to them, is to do this day what you, [illegible] your [illegible] Commander.

Thus ended this affair; and the Romans afterwards considered, as that Dictator's honour, what the peril into which he brought Fabius had exacted towards the support of Military Discipline, as the death of young Manlius, condemned by his own father.

§. III. BUT while *Papirius* held in Rome the [illegible] advantage of his absence to [illegible] a Lieutenant General, was so intimidated by the [illegible] that he durst not oppose the [illegible] party of his foragers to be cut in pieces, rather than [illegible] relieve them. This accident helped to exasperate the Tuscan [illegible] against the *Dictator*; who when he came to the camp [with] *Q. Fabius Gurges*, a relation of his own, whom he had appointed to command the Horse in the room of *Fabius*, found all [illegible] and so little disposed to gain him glory, that [illegible] any progress with them in the war. The enemy offered him battle, and he could not in honour decline fighting; the [illegible] advantageously, and drew up his Troops with so much [illegible] that it was not possible for them to be entirely defeated. When the battle was over (in which, though they had [illegible] routed) *Papirius* acted [illegible] officer or soldier, who had behaved himself negligently in the fight, was so much as reprimanded by him. He went about with his Lieutenants visiting the wounded soldiers, put his head into their tents, asked them how they did, charging their officers to have particular care of each of them by name; and all this he [illegible] the least appearance of affection for him.

Y. of R. 429. Bef. J. C. 323.

The People at Rome being informed of this great alteration in the dispositions of the soldiers towards their commander, continued him in his employment for six months longer, and no *Consuls* were chosen for the year 429. As for *Papirius* he no longer doubted of victory, and he soon gave

V. of R. 429. Bef. J. C. 325.

(leaving all the booty to his Soldiers) and reduced the Samnites so low, that they sued for peace, which he granted them on these preliminary conditions: That they should cloath all his Troops, give them a year's pay, and get the Treaty confirmed by the Senate.

Livy, B. 8.

§. V. CHAP. XIV. Having Triumphed for his late victories, held the Games by Centuries, whose C. Sulpitius Longus and Q. Aulius Cerretanus were chosen Consuls for the next year. When the Campanian Rebels came to consider of the Peace to be made with the Samnites, they disapproved of the terms offered by them, and therefore granted only a Truce for a year, which the Samnites broke so soon as they heard that Papirius was no longer in command. At the same time the Apulians declared for them against Rome. The Republic thought it necessary therefore to divide her forces between the two Consuls. Aulius led an army into Apulia, and Sulpitius another into Samnium; but both Samnites and Apulians keeping themselves close in their fortified places, the Roman Generals reaped little glory from the campaign. The Consuls for the following year were Quintus Fabius (who had been General of the Horse to the Dictator Papirius) and C. Fabius Dorso. They marched their joint forces against the Samnites (who had raised a formidable army) and gave them an entire overthrow, but not without great difficulty. The Samnites had surprised the Romans, while they were encamped in a place very disadvantageous both for subsisting their army and for sustaining an attack. The latter therefore attempted to retire in the night; but the Samnites watched them so narrowly, and pursued them so close, that the next day they found themselves under a necessity of hazarding a battle. It lasted from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, without either side's giving way, or so much as changing the order in which they were first drawn up. The imprudence of the Samnite Cavalry turned the fortune of the day in favour of the Romans. The Consuls had designedly sent the baggage of their army to some distance under a thin guard. The Samnite Troopers having notice of this, wheel'd off to go and seize it, and the Roman Generals, to whom the news was presently brought, gave them sufficient time to put themselves into disorder, and lead their horses with the plunder. When the Consuls thought they were no longer in a condition to make a defence, they detached all the Roman Cavalry to fall upon them, which was done with so much expedition and success, that few of them escaped. Then the Roman Horse fetching a compass, fell upon the rear of the Samnite Infantry. This unexpected attack struck them with terror, and soon after threw them into confusion. The Romans pursued their advantage, and made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy: Those of the Samnites who kept their ground, were cut in pieces by the Roman Foot; and those who fled, fell most of them by the swords of the Horse, and, among the rest, the General himself.

Vell. Paterc. B. 1. Livy, B. 8.

V. of R. 430. Bef. J. C. 322. 131 Consul-p.

V. of R. 431. Bef. J. C. 321. 132 Consul-p. Fast. Capit. Auth. of Lives of Illust. Men.

§. VI. So terrible a defeat made the Samnites reflect seriously on their unjust breach of the Treaty with the Romans, and they imputed their late misfor-

misfortune to the anger of the Gods, whom they supposed to be offended
Y. of R. 431. Bef. J.C. 321. 132 Consul-p. at the violation of their oaths. To appease them, they solemnly sacrifice the chief author of that breach; and the Samnite *Brutulus Papius*, a man of distinction, but of a turbulent spirit, was universally pitch'd upon to be the victim. They pass'd a decree, that he should be deliver'd up to the *Romans*; and that the spoil and captives taken within the time of the Truce, and, in short, whatever their *Fetiales* had demanded, should be restored to them. In pursuance of this decree, *Brutulus*, with all his effects was put into the hands of some *Samnite* ambassadors, to be carried to *Rome*; but he kill'd himself before he got there. However, they surrender'd his dead body to the *Romans*, who, of what was offer'd by way of restitution, accepted only the captives and a part of the effects, rejecting whatever could not be claimed by any private *Roman* as his own.

Fast Capit. After this the *Consul Fulvius* return'd to *Rome*, while his Collegue *Fabius* led an army into *Apulia*. That he succeeded in his expedition, appears by the *Capitoline Marbles*, where he is said to have triumph'd over the *Samnites* and *Apulians*, *Fulvius* over the *Samnites* only. One *A. Cornelius* was this year chosen *Dictator*, but it was only to preside at the *Games* in the absence of the *Consuls*, and during the sickness of the *Prætor*. However *Livy* finding that at the time of the defeat of the *Samnites* the Government was in the hands of a *Dictator*, ascribes by mistake that exploit to him. The *Capitoline Marbles* rectify the error.

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *The* Samnites *being refused a Peace, prepare to carry on the war with vigour: and they appoint one* Pontius, *an able officer, to be their General.* Pontius *by a stratagem draws the* Roman *Legions into a dangerous pass (called afterwards the* Caudine Forks*) where they are surrounded by the* Samnites, *and have no possibility of forcing their way out of it. To save their lives they submit to shameful conditions imposed by the enemy.* §. II. *The base expedients, to which the* Romans *have recourse, to evade the treaty.* §. III. Satricum *revolts from the* Romans; *and the* Samnites *surprize* Fregellæ, *a* Roman *Colony.*

§. I. IT had been a constant maxim with the *Romans* to pardon the nations which submitted, and to treat none with rigour but the proud and untractable. But their late successes made them now deviate from this rule; and notwithstanding that the *Samnites* sued them for a peace, and endeavoured to merit it by the methods which have been related, the Senate rejected their petition, and thereby put them under a necessity of continuing the war at all hazards. And while the *Centuriate Comitia* at *Rome* were chusing *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Postumius Consuls* for the
Y. of R. 432. Bef. J.C. 320. 133 Consul-p. new year, the *Samnites* in their Diet appointed one *Pontius*, an able General, to command their troops. *Pontius* exhorted the assembly not to fear

fearful now with a People who had received reſtitution of wrongs with haughtineſs, and had refuſed peace when offered upon the moſt reaſonable terms. *The Gods, ſaid he, are now no longer Samnites; Juſtice accompanies our arms, and our cauſe ſail of ſucceſs.* He then immediately led his troops near to *Caudium* (a little Town in *Samnium*) and there encamp'd as covertly as poſſible. When the *Conſuls* were come within a league of him, he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the *Samnite* army was laying ſiege to *Luceria* in *Apulia*; and the more effectually to deceive the *Romans*, he ordered ten of his ſoldiers in the habit of herdſmen to lead ſome cattle into different parts, but ſtill in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with inſtructions to agree all in the ſame report when taken priſoners by their Foragers. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The *Romans* in a council of war reſolved to march to the relief of *Luceria*; and there being two ways thither, one broad and open, but farther about than the other, which was through certain ſtreights (called ſince *The Caudine Forks*) they choſe the latter. The nature of the ground was this. Between two circling ridges of mountains, ſo covered with trees and briars as to be abſolutely unſurmountable, was a pretty large marſhy meadow, through the middle of which was the road. At the hither end, the way into it was very deep and narrow through a hollow rock; the way out at the farther end was yet more narrow, deep, and difficult. When the *Romans*, having paſs'd the firſt, came to this, they found it quite barr'd up with huge ſtones and trees laid acroſs: and then they alſo diſcerned great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences. To avoid being inveſted, they inſtantly turned back; but the *Samnites* had already blocked up the way by which they had entered. When the *Romans* found themſelves ſhut in, without a poſſibility of eſcaping, their conſternation was inexpreſſible. They ſtood ſilent and fix'd their eyes on one another, each to ſee whether he could diſcover any glimmering of hopes in his companions looks. At length the ſoldiers ſeeing the *Conſuls* tent pitched, and preparations making towards fortification, ſet themſelves to work, without waiting for orders, to raiſe a rampart along the water, tho' they well knew it to be a fruitleſs labour, and were all the while ſcoffed at by the enemy. As ſoon as the army was encamped, the chief Officers all repaired of their own accord to the *Conſuls* tent; but the caſe was ſuch, that there was no room for counſel or debate. The Gods themſelves, ſays *Livy*, could ſcarcely have given them any aſſiſtance. Night came on; but without taking any refreſhment, officers and ſoldiers ſpent the hours of reſt in diſcourſing on their unhappy ſituation.

On the other hand, the *Samnites* could not come to any determination what to do with their enemies, who were abſolutely at their mercy. After much debate it was at length univerſally agreed to conſult *Herennius*, the father of *Pontius*, a wiſe old man whom they looked upon as a kind of Oracle. The meſſenger whom they ſent to him for his advice, brought back this anſwer: *That he counſelled them not to do the leaſt harm to the Romans, but to open them a free paſſage home.* This advice being re-

jected;

A. R. 432. Bef. J. C. 320. 133 Conſul-p.

Frontin. de Coloniis.

Livy, B. 1. *Eutropius, Florus, Zonaras, Oroſius*, &c.

V. of R. 432. Ant. J. C. 320. 132 Consul-p.

judged, the same messenger who dispatched a second time; and from the old man sent word, *That he would hear there from himself of what should happen to the Romans.* The strange difference between these two answers made the Samnites imagine that there was some mystery in the matter, and they prevailed on *Pontius* to have his father brought to the camp, that he might explain himself. When the wife of *Herennius* was come, he let them know, that in good policy there was no *medium* between treating the *Romans* in the kindest manner, and destroying them absolutely. That by the first (which he thought the best) they would gain the friendship of a powerful nation; that by the second they would greatly lessen the strength of a dangerous enemy; but that no third way could produce any advantage of either sort. However, this prudent advice was not followed. *Pontius* and his Officers chose a middle way, such as their foolish vanity suggested: They would spare the lives of the *Romans*, but at the same time treat them as conquered enemies.

Whilst the *Samnites* were in these deliberations, the *Romans* sent a deputation to them to desire a truce upon equitable terms, and in case of refusal to invite them to a battle. *Pontius*, with a haughty air, answered, *That the* Samnites *had no battles to fight; that the victory was already gain'd; and that not a man of the* Roman *Legions should escape, till they had been disarm'd, and had passed one by one under the Yoke: That, beside this, he expected that the* Romans *should quit* Samnium, *and withdraw their Colonies from all the Cities they had usurped from the* Samnites. *And he* concluded with forbidding the Deputies *to appear any more in his presence, if the* Consuls *did not accept the terms proposed.*

The report of this answer threw the *Legions* into the utmost despair. The *Consuls* were struck dumb, and durst not declare themselves for so shameful a Treaty. *L. Lentulus*, a considerable Officer in the army, and who had been at the head of the Deputation to the *Samnites*, was the first who broke silence; addressing himself to the *Consuls*, he spoke to this effect: *I have often heard my Father say, that, when the Gauls besieged the Capitol, he was the only man in the Senate, who opposed the redeeming of Rome with Gold; and therefore he gave for his opinion now, that the enemy not having shut up the Capitol by intrenchments, nor raised any rampart round it, it was still possible for the* Romans, *tho' difficult, to force a passage through the besiegers. Were the case with us the same, were there any possibility of escaping; could we make sallies, as they sometimes did, or could we force the* Samnites *to a battle, I should soon convince you by my counsel, that I have the same courage as my Father; I should speak the same language, and endeavour yet more by my example, than my words, to animate you to the fight. But in so disadvantageous a situation as it: For my own part, I should gladly rush into the middle of the enemy, and devote my self for the* Roman People, *if that could be of any avail to their preservation; for I am truly sensible, that no fortune can be so glorious as to die for the safety of our Country. But our Country at present is here; its chief stay and strength, the* Roman Legions *are in this valley. Shall they devote themselves to death for their own preservation?*

ſervation? To enter and thank? To ſave the Walls of Rome? the Houſes? A. of R. 432.
the Temples? Such was that Enemy, to whom we had to yield the Bef. J. C. 320.
ground of this very ſame Hill, a weak, unarm'd, deſpondent multitude 133 Conſul. P.
deſtroy them? Juſt as they did againſt the Gauls after the battle of the Allia.
But it is ſhameful, ſay you, to give up our arms like cowards. I grant it:
Yet the love of our Country ſhall be ſuch, as to make us ready, if need be,
to ſuffer Ignominy as well as Death; to ſacrifice, not only our Lives, but
our Glory to preſerve it. For the ſake of Rome, then let us ſubmit to the
conditions impoſed by the indignity grown to great; nor ſcruple any longer to
obey Neceſſity, to which the Gods themſelves are ſubject.

This advice was followed. The *Conſuls* ſignified to *Pontius*, that they conſented to lay down their arms, and paſs *under the Yoke*; upon which they obtained a conference with him. As to a Treaty of Peace, they declared, *That they could not conclude any that would be binding on the Roman People without their approbation, and the miniſtry of the Fecials. That their power extended no further than to make promiſes, which they were ready to ſtrengthen by giving Hoſtages.* The ſtipulation was accepted on theſe terms, and the *Conſuls*, *Lieutenant Generals*, *Queſtors*, and *Legionary Tribunes* all ſigned the Convention; ſix hundred *Roman Knights* were to be given as Hoſtages; and the *Samnites* were to have power to cut off their heads, in caſe the Republic did not perform the *Conſuls* promiſes.

When the day came for the *Roman* army to paſs *under the Yoke*, or Gallows, the ſix hundred Knights march'd firſt out of the camp, unarm'd, and with only their under garment; and theſe were taken into ſafe cuſtody. The *Conſuls* followed next, then the inferior Officers, and at laſt the Soldiers one by one. The *Samnites* inſulted them as they paſs'd; and if any *Roman* return'd but a fierce look, he was immediately knock'd down or kill'd.

The *Romans* could have reach'd *Capua* the ſame day; but partly out of diſtruſt of that City, and partly out of ſhame to be ſeen there in ſo wretched a condition, they threw themſelves on the ground in the neighbourhood of it, reſolving to paſs the night in the open air; which when the Magiſtrates of *Capua* underſtood, moved with compaſſion, they ſent clothes, horſes and arms, *Lictors* alſo and *Faſces* to the *Conſuls*, and food for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the Senate and People went out to meet them with all demonſtrations of kindneſs. Nevertheleſs the *Romans*, overwhelmed with ſhame, ſeemed unaffected with this hoſpitality: They kept their eyes fix'd on the ground, and ſhunn'd all diſcourſe. They were accompanied to the frontiers by ſeveral young men of the *Campanian* Nobility; but they ſtill obſerved the ſame behaviour, and ſhewed the ſame dejection of mind; which, when it was reported to the Senate of *Capua* by the young Nobles at their return, made the aſſembly in general conclude, that the *Roman* courage was for ever loſt, and their affairs deſperate. One of them however, a venerable old man, declared, that he judged differently of the dumb confuſion of the *Romans*. *I perceive*, ſaid he, *in this obſtinate ſilence*

Y. of R. 432. Bef. C. 320. 133 Consul-p.

Titus Veturius and *Spurius Postumius* [illegible] *their reasons to be convinced of it. And this being done, the different ways they were resolved, the Numidians were taken away from their eyes; but the* Samnites *will not always have Candine Straights to shut them up in.*

In the mean time the People at Rome, without orders from the Senate, and as it were by tacit consent, fell on the deserted Consuls. No invectives were spared against the Cowards (as they were termed) before their arrival; but as soon as they appeared, the public indignation changed into pity. Nevertheless, they did not enter the city that night; and then every one stole home, and hid himself in his own house: even the *Consuls* banished themselves from Society, after they had performed the indispensable duty of naming a *Dictator* to hold the *Comitia*. They pitched upon *Q. Publius Philo*; but some defect being found in the nomination, *Æmilius Papus* was substituted in his room. Nor did this *Dictator* hold the Assembly for the Elections; no Magistrate of this unfortunate year could please the People; the Government fell into an *Inter-regnum*.

Y. of R. 433. Bef. C. 319. 134 Consul-p. * A 2d time. ‖ A 3d time.

§ II. AND now all eyes were cast on two of the greatest men in the Republic. *Papirius* * *Cursor* and *Publilius* ‖ *Philo*, who were chosen *Consuls* in the *Comitia*, and they entered upon office the very day of their election. Their first care was to declare a decree of the Senate, importing, that there had been no defect in point of religion in their inauguration: After which the disposition made with the *Samnites* by the late *Consuls* was taken into consideration. *Postumius*, one of those unfortunate Generals, was order'd to speak first. He addressed himself to the assembly with an air of great modesty and humility, own'd the Treaty to be infamous, but declared, that the Roman People were not bound by it, since it had been made without their orders; and that the Republic was obliged in justice to nothing more, than to deliver up into the hands of the *Samnites* those of the army who had signed it. And he advised therefore, that the new *Consuls* should lead a new army into the field, but that before they enter'd upon action, they should surrender to the mercy of the *Samnites* his Colleague and him, with all the other officers who had been parties to the convention. The Senators were struck with admiration at the generosity of *Postumius*; and their compassion for him was equal to their esteem of his heroic virtue. However, they all approv'd of the proposal, except two *Tribunes of the People*, who had (privately) been raised to that office since their return from the Caudine Pyles. These contended, not only that the *Samnites* [illegible] *with regard to the persons concern'd in the Treaty, but that it was by no means sufficient to discharge the demands which the Samnites had upon* Rome; *and that as to themselves, they were* Sacrosanct *Magistrates, inviolable, and not to be deliver'd up to the enemy.* To the last of these pleas *Postumius* replied, *That the Senate might defer the delivering up of the Tribunes till their*

Livy, B. 9. ch. 8.

their Holineſſes *were out of Office, and then (if his advice might be followed) cauſe them to be beaten with rods in the public* Forum, *by way of Uſury for the delay.* But as to himſelf, and the reſt of the *Profane* Officers concern'd in the Treaty, he preſs'd the immediate execution of his propoſal; and he offer'd ſuch plauſible arguments to prove the invalidity of the *Caudine* Convention, and the ſufficiency of the ſatisfaction deſigned for the *Samnites*, that the Senate, whether convinced or not, were univerſally pleaſed with his diſcourſe, and acquieſced in his project. Nay, the two Tribunes themſelves, who had at firſt oppoſed it, conſented at length to follow the fate of their companions, and to that end abdicated their office. A. of *R.* 433. Bef. *J. C.* 319. 134 Conſul. p.

Poſthumius's propoſal was no ſooner paſs'd into a decree of the Senate, but it diſpell'd that cloud of ſorrow, with which the *Romans* had been covered ever ſince the misfortune of *Caudium*; it ſeem'd to them like the breaking out of the ſun upon the city after a total eclipſe. Nothing was talk'd of but the generoſity of *Poſthumius*, whoſe *Devotement* they compared to that of *Decius*; and the *Roman* youth were ſo animated, that there needed no orders to raiſe Troops; a new army was formed almoſt wholly of Voluntiers, and the *Caudine Legions* were again enrolled. As ſoon as theſe forces came near the enemy's camp, preparations were made for ſurrendering up the *Roman* Officers in due form by a *Fecialis*. *Cornelius Arvina* was the perſon appointed for this purpoſe; who having conducted the Priſoners bound into *Pontius*'s preſence, addreſſed himſelf to him in the following words: *Since theſe men undertook without any commiſſion to conclude a Treaty of Peace with you, and commited a crime in ſo doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourſelves from any ſhare in the puniſhment, which they alone have deſerved.* The *Fecialis* had ſcarce utter'd theſe words when *Poſthumius*, as if offended with what he had ſaid, gave him a hard blow on the thigh with his knee; and looking ſternly at him, *I am now*, ſaid he, *a* Samnite, *and you an Ambaſſador of* Rome: *I have therefore by this blow violated the Law of Nations, and you are thereby authoriſed to make war upon us.* But this little, low artifice ſerved only to raiſe the indignation of the *Samnite* General, and make him deſpiſe the author of it. He laid before *Poſthumius* and the *Fecialis* the injuſtice and baſeneſs of their proceedings. He told them, that if the *Roman* People would preſerve their honour untainted, and maintain the rules of equity, they muſt either perform the conditions of the Treaty, or ſend the *Roman* army again into the *Caudine Forks*. And as to *Poſthumius*'s behaviour to the *Fecialis*, he thus expoſtulated: *Will you be able to impoſe on the Gods by theſe thin diſguiſes? Will they take* Poſthumius *for a* Samnite, *and conſider the blow he has given, as an inſult offer'd to the* Roman *People by a* Samnite? *Is it thus that you ſport with Religion and the Faith of Treaties? Are ſuch ludicrous tranſactions becoming the Gravity of a* Conſul, *and the Dignity of a Great Nation? Lictors, untie the Priſoners, and leave them free to go where they pleaſe.* And thus the *Romans* were diſmiſſed.

Y. of *R.* 433. Bef. *J. C.* 319. 134 Conſul. p.

§. III. BUT now the *Samnites* repented too late of their not having hearkened to the wiſe counſels of old *Herennius*; they had a foreboding, ſays *Livy*, of the misfortunes that afterwards befell them; while the *Romans* on the other hand look'd upon the liberty they had obtained of making war as equal to victory. Not long after, the inhabitants of *Satricum* joined with a body of *Samnites*, who ſurpriſed *Fregellæ*, a *Roman Colony*, in the night, and, having by a promiſe of quarter engaged the greater part of the inhabitants to lay down their arms, burnt them afterwards alive. *Capua* likewiſe at this time prepared for a revolt; the chief Citizens enter'd into a plot to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. This, with ſome other alarms, induced the Republic to name a *Dictator*, the *Conſuls* being employed in the war. *C. Mænius* was choſen to that dignity, and he appointed *M. Foſlius* to be his General of Horſe. The new *Dictator*'s commiſſion extended only to the making enquiry into ſtate Crimes, and puniſhing them. And there needed no more to put a ſtop to the revolt of *Capua*; for the terror of a judge from whom there lay no appeal became ſo great throughout all *Campania*, that the heads of the conſpiracy kill'd themſelves to avoid puniſhment.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 26.

After this, the *Dictator* pretending that the powers given him by his commiſſion were not confined to the taking cognizance of ſeditious perſons and practices at CAPUA only, but extended to the cognizance of all conſpirators and conſpiracies whatſoever and wherſoever againſt the *Roman* State; and pretending farther that all intriguing and canvaſſing for offices was a kind of Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth, he cited ſeveral of the *Patricians* to appear before him on accuſations of that kind. The accuſed having no other reſource, called upon the Tribunes to interpoſe their negative, and put a ſtop to the proſecution; but not one of them would interfere in the matter. Hereupon the whole body of the Nobles took the alarm. They exclaimed in all places, that the *Patricians*, to whom, being nobly born, the way (if not obſtructed by indirect practices) was naturally open and eaſy to all Honours and Dignities, were not the perſons on whom this crime ſhould be charged; but certain upſtart Gentlemen, ſuch as the *Dictator* himſelf and his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who indeed ought rather to be proſecuted themſelves, than ſit as judges of other men; and they threatened that they would make the two inquiſitors know this, ſo ſoon as their Magiſtracy ſhould be expired.

Mænius, tho' free from guilt, yet fearing leſt his reputation ſhould ſuffer by the calumny, aſſembled the People, and laid before them the uprightneſs of his intentions and the impartiality of his conduct; and then, to give them a farther proof of his innocence, abdicated the *Dictatorſhip*, that he might be brought to a trial. *Foſlius* alſo, for the like purpoſe, reſigned his office at the ſame time. The Senate, by a ſpecial commiſſion, appointed the *Conſuls* of the year (probably recalled to *Rome* on this occaſion)

occasion) to be their judges; who having heard the witnesses, and fully examined the affair, honourably acquitted the accused *. Y. of R. 433. Bef. J.C. 319. 134 Consul-p.

This kind of inquisition descended afterwards to men of less distinction, and in a short time was entirely stopt by force of those very intrigues and cabals against which it was levelled.

* The account which has been given of Manius's affair is taken from *Livy*, who adds, that Publilius also was soon after brought to a trial on the same sort of accusation, and acquitted; but then *Livy* refers both these trials to the year 439, when *Manius* was indeed *Dictator*, according to the *Capitoline Marbles*, but *Publilius* was not *Consul*.

If *Publilius* stood his trial the same year that he was *Consul*, we must suppose that he also, as the *Jesuites Carro* and *Rouillé* have well observ'd, abdicated his office in order thereto. These learn'd Fathers conjecture that this was the case, and that *Papirius* being thereby left sole *Consul*, named to the Dictatorship *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, who appointed *Papirius* to be his General of the Horse, intending to be governed in all difficulties by his advice, as the ablest man in all the Commonwealth to conduct the present war: and what confirms the opinion, that the war was conducted by Papirius this year in quality only of *Master of the Horse*, is, that he had no Triumph for his conquests.

What induces the *Jesuites* (who have been followed in the Text) to place the trial of *Manius* in the year 433, is not the authority only of the *Capitoline Marbles* (which make *Manius* Dictator this year) but a passage of *Livy* † himself, who in the year 443 makes *Sempronius* the Tribune speak of Manius *being trusted Dictator, to enquire into State Crimes, and of his Administration in order to found his own Trial*, as things which had happen'd *within ten years*: an expression which he probably would not have used, if those events had happened but four years before.

It is indeed very difficult to reconcile the *Capitoline Marbles* with *Livy*, who seems to be at a loss in this part of the History, and to have made some confusion of times and events, not distinguishing the several Dictatorships of *Manius* as they are mark'd on those Marbles.

The Marbles give us three Dictators this year, *C. Manius*, *L. Cornelius*, and *T. Manius*. *Livy* mentions only the second, and in this manner; tho' he ascribes the exploits of the campaign, we are going to enter upon, to *Papirius* and *Publilius*, the *Consuls* of the year, yet he owns that the thing is doubtful, and that some give those exploits to *L. Cornelius* created *Dictator*, and *Papirius Cursor* his *Master of the Horse*.

† *Liv.* B. 9. ch. 34.

CHAP. XV.

§. I. *The* Romans *give the* Samnites *a great overthrow, and take from them* Luceria *in* Apulia; §. II. *And* Ferentum; *and recover* Satricum. *The character of* Papirius Cursor. §. III. *A two year's Truce is granted to some Cities of* Samnium. *The* Roman *arms prosper in* Apulia. Campania *is turned into a* Roman Præfecture. *Two new* Tribes *are formed, which make the whole number* 31. §. IV. *All* Apulia *is subdued.* Antium *receives laws from* Rome *for its future government.* Saticula, *a* Campanian *City, and* Sora (*in the country of the* Volsci) *both in alliance with the* Samnites, *are taken by the* Romans. §. V. *The Cruelty of the* Romans *towards three Cities of the* Ausones. *The* Samnite *war continues.*

Y. of *R.* 433 Bef. *J. C.* 319. 134 Conſul-p.

§. I. IT ſeems highly probable from ſome paſſages of *Livy*, joined with the authority of the *Capitoline Marbles*, that the operations of the campaign this year were governed by *Papirius Curſor*, not in quality of *Conſul*, and Collegue to *Publilius*, but of *General of the Horſe* to *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, created *Dictator*.

The chief view of the *Roman* Generals being to reſcue the 600 *Knights*, who had been delivered up to the *Samnites* as hoſtages, they to that end divided their forces. *Cornelius* put himſelf at the head of the ſame troops that had paſſed *under the Yoke*, and encamped them near *Caudium*, while *Papirius* marched towards *Luceria* in *Apulia*, where the *Roman* hoſtages were kept priſoners. *Pontius* the *Samnite* General was for ſome time in ſuſpence, whether to march to the relief of *Luceria*, or ſtay to make head againſt the *Dictator*. He feared that, if he marched, the enemy would fall upon his rear; and that, if he did not march, *Luceria* would be loſt. His reſolution at length was to put all to the hazard of a battle. The *Dictator* no ſooner perceiv'd the intention of the enemy, but he aſſembled his ſoldiers, and would have exhorted them, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, to behave themſelves with the courage becoming *Romans*; but he found his harangue to be entirely needleſs. The ſoldiers were ſo eager to fight, that they gave no attention to him; with one voice they all cried out, *To Battle.* When they drew near the *Samnites*, they preſs'd their *Enſigns* to march faſter, and, being ſpirited by revenge to a degree of fury, ruſh'd upon the enemy without obſerving their uſual order, or waiting the command of their General. Nothing could ſtand before them; the *Samnites* were routed, and their camp taken and plundered.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 13.

On the other hand *Papirius* having entered *Apulia*, and being aſſiſted by the people of *Arpi* (old enemies of the *Samnites*, their neighbours) had laid ſiege to *Luceria*, but was ſo ſtraitened by the difficulty of getting proviſions, that the arrival of the victorious army at his camp proved very ſeaſonable. The *Dictator* diſperſed his *Legions* about the country, intercepted the convoys that were going to the beſieged, and facilitated the bringing of proviſions to the camp of *Papirius*. The *Samnites*, who had likewiſe an army encamped near *Luceria*, finding that the place could not hold out long, reſolved to give the beſiegers battle. Every thing was getting ready on both ſides for a general action, when Ambaſſadors arrived from *Tarentum*, to put a ſtop to all hoſtilities by their mediation; and they threatened to declare themſelves againſt which ever party ſhould perſiſt in carrying on the war. *Papirius* pretending to liſten ſeriouſly to what they ſaid, told them, that he would conſult the *Dictator*; and accordingly he did ſo, but it was only on the meaſures to be taken in the engagement, for which he inſtantly prepared. While the *Romans* were ſacrificing, as was cuſtomary before a battle, the *Tarentine* Ambaſſadors came for their anſwer. *The Chickens*, cried *Papirius*, *feed perfectly well; ſo the Keeper of them tells us. The Gods too are much pleaſed with* our Sacrifices: *under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive.*

ceive. He then led his troops out of the camp, ridiculing the vanity of a little inſignificant People, who would needs make themſelves mediators of a peace between two powerful nations, when at the ſame time *Tarentum* could hardly ſupport itſelf under its own inteſtine diviſions. V. of *R.* 433. Bef. *J. C.* 319. 134 Conſul-p.

But now the *Samnites* abſolutely declined the fight, alledging that *Papirius* had deceived them by falſe hopes of an accommodation, and declaring, that out of reſpect to the *Tarentines* they would keep themſelves upon the defenſive within their camp. This timorouſneſs of the enemy encouraged the *Romans* to attack them in their intrenchments, which they did with ſo much ſucceſs, and with ſuch a ſpirit of vengeance, that ſcarce any of the *Samnites* would have eſcaped the ſlaughter, if the *Roman* Generals had not reſtrained the fury of their troops, in regard to the ſix hundred *Knights* in *Luceria*, whom the beſieged might perhaps, in revenge and deſpair, put to death. The Town being ſorely diſtreſſed by famine, the garriſon ſent an offer to releaſe the ſix hundred Hoſtages, on condition that the *Romans* would raiſe the ſiege. *Papirius* told the Deputies who came to him with this propoſal, that they ſhould have conſulted *Pontius* about the treatment proper to be expected by the vanquiſhed; and he peremptorily inſiſted, that all the ſoldiers in the place, to the number of 7000, ſhould unarmed, and with only one garment each, paſs *under the Yoke*, and *Pontius*, who had thrown himſelf into the Town, at the head of them. Theſe conditions were accepted; and thus the *Romans* retaliated the ignominy they had undergone at the *Caudine Forks*, and recovered their hoſtages. *Oroſ.* B. 3. ch. 15. and others.

§. II. AFTER the return of *Papirius* with the army to *Rome*, *Cornelius* laid down his *Dictatorſhip*, and another *Dictator*, *T. Manlius*, was choſen (as it ſeems probable) only to hold the Centuriate *Comitia*, where *Papirius* * *Curſor* was again raiſed to the *Conſulate*, and *Q. Aulius* † *Cerretanus* given him for a Collegue. The latter defeated the *Samnites* in *Apulia*, and took *Ferentum*, a town in that country. The former reduced *Satricum*, a City of *Latium*, which, as we have before obſerved, had gone over to the *Samnites*, tho' its inhabitants had obtained the privileges of *Roman Citizens*. *Faſt. Capit.* * A 3d time. † A 2d time. Y. of *R.* 434. Bef. *J. C.* 318. 135 Conſul-p.

The *Satricans*, as ſoon as the *Roman* army appeared before the walls, ſent out a Deputation to ſue for Peace. *Papirius* refuſed to grant it, unleſs they would kill all the *Samnite* garriſon, or deliver them alive into his hands. And, when they expoſtulated with him, aſking, How it was poſſible for them, who were but weak and unarmed, to maſter a garriſon armed and ſtrong? he bid them adviſe with thoſe by whoſe counſel they had received that garriſon into the Town. The *Satrican* Senate, upon the report of this anſwer from the *Conſul*, were divided in opinion what meaſures to take, one part conſiſting of thoſe who had counſelled the revolt to the *Samnites*, the other of the adherents to *Rome*. It happened that the garriſon, for want of proviſions to hold out a ſiege, had reſolved to march away the night following. That faction therefore which had called the *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 16.

Samnites

Y. of R. 434. Bef. J.C 318. 135 Consul-p.

Samnites in, thought it sufficient to give the *Consul* notice as what hour they would begin to move, through what gate they were to pass, and what road they were to take; but the other party, not content with this, opened another gate to the *Romans* at the same hour: so that the *Samnite* garrison were surprised and cut to pieces, and the town seized the same instant. *Papirius*, after an inquisition by torture concerning the chief authors of the revolt, caused the most guilty to be scourged and beheaded, disarmed all the *Saticans*, and placed a strong body of troops in the place.

For this conquest *Papirius* at his return to *Rome* had the honour of a Triumph, which had not been granted him for his more important exploits the year before, (probably) because he had acted under the *Auspices* of a superior Magistrate.

This *Papirius* is the man whom *Livy* represents as a Hero, who would have been a match for *Alexander the Great*, had that Conqueror turned his arms Westward, and come into *Italy*. He was no less remarkable for his vigour of mind, military skill and courage, than for his strength of body, and wonderful agility in running, which got him the surname of *Cursor*: and whether it were owing to his robust constitution, or continual exercise, no body ate or drank more than he; but he was also indefatigable in war, sharing the severest toils of it without hurting his health. Never had the *Roman* Horse or foot a General that kept them to harder service. 'Tis reported of him, that his Cavalry having taken the freedom to desire a little relaxation from their fatigues, after an expedition which had been successful, he answer'd, *Yes, by all means; when you alight from your Horses, I excuse you from the trouble of rubbing their backs.* *Papirius*, so severe in point of discipline, was naturally facetious, but not very gentle even in his jests. Walking one day before the door of his tent, while he was *Dictator*, he ordered a certain *Prætor* of *Prænesta*, who in a battle had behaved himself shamefully, to be called, and, as soon as he appeared, bid the Lictor *prepare his Ax*: When he saw the poor *Prænestine* ready to die with fear at the sound of those words, he presently added, *Dispatch*, Lictor, *cut away this stump of a tree that spoils my walk*: After which he only fined the *Prætor*, and dismissed him. Such was the character of the renowned *Papirius*.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 16.

Aurel. Vict de Viris Illustr.

Y. of R. 435. Bef. J.C. 317. 136 Consul-p.

§. III. IN the following *Consulship* of *L. Plautius Venno* and *M. Fulius Flaccinator*, many of the *Samnite* Cities sent Deputies to the *Roman* Senate to ask Peace; but these being referred to the People in *Comitia* (where the *Caudine* Legions doubtless made a part of the assembly) the *Samnites* could obtain, by urgent intreaties, no more than a two-year's Truce.

And now the terror, spread throughout *Apulia* by the *Roman* army which *Plautius* conducted thither, was so great, that the two Cities of *Teanum* and *Canusium* surrendered, to avoid being pillaged. *Capua* likewise being so divided by intestine seditions, as to be no longer in a condition to govern herself, desired the *Romans* to give her a Governor and new

new Laws; and it was at this time that the *Romans* first turn'd *Campania* into a *Præfecture**, and sent thither a *Præfect*. Y. of *R.* 435. Bef. *J. C.* 317. 139 Consul-p.

It was perhaps to make the *Campanians* some sort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up, or rather to keep them to their duty, that a new *Roman* Tribe was formed in their country. It was called the *Falerian Tribe*, doubtless from the hill *Falernus*, this Tribe possessing the delightful plain which surrounded that hill. Another Tribe was also established on the borders of the *Ufens*, and was therefore called *Tribus Ufentina*. So that the *Romans* had now thirty one Tribes, all which had a right of suffrage in the *Comitia by Tribes*.

By a *Census* taken this year, the number of men in *Rome* fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred and fifty thousand. *Fast. Capit.* *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 19.

§. IV. THIS happy war was followed by another as prosperous, under the administration of *Q. Æmilius Barbula* and *C. Junius Brutus*, who subdued and quieted *Apulia*. *Antium* followed the example of *Capua*, in asking a Governor and Laws from *Rome*. But this City was not made a *Roman Prefecture*, nor did she receive laws from a single Magistrate sent thither for that purpose. The care of making the laws by which the Magistrates were to govern was left to the Patrons of the *Colony*. It was then customary not only for private families, but likewise for Cities and Provinces to have their Patrons, who were often of the principal Nobility of *Rome*. The Patrons of the *Municipia* were generally of the families of those *Consuls* who had conquered them; and the Protectors of the *Colonies* were the children of those who had received the commission to plant them. Y. of *R.* 436. Bef *J.C.* 316. 137 Consul-p. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 20.

The succeeding *Consuls*, *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius*, were scarce entered upon their office, when the Republic, either from a distrust of their abilities, or for some other reason unknown, obliged them to nominate a *Dictator*, to carry on the war. They named *L. Æmilius*, who immediately put himself at the head of the *Legions*. He invested *Saticula*, a City of *Campania*, in alliance with the *Samnites*, and defeated the *Samnite* army that came to relieve it; but his Dictatorship expired before he could take the place. The *Samnites* not hoping to defend it, laid siege to *Plistia*. Y. of *R.* 437. Bef. *J.C.* 315. 138 Consul-p.

The *Romans* had now got such a habit of suffering none but *Dictators* to command their armies, that tho' the famous *Papirius* † *Cursor* and *Pub-* Y. of *R.* 438. Bef. *J.C.* 314. 139 Consul-p.

* All the Cities which the Republic subdued were not upon the same foot. Some were called *Colonies*, some *Municipia*, and some *Præfectures*.

The *Colonies* chose their Governors out of their own inhabitants, and, tho' subject to the *Roman* People, were a kind of petty Republics, modelled after the plan of *Rome*.

The *Municipia* kept their old laws, and the customs they had among them before they became *Roman*.

The *Præfectures* were in a worse condition than either the *Colonies* or *Municipia*. The *Præfects*, who were sent to them annually from *Rome*, had a power of changing their laws, and wholly swallowed up the authority of the other Magistrates. Some of these *Præfects* were chosen by the *Roman* People; and others received their commissions from the *Prætor* of *Rome*, and were properly speaking no more than his substitutes in the Provinces. The discord among the *Campanians* gave the first occasion to the institution of *Præfects*. And afterwards the *Romans* established this form of Government in several parts of *Italy*.

† A 4th time. *Fast. Capit.*

lilius

Y. of R. 438. Bef. J.C. 314 139 Consul p. † A 4th time.

lilius Philo § were chosen *Consuls* for the following year, we find *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who had been formerly General of the Horse to *Papirius* and ever since his implacable enemy, raised at this time to the *Dictatorship*, and commissioned to carry on the siege of *Saticula*. While he was making his attack, the *Samnites* came from before *Plistia*, and their cavalry insulted the *Roman* camp, in which he had left his Cavalry under the command of *Aulius Cerretanus*, his General of the Horse. *Aulius*, without consulting the *Dictator*, sallied out with the *Roman* Knights, and having discover'd the General of the *Samnites*, push'd on him, and laid him dead with the first push of his lance; but having penetrated too far into the enemy's squadrons, he could not retire; and the *Samnites* gave their General's brother the glory of revenging his death: He dismounted *Aulius*, and then stabbed him as he lay upon the ground. Hereupon the *Roman Knights* alighted from their horses, to recover their General's dead body; the *Samnite* cavalry did the same, and a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the *Romans* prevailed. The *Samnites* returned to the siege of *Plistia** (a City in alliance with the *Romans*) and took it by assault.

Livy, B. 9.

* *The situation of this place is unknown.*

In the mean time *Saticula* capitulated, and then the *Dictator* marched to besiege *Sora*, on the banks of the *Liris*, in the country of the *Volsci*. The *Sorans* had gone over to the *Samnites*, having first massacred a *Roman Colony* which had been settled in their city. To defend this place the *Samnites* followed the *Dictator* with all expedition. When *Æmilius* understood that they were not far behind him, he faced about, marched to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow pass of *Lautulæ*. The success of the battle was doubtful, night put an end to it, and both armies continued their march towards *Sora*.

And now the *Dictator* chose a new General of the Horse, *L. Fabius*, a kinsman of his own, to succeed *Aulius*. He ordered him to go to *Rome*, fetch thence some fresh levies, conceal his march from the enemy, and, when he had posted his men in some secure place near *Sora*, to wait the signal for moving. This was no sooner executed, than the *Dictator* pretended fear, and kept close within his intrenchments, in hopes thereby to draw the *Samnite* army near his camp; and it did not fail to have the desired effect. Then on a sudden hoisting over his tent the red standard, the signal for battle, he sallied out of his intrenchments, without letting the soldiers know the succours he had in readiness. They imagined it was some great distress, which made their General so suddenly change his resolution; and he confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them that *their case was such, that they must either conquer or perish; That he had ordered fire to be set to their tents and baggage, but that they might soon make up the loss, by the plunder of the rebellious cities.* However, his private orders were to set fire only to those tents which were next the ramparts, and this was to be the signal for the General of the Horse to move to his assistance, and fall upon the enemy in the rear. Every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, and by this stratagem the *Samnites* were entirely defeated, and their camp plundered; and the *Roman*

soldiers

soldiers had the further joy of finding, at their return, their wives and children that those cruel enemies had not burnt, and be

After this the Consuls laid siege to Sora, and the siege was continued by his successors in the command of the army, *Sp. Postumius Albus* and *C. Sulpicius Longus*, the new *Consuls*. They pitched their camps almost close to the walls of the Town. While they were deliberating and in doubt in what part to make their attack, a deserter from the besieged offered a scheme, whereby he proposed, with the help of some chosen men only, to put the place into their hands. The *Consuls* approved of the design, and in order to its execution removed their camp some miles distant from *Sora*. This drew the garrison into a kind of security, and in the mean time the deserter, at the head of the ten soldiers, stole in the night time into a part of the upper Town, probably unobserved, and the wall was unguarded, because thought inaccessible. Then placing his men in a narrow steep path, that led from the Citadel to the lower Town, and where they might easily defend themselves against a great multitude, he hastily ran down into the lower Town, crying out, *To arms, to arms, the enemy are in possession of the fortress*. A fright seized the inhabitants; they rushed out at the gates, and the *Romans* in the meeting entered the Town without resistance. Five hundred and seventy of the prisoners, who had been the chief authors of the revolt, and of the murders of the *Roman Colony* there settled, were sent to *Rome*, where they were first beaten with rods and then beheaded.

Y. of R 440. Bef. J.C. 313. Liv. B. 9. ch. 28. * A 3d time.

§. V. THE reduction of *Sora* was followed by the surprising of three Cities of the *Ausones* (*Ausona*, *Minturnæ* and *Vescia*) on the same day and at the same hour. The *Romans* seized these places, and barbarously massacred all the inhabitants, meerly upon an accusation (without proof) brought to the *Consuls* by twelve traitors of the nation, of their having formed a design to revolt. But *Livy* tells us, that this barbarity was owing to the absence of the Generals when the Town was seized.

Luceria, which had rebelled, was next taken by assault. Not only the *Samnite* garrison, but the Citizens were put to the sword; and a *Colony* of two thousand five hundred men was sent thither from *Rome*, to secure it for the future against all attempts.

Diod. Sic. B. 19.

Notwithstanding all these examples of severity, the restless *Campanians* prepared once more to shake off the *Roman* yoke; so that the Republic thought fit to name a Dictator, *C. Manius*, to go with an army into their country, and keep them in awe. In the mean time the Consul *Sulpicius* appear'd with his army near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* had drawn together a great body of troops, and were waiting for the insurrection of the *Campanians*, who they hoped would join them. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Samnites* lost thirty thousand men, kill'd or taken. And the conqueror marched his army to *Bovianum*, one of the principal Cities, if not the Capital of *Samnium*.

Liv. B. 9. ch. 26. Fast. Capit.

L. *Papirius Cursor* (a 6th time) and C. *Junius Brutus* (a 2d time) were now raised to the *Consulate*, but soon after, for what reason is unknown,

Y. of R. 440. Bef. J.C. 312. the 141 Consul p.

Y. of R. 440. Bef. J.C. 312. 141 Conful-p. Cl. Capit.

the Republic ordered a *Dictator* to be created. The nomination upon *C. Petelius Libo*, and he was appointed to command the troops. He repaired to the camp near *Bovianum*, but in a short time quitted that poft to retake *Frogella* from the enemy. They evacuated the place without ſtanding a ſiege, and then the *Dictator* appeared before *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, which he quickly reduced, together with *Atina* and *Calatia*, both in the ſame province. And thus the *Romans* were employ'd for two years in recovering by force of arms the Cities which the *Samnites* had drawn off from them by their negotiations.

Y. of R. 441. Bef. J.C. 311. 142 Conful-p.

Whilſt *M. Valerius Maximus*, one of the *Conſuls* for the new year, was carrying on the war againſt the *Samnites*, and *P. Decius Mus*, the other, was lying ſick at *Rome*, the Senate received advice, that the *Hetrurians* threaten'd the Republic with an invaſion, upon which they order'd *Decius* to name a *Dictator*; *C. Sulpitius Longus* being promoted to that dignity, raiſed a powerful army, and made all the preparations which the apprehenſion of a war with ſo populous a nation and ſo near a neighbour required. Nevertheleſs he was not in haſte to enter upon action; he kept himſelf upon the defenſive, and waited till the *Hetrurians* ſhould begin the hoſtilities; and this moderation had the effect he deſired. The *Hetrurians* upon farther reflection ſuſpended their deſign, and continued quiet within their own bounds.

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *one of the* Cenſors *of* Rome, *admits the* Sons of Freed Men *into the* Senate. *The People reform this abuſe the next year and make ſome new regulations.* §. II. Rome *has war with the* Hetrurians *and* Samnites. §. III. Appius *obſtinately refuſes to quit his office, tho' his eighteen months (the legal time for its duration) are expired. He is proſecuted before the People.*

§. I. BUT in the mean time the tranquillity of the Republic at home was a little diſturbed by *Appius*, one of the *Cenſors*. He was an able *Lawyer*, and an Oracle among the *Romans* in all knotty points of law, but a lover of innovations, taking great delight in overturning the moſt ancient inſtitutions, and in ſetting up for a Legiſlator. Hitherto none but *Patricians*, or the moſt conſiderable of the Commons, had been admitted into the Senate; but *Appius* introduced there the *Libertini*, i. e. *the ſons of thoſe who had been ſlaves, and had obtained their liberty.* Having thus debaſed the Senate, he attacked the Prieſthood, which had always been confined to the Nobility. The oldeſt Prieſthood in *Rome* was that belonging to the Altar, called *Ara Maxima*, erected by *Evander* to *Hercules*; it had been given at that very time to an old man of the *Alleryones*, named *Potitius*, and had continued ever ſince in his family. The *Cenſor* prevailed with the

Potitii

Pomponius de Origine Juris.

D. Hal. B. 1

Y. of R. 442.
Bef. J.C. 310
143 Conful-p.
Val. Max. l. 1. c. 1.
Livy, B. 9. c. 29.
Frontin. de Aquæduct.

were no [illegible] on their petition, but they complained to the People in Comitia of [illegible] and got it cancelled. So that the [illegible] only [illegible] out of the twenty four *Legionary Tribunes* in the *Conſular* armies, conſiſting of four armies. This privilege had been for ſome time paſt uſurped [illegible] but now it was decreed, that [illegible] Tribunes, at the motion of *Decius Mus*, ch. 30. one of their [illegible] affairs of the Republic.

§. II. WHILST the *Romans* were employed in theſe regulations, their *Conſuls* prepared to lead two armies † into the field. It fell to *Brutus*'s lot to carry on the war in Samnium, and to *Æmilius* to march againſt the *Hetrurians*, who had now begun hoſtilities. *Æmilius* found the enemy ready to give battle at *Sutrium*, a Town in alliance with the *Romans*, about thirty miles from *Rome*, and a fort of key to the *Roman State* on that ſide. The *Hetrurians*, truſting to their numbers, ventured a battle, and were

* *Livy* (B. 9. ch. 29.) ſpeaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the *Fabii*, conſiſting of 12 families, in which were thirty perſons at or paſt the age of puberty, periſhed within the ſpace of a year, from the anger of Gods not to [illegible] innovations in Religion: And that *Appius* alſo was ſtruck blind ſome years after, as a puniſhment for his profaneneſs.

† *Livy* tells us (B. 9. ch. 30.) that while the *Romans* were burthened with the care of two dangerous wars, an adventure happened too trifling to be mentioned in Hiſtory, were it not for the relation it had to Religion. All the public Pipers, or Players upon the Flute, ran away together on a ſudden to *Tybur* in great dudgeon, becauſe the *Cenſors* had forbid them to feaſt and carouſe in the Temple of *Jupiter*, as they had uſed to do; ſo that there was no body to play during the pomp of the ſacrifices. The Senate, with a pious concern, diſpatched ſome Deputies to *Tybur*, who were to endeavour to prevail with the People of that place, that the Pipers might be ſent back to *Rome*. The *Tyburtins* not being able to withſtand theſe ſollicitations, by perſuaſions, to return, contrived, on occaſion of ſome feſtival, to make them all dead-drunk, and then ſent them home in carts. When they awaked in the morning, they found themſelves in the middle of the *Forum*. The People, who were got together about them, bid them ſtay, and not attempt any more ſuch evaſions; the privilege of feaſting in the Temple was reſtored to them, and a new one was granted them of ſtrolling about the city three days every year in maſquerades, piping and ſinging. This cuſtom ſtill prevailed in *Livy*'s time.

Y. of R. 442. Bef. J. C. 310. 143 Consul-p.

Junius Brutus less successful against the [illegible] and [illegible] Samnites, and then Governor also [illegible] Gaul, [illegible] And now the Romans, no longer daring to contend with [illegible] in the open field, had recourse to ambush, and endeavour'd to [illegible] enemies into new Straits and Forts. Between Cause and Powel in Campania [illegible] of it, [illegible] the birds might suggest to them how they behaved to the [illegible] the ambassadors. The Roman Consul in one of the wings [illegible] into this forest, where they secretly had posted great numbers of men; they alarmed the Roman Troops by the hopes of booty. But the Romans, upon the first discovery of the ambush, drew up in order with their [illegible] and [illegible] that party defeated the enemy, and left [illegible] upon the spot.

Zonaras, B. 6. Livy, B. 9. ch. 31.

Y. of R. 443. Bef. J. C. 309. 144 Consul-p. * A 2d time.

§. III. IN the following Consulship of Q. Fabius and C. Marcius Rutilus, the tranquillity and command at home, to which the [illegible] prosperity abroad was owing, was much disturbed by the [illegible] and obstinacy of the Consul Appius. In this year, we are told, [illegible] enacting, that no Censor should continue in his office longer than eighteen months: But Appius refused to comply with this [illegible] and to resign the Censorship to his Colleague after the expiration of his term, depending on the favour of the People, who were pleased with his Aqueducts and new Roads. Nevertheless Plautius, one of the Tribunes, made no scruple to [illegible] and [illegible] of the Senate, [illegible] himself, both be [illegible] of the Censors who [illegible] To this Appius answered, that his case was not the same with theirs, and that the Law in question bound only the Censors of that year. Plautius, finding that no body applauded this answer, immediately ordered him to prison. But then Appius appealed to the whole body of the Tribunes, of whom three took him under their protection, while the other favour'd his adversaries; and as no person could be condemned at their Tribunals, unless they were all unanimous, he by this means escaped, and kept the Censorship alone, more than three years longer, contrary to the inclination and interest of the Public.

Pomponius de Origine juris. Livy, B. 9. ch. 33. Frontinus and the Author of the Lives of Illust. Men.

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. The Consul Fabius defeats the Hetrurians. He penetrates into the Christian Forest, despite the endeavours; after which he gives the enemy a second overthrow. §. II. The Roman arms have equal success against the Samnites. The Senate order Fabius to name Papirius Cursor (the

(the more to encourage him) to be Dictator *to carry on the war.* §. III. *He continues (with the title of* Proconsul*) successfully to conduct the war against the* Hetrurians. §. IV. *The* Dictator Papirius *is no less successful against the* Samnites. *He returns to* Rome, *and retires for the rest of his life from public business.* §. V. *The* Samnites, *assisted by the* Marsi *and* Peligni *are defeated. The* Hetrurians *sue for an Alliance with* Rome. *The* Romans *subdue all* Umbria. §. VI. *They send an army against the* Salentines. *The* Hetrici *rebel and are subdued; and the* Samnites *are frequently defeated.* §. VII. *The* Samnites *request and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with* Rome. *The* Equi, *who had lately revolted, are totally subdued.*

§. I. THIS intestine disturbance did not stop the progress of the *Roman* arms. *Fabius* marched against the *Hetrurians*, and defeated them near *Sutrium*. The run-aways took refuge in the *Cimmian* Forest, a forest, says *Livy*, more impassable and dreadful than those of *Germany*, and which in all probability no one had ever passed thro' since the creation. *Fabius* was almost the only man in the army who had the boldness to think of entering into it; they were afraid of finding *Caudine Forks* in it. The General had with him at this time a near relation, named *Caius Fabius*, who had been educated at *Clusium* in *Hetruria*, and spoke the language of the country perfectly well. *Caius* undertook to examine the forest and the places about it. He was accompanied in this enterprise by only one servant, who having been brought up with him, was also well acquainted with the *Tuscan* language. Before they set out, they took care to inform themselves of the names of the several Governors, and of the nature and situation of the places through which they were to pass, that in conversation they might not be discover'd through their ignorance of any thing that was notorious to all the natives. They were clad in the habit of shepherds, bearing each a cleaving bill and two javelins after the manner of the peasants. But neither their dress, their arms, nor their familiar use of the language, was so good a security to them against a discovery, as the general notion that no stranger would dare to enter that forest. In this disguise they are said to have travell'd as far as to *Camerinum* in *Umbria*, where they discover'd themselves to be *Romans*, treated with the Senate of the City in the name of the *Consul*, and obtained a promise from them to furnish the *Roman* army with a reinforcement of men, and with thirty days provision, in case it should come into those parts.

Y. of *R.* 443. Bef. *J. C.* 309. 144 Consul-p.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 36.

Upon the report made by *Caius* at his return, *Fabius*, when it grew dark, first sent away his baggage, and soon after his infantry, to enter the forest; he himself foll'd in the camp with his cavalry, and early the next morning began to skirmish with the advanced guard of the *Hetru-*

In French Leagues, whence *Caius* had far out to *Camerinum* in *Umbria*, it was a two day's journey.

rians

Y. of R. 443. Bef. J. C. 309. 144 Consul. p.

rians that were posted without the wood. When by this means he had long enough amused the enemy, he retired into his camp, from whence he went out at another gate and overtook his main army before night. The next morning by day-break he reached the top of the hill *Ciminus* on the further side of the forest, and which gave name to it: From hence he survey'd a while the fertile plains of *Hetruria*, and then sent out a detachment of soldiers, who not only brought off a great booty, but defeated a tumultuous army that had got together to relcue it out of their hands. After this the *Romans* returned to their camp near *Sutrium*, where they found two Tribunes of the People with five Deputies from the Senate, dispatched expresly to forbid *Fabius* to enter the *Ciminian* Forest. These messengers were extreamly pleased, that they had come too late to hinder an expedition which had succeeded so well. They returned to *Rome* with the joyful tidings, that a way was opened into *Hetruria*.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 37.

The detachment which *Fabius* had sent out to plunder, had alarm'd all the country near the foot of the hill *Ciminus*, and even the people of *Umbria* on the confines of *Hetruria*, so that prodigious numbers of each nation took the field, and came to the camp before *Sutrium*. And now the *Hetrurians* not only brought their camp forward, but came out and drew up their forces in order of battle in the plain, leaving a space for the enemy to do the like. Finding that the *Romans* declined the fight, they advanced almost to their very trenches; and the soldiers cried out with one voice to their officers, that the remainder of their allowance of provision for that day might be brought to them, for they would stay there under arms, and attack the *Roman* camp, either in the night or early the next morning. *Fabius*, to deceive the enemy, still pretended fear, and kept close within his entrenchments; but he bid his men refresh themselves, and be ready for action upon the first signal. To raise their courage, he made a short harangue to them, extolling to a high degree the exploits of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium*, and assuring them, that the *Hetrurians* were not soldiers comparable to the *Samnites* for strength or courage; to this he added some dark words, by which he made them believe he had a secret correspondence in the enemy's camp, and was sure of the victory. About the fourth watch of the night he drew up his army in order of battle, within the entrenchment of the camp, caused the ramparts to be levell'd, and the ditch to be fill'd, and then marched out, and surprised the enemy while half asleep, and lying scattered over the plain. Of the *Hetrurians* were sixty thousand men slain or taken prisoners. Those who could escape, fled into the wood. Their camp was seized and plundered. Some say, that this action happened in the country beyond the hill *Ciminus* near *Perusia*. Be that as it will, three the most considerable *Lucumonies*, after this overthrow, sent Deputies to *Rome* to sue for Peace; they obtained a Truce for thirty years.

§. II. BUT the *Roman* arms under the conduct of the Consul *Marcius* had not the like success against the *Samnites*. For tho' he gained at first some advantages over them, the *Roman* fleet, commanded by *P. Cornelius*,

lius, met with misfortunes. This was the first fleet the *Romans* had ever put to sea. The Admiral made a descent at *Pompeii*, beyond Cape *Pelorus*, and his troops meeting with no opposition at first, were, by the eager desire of booty, carried farther into the country than was consistent with prudence, so that the inhabitants had time to get together, and intercept them in their return. The *Romans* were forced to relinquish their spoil; some of them were slain, and those who escaped the sword were chased to their ships. Y. of *R.* 443. Bef. *J.C.* 309. 144 Consul-p.

This news, with a false report that *Fabius* had met with *Caudine Forks* in the *Ciminian* forest, revived the courage of the *Samnites*, and they gave *Marcius* battle. Much blood was spilt in the action on both sides, and it was not known which had the advantage. Nevertheless, as the *Consul* was dangerously wounded, and as it was believed at *Rome* that his army had been defeated, the Republic judged it necessary to create a *Dictator*, and she cast her eyes again on *Papirius Cursor*. The difficulty was how to get him nominated. Whether *Marcius* were alive or not, was a matter of doubt, and the *Samnites* had stop'd up all the ways to his camp. And as for *Fabius*, it was much questioned whether he would be prevailed upon to name his mortal enemy to the *Dictatorship*, or whether *Papirius* would accept of that dignity from him. To remove these difficulties, the Senate passed a decree, commanding *Fabius* to nominate *Papirius* to the *Dictatorship*, and enjoining *Papirius* to accept of it. When the Deputies from the Senate arrived at *Fabius*'s camp, and proposed the matter to him, he was struck with surprize and confusion, but kept his temper, and retired to his tent without coming to any determination for some time. At length his love for his country got the ascendant of his personal resentment against *Papirius*, and at midnight (according to custom) he declared him *Dictator*. Nevertheless, he shew'd by his carriage the inward struggle he had to conquer his passions; for when the Deputies congratulated him on the victory he had gained over himself, they could not draw one word from him.

We have a remarkable instance at this time of the excessive superstition of the *Romans*. *Papirius*, after his nomination to the *Dictatorship*, and after he had appointed *C. Junius Bubulcus* to be his *Master of the Horse*, had recourse * (as seems to have been the custom in these days at least) to an assembly of the People by *Curiæ* to obtain his commission. It having fallen by lot to the *Curia* called *Faucia* to vote first, the assembly would not proceed in the matter, because to the same *Curia* had fallen the like *prerogative* in those unfortunate years, when ROME was taken by the *Gauls*, and the *Roman* Legions were surprised in the *Caudine Forks*. The business was put off to the next day, and then *Papirius* obtained his commission without any ominous circumstance.

* Ei [Papirio] legem curiatam de imperio ferenti, triste omen diem diffidit, quod Faucia curia fuit principium, duabus infignis cladibus, captæ urbis & Candinæ pacis: quod utroque anno ejusdem curiæ fuerat principium. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 38.

He march'd away with an army which had been suddenly raised upon the alarm, formerly mention'd, of *Fabius*'s danger in passing the *Ciminian* forest, and arrived at *Longula* on the frontiers of the *Volsci*, where *Marcius* delivered up to him the troops under his command. *Papirius* offered the *Samnites* battle, but they declined it; and for some days after both parties continued quiet in their camps.

Y. of *R.* 444. Bef. *J. C.* 308. Fast. Cap.

In the mean time *Fabius*, who in quality of *Proconsul* had been continued at the head of the forces in *Hetruria*, not only put to flight without difficulty an army of *Umbrians*, but obtained a notable victory over the *Hetrurians*, who had assembled on the banks of a little lake called *Vadimonius* (near *Viterbo*) a more numerous and more courageous army than they had ever had before. All the soldiers of it were men who had chosen * one another to the service, and (as some think) made a vow to conquer or die. This is supposed to be the meaning of their *Lex sacra*, by which they were bound: whoever violated this oath might by any man be slain with impunity. Be that as it will, the extraordinary engagement, by which they had bound themselves, had such an effect upon them, that during the action the *Romans* could not believe that they were contending with the same people, they had so often vanquished. The first line of the *Roman* army was cut to pieces, and the second repulsed; so that the *Proconsul* was obliged to bring his *Triarii* to the charge; nor was even this sufficient; it became necessary for the Cavalry to dismount, and go to the assistance of the Foot. But when the *Roman* Knights, who were quite fresh and in full strength, passing over heaps of slain, had placed themselves in the front of the battle, they made so furious an attack on the enemy, and were so well seconded by the Legionary Soldiers (tho' much fatigued) that the *Hetrurians* were soon broken, and their whole army put to flight. They lost the flower of their troops in this action.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 39.

§. IV. NOR was *Papirius* less successful against the *Samnites*, who, to give their soldiers more pride and spirit, had furnished them with finer arms and finer habits than usual. They divided their troops into two bodies, one of which they cloathed in stuff of various colours, and provided with gilt bucklers; the other had silver'd buckers, and were cloathed in white habits; and they had all crests to their helmets, to make them look taller. That this novelty might have no ill effect upon the *Roman* soldiers, their officers put them in mind, that the true dress of a soldier was a sword and courage; that gold and silver were of no use in battles, and made but an ugly figure when distained with blood, but would be a very good booty to inrich the conquerors.

Papirius commanded the right wing of the *Romans*, which faced the many-colour'd troops of the enemy; and his General of the Horse, *Junius Brutus*, commanded the left, which faced their white battalions: *Brutus* cried out, as he advanced towards the enemy, *I devote these white men to* Pluto, *the black God of Hell.* The *Legions* he commanded quickly

* Lege sacrata coacto exercitu, quum vir virum legisset. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 39.

forced

forced the *Samnites* to give ground, which *Papirius* obſerving, cried out to thoſe of the right wing. *What!* ſaid he, *you have the* DICTATOR *at your head, and ſhall victory begin in the left?* While *Papirius* thus animated the Infantry of the right to make a vigorous charge, his two Lieutenants (both eminent men, who had been Conſuls) *M. Valerius* (on the right) and *P. Decius* (on the left) quitted the Foot, and putting themſelves at the head of the Cavalry, each on his own ſide, made a ſudden and furious attack on the enemy's flanks. The *Samnites* finding themſelves almoſt ſurrounded, a terror ſeized them, they inſtantly broke their ranks and fled to their camp; but their loſs in the battle had been ſo great, that they durſt not think of defending it. Before night it was taken and burnt. Y. of *R.* 444. Bef. *J.C.* 308. 144 Conſul-p.

Papirius, after the victory, returned to *Rome*, and had a Triumph, of which the fine arms taken from the *Samnites* were the chief ornaments. They were afterwards delivered to the Goldſmith's company, to beautify the *Roman Forum* with them. And hence aroſe the cuſtom of the *Ædiles* adorning the *Forum*, on thoſe days when the images of the Gods were carried in proceſſion through the ſtreets of *Rome* in chariots. *Faſt. Capit.*

The Triumph of the *Proconſul Fabius* followed that of the *Dictator*, and, tho' leſs ſplendid, was accompanied with more applauſe, becauſe he had had no ſhare in his glory; whereas the other had been much indebted for his ſucceſs, not only to his General of the Horſe, but to his two Lieutenants, *Valerius* and *Decius*.

§. V. *PAPIRIUS* was now grown old. He appeared no more in any publick ſtation, but for the future left all the glory of heroical exploits to his rival *Q. Fabius*, who was now (the 3d time) with *P. Decius Mus* (the 2d time) raiſed to the Conſulate. *Samnium* fell by lot to the former, and *Hetruria* to the latter. *Fabius* took *Nuceria*, the laſt town in *Campania*, on the other ſide of mount *Veſuvius*, from the *Samnites*, and defeated them afterwards in a battle, but a battle ſo inconſiderable, that it would not deſerve notice in Hiſtory, had it not preſented the Republic with new enemies who had not before appeared. The *Marſi* and *Peligni*, two petty nations in the neighbourhood of *Samnium*, northward, had joined the *Samnites*, tho' with little benefit to their allies. Y. of *R.* 445. Bef. *J.C.* 307. 145 Conſul-p. *Diod. Sic.* B. 19. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 41.

As for *Decius*, he made ſuch a happy progreſs in his province, that all *Hetruria* deſired an alliance with *Rome*: But the Republic having (doubtleſs) formed the deſign of conquering this country, granted the *Hetrurians* only a Truce for one year. Soon after the *Umbrians* aſſembled all their forces, and, being joined by great numbers of *Hetrurians*, they confidently boaſted, that, leaving *Decius* behind them in *Hetruria*, they would march directly to *Rome*. This put both the *Conſuls* in motion. The prudent and circumſpect *Decius* made long marches from *Hetruria*, and encamped his army in the *Pupinian* field, lying in the way from *Umbria* to *Rome*. But the enterpriſing *Fabius* no ſooner received orders from the Senate (alarmed by the preparations of the *Umbrians*) than he quitted *Samnium*, croſſed *Sabinia*, entered *Umbria*, and encamped in the very

heart of the country near *Mevania*, on the banks of the *Clitumnus*. The *Umbrians* were terrified at his unexpected appearance among them; and tho' they ventured to give battle, they behaved themſelves like women in the action: the *Romans* hardly made uſe of their ſwords; they beat down the enemy with their bucklers alone, ſo that little blood was ſpilt; but the whole army were made priſoners, and the whole nation ſoon after ſubmitted. After this *Fabius* returned to his camp in *Samnium*.

Y. of *R.* 446. Bef. *J.C.* 305. 146 Conſul-p.

§. VI. THE time being now come for a new election of *Conſuls*, *Appius Claudius*, who had held the *Cenſorſhip* five years contrary to law, ſtood candidate for the *Conſulate*, and obtained it. *L. Volumnius Flamma* was appointed his Collegue. *Appius* not being qualified for the command of armies, the Senate obliged him to ſtay in *Rome*; and notwithſtanding his oppoſition to it, continued *Fabius* in quality of *Proconſul*, and without any aſſociate, in the command of the troops in *Samnium*, where he obtained a conſiderable victory over the enemy near *Aliſæ*, on the banks of the *Vulturnus*. In the mean time *Volumnius* made war againſt the *Salentines*, in the extreme part of *Italy*, with good ſucceſs, and for the firſt time ſpread the terror of the *Roman* name in thoſe parts.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 42.

Faſt. Capit.

In the election of Magiſtrates for the following year, the *Romans* choſe *Appius* to be *Prætor*, a poſt much better ſuited to his talents; and at the ſame time raiſed *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* to the *Conſulate*. The former was order'd to march againſt a body of *Hernici*, who had taken arms on account of the ſevere treatment which ſome of their countrymen (made priſoners in the laſt battle of the *Romans* with the *Samnites*) had ſuffered at *Rome*. The rebels loſt three camps in a few days, and were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. This war being ended, *Marcius* haſten'd to join his Collegue, who had ſuffer'd himſelf to be inveſted in narrow paſſes by the *Samnites*. The enemy, to prevent the uniting of the two armies, gave *Marcius* battle, while his troops were fatigued and in ſome diſorder. The place where they attack'd him being not far from the camp of *Cornelius*, the latter could hear the ſhouts of the combatants, and ſee the clouds of duſt that they raiſed; judging therefore that his Collegue was engaged in fight with the enemy, he ſallied out of his entrenchments, fell upon the *Samnites* in flank, broke through them, and made his way to their camp, which he found empty, and ſet fire to it. The ſight of the fire totally diſcouraged them, ſo that they immediately diſperſed themſelves and fled, leaving thirty thouſand men dead on the ſpot. But this action was no ſooner over, than the *Romans* were obliged to enter upon a new engagement with a body of troops that were coming to recruit the *Samnite* army. The ſucceſs of this battle being the ſame with that of the preceding one, the *Samnites* were reduced to ſue for peace. The *Conſuls* referr'd their Deputies to the Senate and People of *Rome*.

Y. of *R.* 447. Bef. *J.C.* 305. 147 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 43.

Whilſt *Marcius* and *Cornelius* were yet in the field, the time came for electing new Magiſtrates; ſo that a *Dictator* was named to preſide in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, who choſe *Poſthumius Megellus* and *Tib. Minucius*

Conſuls.

Conſuls. Before they took poſſeſſion of their office, the Senate determined the fate of the *Hernici*. Thoſe of their cities that had continued faithful, were allowed to chuſe whether to live according to their ancient laws, or to have the right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, and they preferred the former. The reſt were declared *Roman* Citizens, and obliged to be govern'd by *Roman* Laws, whether they liked it or not, yet without having the right of ſuffrage. Y. of *R.* 447. Bef. *J.C.* 305. 147 Conſul-p.

At this time Deputies arrived from *Carthage*, with a compliment and preſents to the Republic; and ſome Hiſtorians ſay, that a third treaty was now made with the *Carthaginians*.

The new *Conſuls* were both ordered into *Samnium*, each at the head of two *Legions*. *Poſthumius* directed his march towards the city of *Tifernum*, and *Minucius* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Bovianum*. The firſt came to a battle with the *Samnites*, the ſucceſs of which was equal on both ſides; but he pretended to be worſted, retired the next night to the mountains, and there fortified himſelf in an advantageous place. The *Samnites* followed him, and encamped within two miles of him. *Poſthumius* hereupon finiſh'd his entrenchments with all expedition, and leaving a ſufficient number of troops to guard them, marched out at midnight with the reſt, and join'd his Collegue, who lay in ſight of another body of *Samnites* that waited for an opportunity to engage. *Minucius*, by the advice of *Poſthumius*, advanced into the plain with only his two *Legions*, and offered the enemy battle. The victory was long diſputed; but at length *Poſthumius* appearing with his freſh troops, and falling ſuddenly upon the *Samnites*, whoſe ſtrength was exhauſted, the latter ſuffered a terrible ſlaughter. They loſt one and twenty Enſigns. This action over, the two *Conſuls* led their joint forces to *Poſthumius*'s camp, and thence fell upon that body of *Samnites* which was poſted near it. This proved a bloodier battle than the former; *Minucius* was killed in it, and *Statius Gellius*, the *Samnite* General, taken priſoner. Victory declared for the *Romans*, who took twenty ſix Enſigns from the enemy. Y. of *R.* 448. Bef. *J.C.* 304. 148 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 44.

The People at *Rome*, on the news of *Minucius*'s death, immediately appointed *Fulvius Curvus* to ſucceed him, and to finiſh the campaign, which he did by reducing *Bovianum* and ſeveral other cities to ſurrender, for which he had a Triumph at his return home. *Faſt. Capit.*

§. VII. IN the beginning of the adminiſtration of the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *C. Sempronius Sophus* and *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Samnite* nation ſent Deputies to *Rome* to deſire a renewal of the ancient confederacy with the Republic: But the *Romans* before they would grant this requeſt, diſpatched *Sulpicius* with an army into *Samnium*, to examine the ſincerity of the *Samnites*, and diſcover their real ſentiments. They received the *Conſul* every where with great marks of reſpect and friendſhip; and upon his report of the ſeeming alteration in their diſpoſitions, a new alliance was made with them on the old foot. Y. of *R.* 449. Bef. *J.C.* 303. 149 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 45.

And now the Republic prepar'd to puniſh their old enemies the *Æqui*, who, notwithſtanding the Treaty between them and *Rome*, had

Y. of *R.* 449. Bef. *J.C.* 303. 149 Conſul-p.

many times privately ſent ſuccours to the *Samnites*, and had of late openly eſpouſed their cauſe, following the example of the *Hernici*. They had likewiſe returned this haughty anſwer to the *Roman Fetiales*, who had been ſent to them to demand ſatisfaction: *That they ſuppoſed it was only a trial, whether through the fear of a war they would ſuffer themſelves to be made* Roman Citizens; *which, how deſirable a thing it was, the* Hernici *had taught them; ſeeing thoſe of that nation, who had been left free to chooſe, had preferred* their own Laws *to* Roman Citizenſhip; *and thoſe who had been compelled to be* Roman Citizens *looked upon it as a puniſhment.* War was therefore declared againſt the *Æqui*, and both the *Conſuls* were ordered to enter their country. The long ſubjection and inaction of this people had enervated their courage, and untaught them Military Diſcipline. They aſſembled an army, but there was no order, no ſubordination among the ſoldiers, nor could they come to any agreement what meaſures to take. At length they all unanimouſly left their camp at midnight, and every one made the beſt of his way home. The *Conſuls*, who the next morning drew up their troops with an intention to offer battle, were much ſurprized at the inaction of the enemy, and the ſilence that reigned in their camp. No advanced guards appeared, no centinels upon the ramparts. At firſt they ſuſpected an ambuſh, and proceeded with caution; but when they diſcovered the truth, reſolved to lay ſiege to the Cities whither they had retreated. In fifty days the *Conſuls* took forty one Towns, moſt of which they razed or burnt, which entirely reduced the *Æqui*; and this rapid deſtruction ſpread ſuch a terror among the neighbouring nations, that the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Frentani*, and *Marrucini*, all ſent to ſollicit an alliance with the Republic. Their requeſt was granted.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The renowned* Q. FABIUS *being* CENSOR *this year, acquires the ſurname of* MAXIMUS, *for his reformation of an abuſe introduced by* APPIUS. §. II. *Colonies are ſent to the Conquered Cities. The art of Painting is introduced at* Rome *by* C. FABIUS, *ſurnamed* PICTOR. Cleonymus, *ſon of* Cleomenes *King of* Sparta, *brings a fleet upon the coaſt of* Italy, *and makes two deſcents there.* §. III. *An inſurrection of the* Marſi *is quell'd. After a victory over the* Hetrurians, *a Truce is granted them, for two years.*

Y. of *R.* 449. Bef. *J.C* 303. 149 Conſul-p.

§. I. THIS ſucceſs of the *Roman* arms abroad was followed by reformations at home. The famous *Q. Fabius Rullianus* being this year (with *P. Decius Mus*) in the *Cenſorſhip*, employed his power to rectify an abuſe introduced by the ambitious *Appius* into the State. *Appius*, as we have already * ſeen, to make himſelf Maſter in the Senate, had brought the ſons of Freed-men into it; but this diſorder had not laſted above

* In the year 441.

above one year; his liſt of Senators was cancell'd, and the old one took place. Not ſucceeding therefore in that enterprize, he, in order to govern the Elections in the *Comitia*, diſperſed the Freed-men and the very lees of the People, men wholly devoted to him, into all the *Roman Tribes*, and this occaſioned endleſs broils in the Republic. It was owing to the ſame cauſe, that the *Curule Ædileſhip* fell this year into the hands of two very mean perſons, the one a native of *Præneſte*, the other *Cn. Flavius*, the ſon of a *Freed-man*, and whoſe firſt profeſſion had been that of a Writing-maſter. At the inſtigation of *Appius*, whoſe Secretary he then was, he had put frequent queſtions to the *Pontifices* concerning the Calendar, and the rules by which they ſettled the Holidays, the days for hearing Cauſes, and ſuch other matters as were within their peculiar province; and having by degrees got the ſecret from them, he compoſed a Calendar, tranſcribed it, and fixed it up in the *Forum* for the uſe of the People; who being thereby freed from their dependance on the *Pontifices* in this reſpect, rewarded their Almanack-maker with ſeveral honourable employments, to which they raiſed him ſucceſſively, and at length with the *Curule Ædileſhip*. The Nobles were ſo deeply affected with the indignity offered them by this promotion of *Flavius*, that they laid aſide their ornaments, and particularly their Gold Rings, which they had but lately begun to wear.

Y. of *R.* 449. Bef. *J.C.* 303. 149 Conſul-p.

Val. Max. B. 2. ch. 1. *Aul. Gel.* B. 9. ch. 9. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 46. *Pomponius* de Origine Juris.

Plin. B. 33. ch. 1.

Fabius, to re-eſtabliſh peace in *Rome*, and to hinder the great dignities from being beſtowed on worthleſs men, reincorporated into the four *City-Tribes* thoſe mean fellows whom *Appius* had taken thence, and diſperſed among the *Country-Tribes*; ſo that for the future they could influence no more than four *Tribes*, and in theſe they were not the ſtrongeſt: a reformation ſo agreeable to the Republic, that on this account alone the *Romans* gave *Fabius* the ſurname of *Maximus*, which he had not acquired by all his military exploits. It was perpetuated in his branch of the *Fabian* family.

In this *Cenſorſhip* likewiſe an ordinance was made, that the *Roman Knights* ſhould every year on the *Ides* of *July* appear on horſeback dreſſed in Purple, and crowned with Olive, and march in proceſſion from the Temple of *Mars* to the *Capitol*.

§. II. THE Republic being now in peace with the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*, was not very ſollicitous to have *Conſuls* of eminent abilities in war. The *Comitia* promoted to that dignity *S. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Genutius Aventinenſis*, whoſe year was almoſt wholly ſpent in ſending *Colonies* to the conquer'd Cities. However, the public tranquillity ſuffer'd a ſhort interruption by a gang of Robbers in *Umbria*, who ravaged the country far and near. Their retreat was a great cave with two entrances; and the *Romans* having found them both, lighted great fires at them, ſo that ſome of the wretches (whoſe whole number amounted to two thouſand) were ſtifled with the ſmoke, and the reſt threw themſelves into the flames.

Y. of *R.* 450. Bef. *J.C.* 302. 150 Conſul-p. *Vel. Pat.* B. 1. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 1.

This trifling expedition was followed by an inconſiderable war. In the beginning of the *Conſulſhip* of *M. Livius Denter* and *M. Æmilius Paulus*,

Y. of *R.* 451. Bef. *J.C.* 301. 151 Conſul-p.

Y. of *R.* 451. Bef. *J. C.* 301. 151 Conſu. p. *Paulus*, the *Æqui* took umbrage at a *Colony* of ſix thouſand men which the Republic had lately ſent to *Alba*, and they laid ſiege to that place. But *Junius Brutus*, whom the People named *Dictator* upon this occaſion, marched againſt them, and by a ſpeedy victory put an end to the war in eight days time. At his return home he dedicated to *The Goddeſs of Health* a Temple, which he had vowed when he was *Conſul*, and built when he was *Cenſor*. And this is the firſt time that Hiſtory mentions the uſe of the art of Painting in *Rome*. *C. Fabius* (afterwards *Conſul*) painted all the walls of the new Temple in *Freſco*, and thence got the ſurname of *Pictor*.

Plin. B. 35. *Aul. Gel.* B. 5. *Val. Max.* B 8. c 15. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 2.

At this time *Cleonymus*, the ſon of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, came with a great fleet on the coaſt of *Italy*, with deſign to make a ſettlement there, and he took *Sybaris*, a City of *Lucania*. Being driven thence by the *Romans* he made a ſecond deſcent, in the place where *Venice* now ſtands. But this expedition proving as unfortunate as the former, he returned to his own country, having loſt four fifths of his fleet.

Y. of *R.* 452. Bef. *J. C.* 300. *Faſt. Capit.* §. III. THE following year the Republic had no *Conſuls*, but was govern'd by two *Dictators*, one after another, each of whom fulfilled his ſix months. The firſt was *Fabius Maximus*. The revolt of the *Marſi* induced the *Romans* to put this eminent warrior at the head of their troops. He marched an army againſt them, and by one ſingle victory quieted that inſurrrection. *Valerius Corvus*, who ſucceeded *Fabius*, was named to the *Dictatorſhip*, to conduct a war againſt the *Hetrurians*, in which the Republic was engaged by taking part in the civil broils of that people. But the *Roman Legions* had no ſooner entered *Hetruria*, and were within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy, than a religious ſcruple ſeized the *Dictator*. He called to mind that there had been ſome defect in the ceremony of his inauguration, upon which he ſtrait returned to *Rome*, to renew the *Auſpicia*. In his abſence *Sempronius Sophus*, his General of the Horſe, imprudently made an incurſion into the country, fell into an ambuſh, and loſt a great number of men and ſome colours. The news of this defeat, which was much magnified, cauſed an extraordinary terror at *Rome*, and the *Dictator* haſtened away with new levies to the camp. At his arrival he found things in a much better condition than had been reported. *Sempronius* had changed his poſt for a more ſafe and advantageous one; the *Manipuli*, who had loſt their Colours, were impatiently waiting in great ſhame and diſgrace without the camp (where they continued day and night without covering) for an opportunity to recover their honour, and the whole army deſired nothing ſo much as a battle, that they might have their revenge. *Valerius* ſeeing this good diſpoſition of his troops, led them into the fields of *Ruſſellæ*, one of the twelve chief cities of *Hetruria*. The *Hetrurians* fluſh'd with their ſucceſs, followed him, and endeavour'd by a ſtratagem to ſurprize *Fulvius*, one of the *Dictator*'s Lieutenant-Generals, who with a detachment had poſſeſſed himſelf of a fort at ſome diſtance from the *Roman* camp. Some *Hetrurian* officers, in the dreſs of ſhepherds, came with their flocks near the walls of the fort. This was a

bait to draw the *Romans* out; a body of troops lay ready in ambuſh to fall upon them. *Fulvius* diſcovering their artifice by their ſpeech, which was more elegant than that of ſhepherds, bid ſome of his men call out to the pretended ſhepherds, and tell them, *That they would find it as hard to deceive the* Romans *as to conquer them.* When the *Hetrurians* perceived that their ſtratagem would not take effect, they preſently after appeared, and beſieged *Fulvius* in form. The *Dictator* had notice of his diſtreſs, and haſten'd to his relief, and this brought on a general action. *Valerius*, to ſurprize the enemy, inſtead of poſting his Cavalry in the wings of his army, as was uſual, drew them up behind his Infantry, leaving ſpaces in the lines for the horſe to advance upon a ſignal. And in reality, when the *Romans* had given the firſt ſhout for the combat, it was not their Infantry but their Cavalry that began the charge. Paſſing through the intervals before mentioned, they drove full ſpeed upon the enemy; and this unexpected attack ſo terrified and diſconcerted the *Hetrurians*, who were unprepared for it, that the battle was neither long nor doubtful. They quickly gave ground, diſperſed themſelves, and fled; and the victory of the *Romans* was compleat. The *Hetrurians*, humbled by this freſh blow, once again ſued for peace, but could obtain no more than a truce for two years.

Y. of *R.* 452. Bef. *J.C.* 300.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *In the year of* Rome 453, *a Law is paſſed, to qualify* PLEBEIANS *for the* Pontificate *and* Augurate. §. II. *The* Lex Valeria *is confirmed anew* §. III. Q. Fabius Maximus *declines the* Conſulſhip, *and at his own requeſt obtains the* Curule Ædileſhip.

§. I. AT the next election of Magiſtrates, *Valerius Corvus*, though abſent, was again*promoted to the Conſulſhip; and the *Comitia* appointed *Q. Apulius Panſa* to be his Collegue. During their adminiſtration the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* continued quiet, and the Republic enjoyed an interval of tranquillity abroad. But as it had ever been the fate of *Rome* to have commotions at home, when ſhe had no foreign enemies, ſo now two *Tribunes of the People*, brothers, of the name of *Ogulnius*, endeavoured to ſtir up the Commons againſt the *Patricians*. The only important offices which the *Plebeians* did not ſhare with the Nobility at this time, were the *Pontificate* and the *Augurate*. *Numa* had appointed only four *Pontifices*, and that number had never been increaſed. The *Augurs*, though but three in number at their firſt inſtitution by *Romulus*, had been augmented to ſix. However, the *Augural* College conſiſted now but of four, probably by the death of two. The *Ogulnii* preſented a petition to have four additional *Pontifices* choſen out of the *Plebeians*, and to have five *Plebeian* Augurs added to the four in being. The *Patricians*, were highly offended with this propoſal; but as they had experienced the fruitleſsneſs of their endeavours to

Y. of *R.* 453. Bef. *J.C.* 299. 152 Conſul-p. * A 5th time. Faſt. *Capit.*

Livy, B. 10.

Y. of *R.* 453 Bef. *J. C.* 399. 152 Conſul-p.

to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Conſulate* and the other great dignities, they made no other oppoſition to this new encroachment on their prerogatives, than by declaiming in all places againſt the innovation, as an affront offered to the Gods themſelves. *May heaven grant*, they cried, *that ſo wicked a profanation of our ſacred myſteries draw no calamity on the Republic.* The matter was firſt debated before the aſſembly of the *Curiæ*, where *Appius Claudius*, ſo famous for his attempts to humble the Nobility, became now, out of pure caprice, their moſt zealous advocate. But as his harangue contained nothing more than a repetition of the old arguments that had been ſo often employed againſt the admiſſion of *Plebeians* to the *Conſulate*, Hiſtory has not tranſmitted it to us. On the other hand, *P. Decius Mus*, who had been twice *Conſul* and once *Dictator*, ſpoke in behalf of the *Plebeians*. He put the aſſembly in mind of his father *Decius*, who devoted himſelf for death for the preſervation of the *Roman Legions*, and thereby obtained the victory for them. *If* Decius, ſaid he, *was as pure and as agreeable a victim to the Gods as his* Patrician *Collegue* Manlius *would have been, had he offered himſelf; what ſhould hinder, but that the ſame* Decius *might have been choſen to officiate in our Religious Ceremonies and Sacrifices? And after all, whence is it that the* Patricians *derive this peculiar privilege of being alone worthy to miniſter in ſacred things? Did they deſcend from Heaven with the quality of* Patricians? *or did* Romulus *give that title to their anceſtors, only becauſe they could tell who were their Fathers and Grandfathers, that is, becauſe they were men of free condition? If this be all, I am able to name a* Conſul *for my Father; and my ſon may boaſt, that both his Father and Grandfather have been honoured with the higheſt dignities in the Republic. But to what purpoſe ſhould I reaſon any longer? The* Patricians *have nothing ſolid to offer, they only ſeek to amuſe us with words and noiſe, and they know very well that we ſhall carry our point. My opinion therefore is, that the People by their ſuffrages do immediately paſs the Petition of the* Ogulnii *into a Law.*

This Debate was in the aſſembly of the *Curiæ*; but in order to decide the affair, it had been before agreed to ſummon the *Tribes*; and there both points were carried in favour of the People, and *Decius* was choſen one of the new *Pontifices*.

§. II. *VALERIUS* took the opportunity of the preſent tranquillity to revive an old Law*, made by *Valerius Poplicola*, and afterwards renewed † by another of his anceſtors, enacting, *That in Capital cauſes the accuſed ſhould have a right of appealing to the* Tribunal *of the People.* The *Patricians*, by their intereſt and power, had hinder'd the effect of this law, and render'd it obſolete; but it was now once more reſtored, and expreſs'd in ſtronger terms than before: with no other ſanction however, but *That the tranſgreſſors of it ſhould be deemed guilty of a diſhoneſt action*; a penalty which would have been of little influence in a more corrupt age, but ſufficient at this time to reſtrain the *Romans*, who piqued themſelves upon their virtue, and had no hope of riſing to great employments, unleſs they had preſerved their reputation pure and untainted.

* In the year 244.
† In the year 304.

§. III. IN

finding that the People were inclined to raise him again to that dignity, though he himself created no name among the *Candidates*; and considering that he should gain but little glory in a time of tranquillity, desired the assembly to reserve that mark of their esteem for him till a more tempestuous season, and declared, that Civil employments at present would be more agreeable to him. Accordingly they promoted him (with *Papirius Cursor*, the son of his rival) to the *Curule Edileship*; nor did his superior merit appear less conspicuous in this station than in military command: For when, not long after, there happened to be a great scarcity of corn at *Rome*, he took such effectual care to guard the People against famine, by bringing corn from abroad, and by making a proper and wise distribution of it, that the poorer sort confess'd they owed their lives to him.

Y. of R. 453. Bef. J.C. 299. 152 Consul-p. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 19.

CHAP. XX.

§. I. *The Hetrurians break the Truce with* Rome. Picenum *obtains an alliance with the Republic.* Manlius Torquatus *being declared* Consul (the 6th time) *the very name of this renowned warrior strikes such a terror into the Hetrurians, that they desist from the war.* §. II. *A report being spread, that both the Hetrurians and the Samnites were making mighty preparations to attack the Republic, the Romans oblige the great* FABIUS *to accept the office of* Consul *contrary to his inclination; and, at his request, give him* P. Decius Mus *to be his Colleague. The Hetrurians ask peace; so that the Consuls march their two armies into Samnium.*

§. I. THE *Consuls* chosen for the new year were *M. Fulvius Petinus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *Fulvius* went into *Umbria* to carry on the siege of *Nequinum* (which *Apuleius*, one of the former *Consuls*, had begun) and, by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, he made himself master of the place. The *Romans* sent a Colony thither, to keep the rest of the *Umbrians* in awe.

Y. of R. 454. Bef. J.C. 298. 153 Consul p.

In this *Consulate* the *Hetrurians* broke their truce with *Rome*. But when they were preparing to enter the *Roman* territory, an irruption of the *Gauls* into their country suspended their design; however they did not drop it. On the contrary, that they might execute it with the better success, they endeavoured by large sums to engage the *Gauls*, not only to forbear pillaging *Hetruria*, but to join with them against *Rome*. The *Gauls* seemed to listen to the proposal, took the money, and withdrew their troops. But when the time came for marching against the *Romans*, they excused themselves, unless the *Hetrurians* would assign them a part of their territories to settle in; and this was absolutely refused.

During these negotiations between the *Hetrurians* and *Gauls*, *Picenum*, on the borders of the *Adriatic*, sent Deputies to *Rome* to ask an alliance

Y. of R. 454. Bef. J. C. 298. 153 Conful-p.

with the Republic; a request which the *Romans* eaſily granted in the preſent neceſſity of their affairs, and then they diſpatched away an army to puniſh the *Hetrurians* for their breach of faith. The command of it had fallen by lot to *Manlius*; but this General loſing his life by a fall from his horſe, the *Centuries* met to chooſe him a ſucceſſor, and (which had never happened ſince the birth of the Republic) all the ſuffrages were given in favour of one and the ſame man. *Valerius Corvus* was now the ſixth time raiſed to the Conſulate. His firſt was in the year 405, according to the *Capitoline* Marbles*. He was now in a very advanced age, yet made the campaign with all the vigour of a man in the bloom of life. His very appearance at the head of the *Roman* army ſo terrified the *Hetrurians*, that they durſt not continue in the field, but ſhut themſelves up in their fortified places; nor could the burning of their villages, and the laying waſte their country, provoke them to hazard a battle. This was the laſt of *Valerius*'s Military expeditions. In what year he ended his days is unknown, but it is certain that he lived to above an hundred. He was promoted one and twenty times to offices, that gave him a right to ſit in the *Curule* Chair; which can be ſaid of no *Roman* but himſelf. When he was not in any public ſtation, he made Agriculture his chief employment and amuſement. He was not only a thorough Patriot and perfect pattern of that Zeal which men owe their country, but an excellent model of the Paternal Care which the head of a great family ought to have of his children and relations. Great in Peace and great in War, *Valerius Corvus* ſhone eminent even among thoſe Heroes who appeared in the moſt glorious, becauſe the moſt virtuous, age of *Rome*.

Plin. B. 7. ch. 48. *Val. Max.* B 8. *Cicero* in *Catone Majore*. *Plut.* in *Mario*.

§. II. TOWARDS the cloſe of the year † the Republic (by what accident is unknown) fell into an *Interregnum*. When the *Comitia* were held for a new election of Magiſtrates, *Appius Claudius* took it into his head to oppoſe the admitting of any *Plebeians* into the *Conſulſhip*: But all his rhetoric proved ineffectual, and *Cn. Fabius Cæſumalus*, a *Plebeian*, was made Collegue to *L. Cornelius Scipio*. During their adminiſtration the *Hetrurians* took arms again, and the *Samnites* broke their alliance with *Rome*. *Scipio* march'd againſt the former, and gave them battle, the ſucceſs of which was doubtful. However the *Hetrurians*, after the action, were ſeized with an unaccountable terror, defeated their camp in the night, and returned to their reſpective *Lucumonias*; and the *Conſul* pillaged and laid waſte the whole country. *This is* Livy's *account*. But the *Faſti Capitolini* make it more probable, that this expedition of the *Romans* into *Hetruria* was under the conduct of *Fulvius*, who afterwards marched againſt the *Samnites*, and gained an unqueſtionable victory over them near *Bovianum*.

Cic. in *Bruto*. Y. of R. 455. Bef. J. C. 297. 154 Conſul-p.

Before the expiration of the preſent *Conſulſhip*, a report was ſpread of mighty preparations that the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* were making to attack

Livy, B. 10. ch. 13.

* According to *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, *Val. Maximus*, and others, there were 46 years between *Val. Corvus*'s firſt Conſulate and his laſt; according to the *Faſt. Capit.* 48.

† Two new Tribes were this year added to the 31 in being.

the Republic once more. Hereupon, the first care of the *Romans* was to choose able Generals for the next campaign; and all eyes immediately turned upon *Fabius*. But he (from what motive is hard to guess) declined the honour, and excused himself to the People on pretence of his age, and the decay of his strength and vigour. And to shew that he was in earnest, he ordered the law to be read, which forbad any man to bear the office of *Consul* twice within ten years *; a law made in the year 411, but which had not been strictly observed. Nevertheless, the People being bent upon having him for one of their *Consuls*, made such a clamour when the statute was going to be read, as quite drowned the voice of the person appointed to read it; nay, the *Tribunes* themselves threaten'd *Fabius*, that if he did not desist from opposing his election, they would get the People to dispense with the law by a formal decree. When *Fabius* found that there was a necessity of complying, he resisted no longer; but then he desired that they would at least oblige him so far as to give him a Collegue to his own mind, and proposed to them *Decius Mus*, who had been joined with him in his last *Consulship*, and with whom, he told them, he had lived in perfect concord and harmony. The *Comitia* granted his request, and those *Centuries* who had not yet voted, gave their voices unanimously for *Decius*. The rest of the year was spent in restraining the avarice of those, who, contrary to law, possess'd more than five hundred acres of land. Y. of *R.* 455. Bef. *J.C.* 297. 154 Consul-p.

While the new *Consuls Fabius* † and *Decius* § were considering together in a friendly manner, which of them would be able to conduct the war in this or that province, with most advantage, and what number of forces it would be necessary to employ in each, Deputies arrived at *Rome* from *Sutrium*, *Nepet*, and *Faleria*, who all agreed in their report, that the *Hetrurians* in their last Diet had resolv'd to desire a peace. Upon this both the *Consuls* marched into *Samnium*, but entered it different ways. *Fabius* took the shortest cut, by *Sora*; and being informed by his scouts, that the *Samnites* had laid an ambush for him on the banks of the *Tifernus*, and were waiting for his coming into a deep valley, that they might fall upon him from the hills, he resolved to attack them in their concealment. But they finding their project discover'd, left their ambush, and drew up in order of battle in the plain. The brave resistance they made in the beginning of the engagement gave *Fabius* some uneasiness. He commanded his Cavalry to give their horses the reins, and to rush upon the enemy with their usual impetuosity; but this proved ineffectual. His next recourse was to stratagem. He ordered *Scipio*, one of his Lieutenants, to take the *Hastati* of the first Legion, march them by round-about ways in silence to the top of a neighbouring hill, and thence fall on the enemy in the rear; and this motion was made without being perceived, either by the rest of the army, or by the *Samnites*. In the mean Y. of *R.* 456. Bef. *J.C.* 296. 155 Consul-p. † 4th time. § A 3d time. *Frontin.* Strat. B. 2. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 14.

* According to *Livy* and the *Fast. Capitol.* there had been ten Consulates since *Fabius* was in that station; so that if his objection was good, we must conclude, that the *Consular* years were not compleat years, and are therefore a very uncertain measure of time.

Y. of R. 456. Bef. J. C. 296. 153 Conſul-p.

time the latter, proud of having repulſed the *Roman* Cavalry, puſhed the firſt line of the Infantry briſkly, and forced them to retire through the ſpaces in the ſecond line, which conſiſted of the *Principes*. But when theſe began likewiſe to loſe ground, *Scipio* appeared with his detachment in the rear of the enemy. *Fabius*, to encourage his men, made them believe, that it was the army of his Collegue *Decius* come to his aſſiſtance. And the ſame perſuaſion prevailing among the *Samnite* Troops, they immediately diſbanded and fled. The ſlaughter was not great, but the *Romans* took twenty three Colours.

Decius, whoſe name had been of ſervice in this action, had likewiſe in another reſpect contributed to the victory, by having defeated the *Apulians*, who were to have joined the *Samnites*. After this the two *Conſular* armies continued five months in *Samnium*, and made incredible devaſtations; *Decius* changing his camp forty five times, and *Fabius* his, eighty ſix for that purpoſe.

CHAP. XXI.

§. I. Appius Claudius *makes a fruitleſs attempt to get the* Conſular Faſces *for* Fabius *and himſelf to the excluſion of all* Plebeian *Candidates.* Fabius *being preſident in the* Comitia, *oppoſes his own re-election. Great advantages are gained over the* Samnites. §. II. Appius, *tho' much embarraſſed with a war againſt the* Hetrurians, *pretends to be diſpleaſed with the arrival of his Collegue* Volumnius, *to his aſſiſtance from* Samnium. *The united armies of the two* Conſuls *come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them.* §. III. Volumnius *returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the* Samnites.

§. I. THE campaign being ended, and the time for holding the *Comitia* approaching, *Fabius* was recalled to preſide there. And now *Appius Claudius* once more formed a ſcheme to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Conſulate*; and it was not ill contrived. Having by intrigue, before the meeting of the *Centuries*, ſecured his own election beyond a poſſibility of failing, he took advantage of the great eſteem the public had of *Fabius*, to engage the *Romans* to continue him in his office for the enſuing year. The *Patricians* came eaſily into the project; and accordingly, when the *Comitia* met, the firſt *Centuries*, conſiſting chiefly of the Nobility, gave their voices for him; but *Fabius* himſelf oppoſed the proceeding, and, notwithſtanding all the *Patricians* could urge to perſuade him, declared, that he would never give the Republic ſo pernicious a precedent, as to ſuffer himſelf to be elected *contrary to Law*, in the *Comitia* where he himſelf preſided; and then *Volumnius Flamma*, a *Plebeian*, was choſen Collegue to *Appius*.

Y. of R. 457. Bef. J. C. 295. 156 Conſul-p.

The *Patricians* were much diſſatisfied with the behaviour of *Fabius*: they looked upon his refuſal of the *Conſulſhip*, as betraying the intereſts of his

his Order; nor did they scruple publicly to impute it to his fear of being surpass'd in eloquence and political skill by the expert *Appius*. However, he and his Collegue *Decius* were appointed to continue the war in *Samnium*, in quality of *Proconsuls*, for six months; so that the Republic had very soon four armies on foot under four Generals.

Fabius, soon after his return into *Samnium*, was obliged to lead his army against the *Lucanians*, who had lately rose up in arms; and he spent his *Proconsulate* in keeping them in awe, and hindering them from joining the *Samnites*. In the mean time *Decius* push'd the *Samnites* to the last extremity, drove their army even out of *Samnium*, and then laid siege to their Towns. When he had taken and sack'd *Murgantia*, he perswaded the soldiers to sell their booty for money, that they might not be incumber'd with it in their future expeditions. After this, *Romulea* and *Ferentinum* were both taken by assault; and, to compleat the destruction of *Samnium*, a new army of two *Legions* and fifteen hundred auxiliaries advanced thither under the command of the *Consul Volumnius*.

§. II. THE war with the *Hetrurians* had fallen by lot to *Appius*. The storm was now gather'd on that side. For the *Samnites*, who had been driven out of their own country by *Decius*, had taken refuge in *Hetruria*, and there, in a Diet held at their request, had prest the Chiefs of the *Eutumonies* to exert their utmost strength against the *Romans*, offering to serve under them at their own expence, and to follow them even to the foot of the *Capitol*. The *Hetrurians*, pleased with this proposal, had raised a formidable army, which was strengthened with some Troops of the *Gauls*, whom they had engaged by the force of money to join them. Upon the news of so powerful a confederacy formed against the Republic, the *Romans* dispatched away *Appius* at the head of two *Legions* and twelve thousand auxiliaries; but it was rather to keep the enemy within bounds, than in expectation of any notable advantage from the conduct of their *Consul*. And indeed he was always worsted, for want of military skill, in every skirmish and slight action in which he ventured to engage; insomuch that the soldiers had no longer any confidence in their General, and the General became distrustful of his soldiers. In this extremity he is said (for the thing is not certain) to have written to his Collegue to leave *Samnium*, and hasten to his assistance. *Volumnius* came with all expedition, and the troops of *Appius* were overjoyed at his arrival. But *Appius* himself seemed surprised at it, disown'd the letter, and reproached his Collegue with acting dishonourably, in quitting the province assigned him, in order to gain the credit of giving assistance to others who did not want it. *Volumnius* upon this would have immediately returned to *Samnium*, if the officers of both armies had not entreated him to have no regard to the unaccountable behaviour of *Appius*, but to consider the interest of the Republic, which required his presence in *Hetruria*. *We are just ready to give battle, and should matters go ill with us for want of your assistance, will it be enquired whether* Appius *treated you with arrogance, or not? No, the* Roman *People will consider only the ill success of the battle, and*

A. of R. 457. Bef. J. C. 295. 156 Consul-p. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 16.

Ex tribus annalibus citatis apud Livium, B. 10. ch. 18.

V. of R. 457. Bef. J.C. 295. 456 Consul-p.

and impute it to your too hasty resentments. The Officers, while they remonstrated these things, insensibly led both the *Consuls* to that part of the camp where the soldiers were wont to meet when the General was to harangue them; and where they were actually assembled. There the two Collegues in longer discourses, than before in their more private conversation, made their complaints of each other; and as *Volumnius* had the better cause, he surpassed himself on this occasion in speaking, for he was naturally no Orator. Upon which *Appius* could not forbear rallying: ROMANS, said he, *you are much obliged to me, I have made a dumb* CONSUL *speak.* Volumnius, *I remember, the first time we were joined together in the* Consulate, *scarce opened his mouth for some months; he had then no tongue, and now, you see, he is grown even eloquent, a perfect Orator. I should have been better pleased,* replied *Volumnius, if instead of your teaching me how to talk, I had taught you how to fight. The service of the Republic requires at present an able General, more than a fine Speaker; and if you have a mind to know which of us understands better the conduct of an army,* that *may soon be decided. There are two provinces,* Samnium *and* Hetruria; *make your choice, I am ready to undertake the war in either of them.* At these words the soldiers cried out, that they should both in conjunction carry on the war in *Hetruria. Volumnius* answer'd, *Since I have already made one mistake, and have misrepresented the intention of my Collegue, I should be sorry to fall into another by misunderstanding your inclinations. So put the matter therefore out of all doubt: If you would have me stay here, signify it by an acclamation.* Instantly the army gave a general shout, which was heard in the camp of the enemy, who immediately took the alarm, and drew up in order of battle. *Volumnius* without delay marched out to meet them; *Appius* is said to have hesitated a while, undetermined whether he should fight or not, till he found that his Troops were disposed to follow his Collegue, in defiance of the orders of their own General. But then an emulation for glory, and the shame of being obscured by a rival, roused him to such a degree, that he exerted himself beyond what could have been expected. He performed the part of an able and brave Commander, having first made a vow to *Bellona* to build her a Temple, in case he proved victorious. The united *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* were entirely defeated, and their camp taken and plunder'd.

In the year 446.

§. III. THIS victory put an end to the misunderstanding between the two *Consuls*, and they agreed to act jointly against *Hetruria*. But *Volumnius*, by an unexpected event, was called back into his own province. The *Samnites*, tho' so much exhausted, had raised new levies, spread themselves over *Campania*, and ravaged it; which obliged *Volumnius* (the *Proconsulate* of *Fabius* and *Decius* being expired) to hasten to the assistance of the *Campanians*. When he came to the foot of Mount *Massicus*, in the district of *Calé*, he learnt that the intention of the enemy (who were encamped near the *Vulturnus*) was to break up their camp about midnight, march home, disburthen themselves of their booty, and then return

return to make fresh devastations. *Volumnius* pursued them with so much expedition, that he surprised them when they were unprepared for battle, slew six thousand of them, and recovered all the spoil they had taken. This success quieted the minds of the People at *Rome*, who had been much alarmed at the last enterprize of the *Samnites*; and they now took into consideration the proper means to secure *Campania* from the like incursions for the future. It was judged proper to settle two *Colonies*, one at the mouth of the *Liris*, called the *Colony of Minturnæ*, the other at *Sinuessa*. However, the execution of this design was for the present suspended, on account of matters of greater importance, to which the Republic was obliged to attend. Y. of R. 457. Bef. J. C. 295. 156 Consul-p.

CHAP. XXII.

§. I. Q. Fabius is elected the 5th time to the Consulate, *and at his request the Comitia grant him* Decius *again for a Colleague.* §. II. *A friendship between the* Patrician *and* Plebeian *Ladies for the reputation of strict Chastity.* §. III. *The* Senate *decree the conduct of the war against the* Hetrurians *to* Fabius, *the* Patrician Consul. *His* Plebeian *Collegue* Decius *appeals from the* Senate's *decree to the People.* §. IV. *In an engagement which the* Romans *have with a confederate army of* Gauls *and* Samnites, Decius, *(who commands the* Roman *left wing) to recover the courage of his troops, terrified and broken by the armed chariots of the* Gauls, devotes *himself to death in the same manner his father had done on a like occasion: After which* Fabius *obtains a compleat victory.* §. V. *The* Samnites *are again routed by the forces of* Appius, *now* Prætor *of* Rome, *and the* Proconsul Volumnius. *Rome is afflicted by a Plague, and terrified by Prodigies.*

§. I. CERTAIN advice was brought to *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* had concluded a fresh treaty with the *Samnites*, *Umbrians* and *Gauls*; and that the armies of the four nations were already assembled in two camps in *Hetruria*, where there was only *Appius* with his troops to make head against them. The *Comitia* for the new elections being soon after held, *Volumnius* (who had been recalled from *Samnium* to preside in them) before he took the suffrages of the *Centuries*, put the assembly in mind, that they were that day to elect two *Consuls* who would have four nations to contend with; he added, that he doubted not but, in so perilous a season, they would choose the ablest General in the Commonwealth to the *Consulate*, otherwise he would have named a *Dictator*. At these words all eyes were immediately turn'd again upon *Fabius*. But when the first *Centuries* had voted for him and for *Volumnius*, he started difficulties, as formerly, and excused himself on account of his age. However, he at length signified his consent, provided he might again have *Decius* for his Collegue. *He will be a support to*

Y. of R. 457. Bef. J. C. 295. 156 Conſul p.

to my old age. One Cenſorſhip and two Conſulates, in which Decius and I have been already Colleagues, have made me know what a happineſs it is to the Commonwealth to have her Magiſtrates live in concord. It is hard for an old man to ſuit himſelf to a new Partner in Power. I ſhall be much eaſier to communicate my thoughts freely to a friend with whom I am thoroughly acquainted. Volumnius approved of *Fabius*'s requeſt, and made a fine encomium upon *Decius*, inſiſting much *on the great advantages which would flow from the harmony between two Generals in ſuch ſtrict friendſhip.* The day being ſpent in theſe harangues, the elections were put off to the next, and then *Fabius** and *Decius*† (tho' the latter was abſent from the aſſembly) were declared *Conſuls*; *Appius* was choſen *Prætor*, and *Volumnius* was continued in the command of the army in *Samnium*, with the title of *Proconſul*.

* A 5th time.
† A 4th time.

Livy, B. 10. ch. 23.

§. II. IN this criſis of an approaching terrible war, the People being very ſuperſtitious multiplied their public acts of Devotion; and theſe gave riſe to a quarrel among the *Roman* Ladies. In the Ox-market was a Temple built to the honour of *Patrician* Chaſtity; and none of the wives of *Plebeians*, how illuſtrious ſoever their huſbands might be, were ever admitted into it. However, *Aula Virginia* being herſelf nobly deſcended, and being the wife of the *Plebeian Conſul Volumnius*, claimed a right of aſſiſting at the ceremonies with the *Patrician* Ladies. And when the latter oppoſed her pretenſions, *What!* ſaid ſhe, *is my virtue* * *ſuſpected? Was I meanly born? Or have I married two huſbands?* (Second marriages were at this time ſo great a blemiſh on the *Roman* women, that it excluded them the Temple of *Chaſtity*.) But all that *Virginia* could ſay was to no purpoſe. She was abſolutely refuſed admittance in the ſanctuary. Upon this ſhe formed the reſolution of having a Temple dedicated to *Plebeian* Chaſtity: She divided a part of her own houſe from the reſt, cauſed an altar to be erected and conſecrated in it, and having there aſſembled the *Plebeian* women of the greateſt diſtinction, complained to them of the pride of the *Patrician* Dames, told them her deſign, and preſs'd them to an emulation with thoſe haughty Ladies in the point of Modeſty and Virtue. This ſcheme was readily approved. Ceremonies were inſtituted and obſerved, much like thoſe practiſed in the other Temple; and this fervour continued for ſome time: But at length women of

* *Pudicitia.*

Y. of R. 458. Bef. J. C. 294. 157 Conſul p.

little merit and doubtful characters being admitted into the aſſembly, it ſunk into diſgrace, and no more mention was made of *Plebeian* chaſtity.

Livy, B. 10. ch. 24.

§. III. WHEN the time came for *Fabius* and *Decius* to enter upon office, it was natural to ſuppoſe that the latter would be induced by gratitude, as well as by the age and ſuperior merit of his Colleague, to compliment him with the command of the army in *Hetruria*, without drawing lots. But as the *Patricians* made it a point of honour not to permit any other than *Fabius* to have the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, the *Plebeians*, on the other hand, would not ſuffer *Fabius* to have it, unleſs it fell to him by lot, leſt the *Patrician Conſuls* ſhould for the future claim a right of chooſing their provinces; and the pacific-minded

Decius was compelled to go with the ſtream of his party. The queſtion being carried againſt him in the Senate, he appealed to the People in *Comitia*. There the two competitors pleaded each his own cauſe in few words, and more in the language of Soldiers than of Orators. *What!* ſaid *Fabius*, *I have planted a tree, and ſhall another gather the fruits of it? It was I who firſt opened a way into* Hetruria *thro' the* Ciminian *Foreſt, till then deemed impracticable. To what purpoſe did the People force me, at my age, to put myſelf at the helm of affairs, if they intended to give the conduct of the war to another?* After this he fell by degrees to complain of the choice he had made of a Collegue, who ſeemed rather to be an adverſary than a friend, and to repent of the concord in which they had lived together during three partnerſhips in office. And he concluded with aſſuring the aſſembly, that, notwithſtanding any thing he had ſaid, he pretended to no other right to command in the preſent war, than what their opinion of his abilities ſhould give him; and that as he had ſubmitted his cauſe to the determination of the Senate, he was equally ready to abide by the deciſion of the People. V. of R. 458. Bef. J. C. 294. 157 Conſul-p.

Decius began his harangue with complaining of the partiality of the Senate, who, he ſaid, envied the *Plebeians* every degree of honour; he then pleaded the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the *Conſuls* drawing lots for their provinces, after which he thus proceeded: *Did the queſtion relate only to the honouring of* Fabius, *He has ſo well deſerved of the public, and I in particular am ſo extremely obliged to him, that I ſhould never be backward to contribute to his glory, if I could do it without ſhame and diſgrace to myſelf. But who is there but muſt ſee, that if, in the caſe of a dangerous war, the conduct of it be given to one of the Conſuls without drawing lots, the other muſt be deemed inſufficient, uſeleſs, and ſupernumerary?* Fabius *boaſts of his exploits in* Hetruria, *and* Decius *is ambitious of being able to boaſt of the like exploits; and perhaps it may be his fortune to extinguiſh that fire which* Fabius *only cover'd, and which has often ſince broke out afreſh. As for Honours and Rewards, I ſhall be ever ready to yield them to my Collegue, out of reſpect to his Age and Dignity; but when the queſtion is of Difficulties and Dangers, I can never willingly yield theſe either to him or to any other.* When *Decius* had ended, *Fabius* made only this ſhort reply: *I deſire,* Romans, *that before you decide on the preſent diſpute, you will hear* Appius's *letters read.* This ſaid, he left the aſſembly. *Appius*, in his letters, had painted the dangers with which the Republic was threaten'd in very lively colours; and there needed no more to induce the *Comitia* to have recourſe to the ſureſt remedy. The People inſtantly and unanimouſly determined that the conduct of the war in *Hetruria* ſhould be committed to *Fabius*.

§. IV. AND now all the *Roman* youth were eager to ſerve under the command of ſo able a General. But he, either to diſpel the public fears by a ſhew of confidence, or to prevent any aſſociates being joined with him, declared, that he would take no ſtronger a reinforcement to the army, than four thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe. With *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 25.

V. of *R.* 458. Bef. *J. C.* 294. 157 Conſul-p.

theſe he marched towards the camp, which the fearful *Appius* was ſtill ſtrengthening with new fortifications. Not far from it he met a detachment, ſent to cut wood in a neighbouring foreſt. *Whither are you going, ſoldiers?* ſaid *Fabius*. They anſwer'd, *To a foreſt, to cut wood to fortify the camp. What!* cried the General, *is it not already fortified? Doubtleſs it is*, return'd the Soldiers; *and we are ſurrounded by a double ditch and a double rampart, yet we are ſtill afraid. You have wood enough*, ſaid *Fabius*; *return to the camp and level the rampart.* The detachment immediately return'd, and put the *Conſul*'s orders in execution, which much alarmed both the Army and its General, till the workmen inform'd them, that what they were doing was by the command of *Fabius*, who would ſoon be in the camp. *Fabius* arrived the ſame day; and the next *Appius* ſet out for *Rome* to take poſſeſſion of the *Prætorſhip*, to which he had been choſen, as an employment better ſuited to his talents and capacity, than the command of an army.

Fabius obſerved a quite different conduct from that of his predeceſſor. Inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within fortifications, he kept them in continual motion. He ſaid, nothing was more healthful for ſoldiers than a frequent change of place, and to march from one country to another; and indeed he obliged them often to make as long marches as was poſſible at that time of the year, for the winter was not yet over; and by this means he gave his troops an air of confidence.

But before the ſeaſon permitted him to enter upon action, he went back to *Rome*, either of his own motion, or by invitation of the Senate. (Some authors ſay, that *Appius* at his return had made a dreadful repreſentation of the forces of the enemy, and had urged the neceſſity of ſending either *Decius* or *Volumnius* with a ſecond army to his aſſiſtance; and they add, that *Decius* had upon this occaſion declared it to be his opinion, that *Fabius* ought to be left at full liberty to determine concerning the wants of his army, and the intereſt of the Republic; and had moved, that he might be ſent for to *Rome*, to give his judgment of the ſtate of affairs.) When *Fabius* arrived, he gave ſuch an account of things to the Senate and People, as neither to encreaſe the apprehenſions of the Republic, nor to let her ſleep in ſecurity. As to another General's being joined with him, he ſaid, he ſhould acquieſce in it, on account of the fears of others, not his own, nor becauſe he thought the Republic to be in any danger; but then he deſired that *Decius* might be the perſon. *How is it poſſible*, ſaid he, *that I ſhould forget the good intelligence in which we formerly lived? There is no man that I can prefer before him. With him I ſhall never want forces, nor have too many enemies to deal with. But if my Collegue has other views, and cares not to act in conjunction with me, I am willing that* Volumnius *be ſent in his ſtead.* The Senate, the People, and *Decius* himſelf left the matter wholly to the determination of *Fabius*. *Decius* declared, that he was ready to go either to *Samnium* or *Hetruria*, as his Collegue judged beſt; a declaration ſo pleaſing to the aſſembly, and which ſpread ſuch a joy among them, that they congratulated one another as if victory had been

been already gained, and they were decreeing their Generals a Triumph, not the conduct of a war. Y. of *R.* 458. Bef. *J. C.* 294. 157 Conful-p.

Before the *Conſuls* left *Rome*, they ſent away the *Proconſul Volumnius* into *Samnium*, and, in order to cover the city on the ſide of *Hetruria*, directed two camps to be pitched, one on the hill *Vaticanus*, cloſe by the *Janiculum*, the other in the country of the *Faliſci*. After theſe regulations they ſet out for *Hetruria*, and upon the road received the news of the total defeat of a *Legion* which *Fabius* had left under the command of *Scipio*, near old *Cluſium*. A numerous body of thoſe *Gauls* called *Senones* had ſurrounded the *Romans*, and cut them all off. However, the *Conſuls* were not diſcouraged by this accident. Their army conſiſted of four *Legions*, a good number of *Roman Knights*, a thouſand *Campanian* Horſe, and a body of auxiliaries, more numerous than the forces of the *Romans*. They divided it into two parts, and encamped ſeparately, but not far from each other, in the plain of *Sentinum*, about four miles from the enemy. It is ſaid, that the army of the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, who encamped together, conſiſted of a hundred and forty three thouſand three hundred and thirty Foot, and forty ſix thouſand Horſe. What the number was of the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* (who jointly made another camp) is not told. It was agreed among theſe Confederates, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only ſhould engage the *Romans* in the field, whilſt the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* attack'd their two camps. *Fabius* had notice, by deſerters, of this deſign; and in order to diſconcert it, and make a diverſion, he ſent directions to the *Propretors*, *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, who were encamp'd near *Rome*, to march their two armies into *Hetruria*, and ravage it. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect. The *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* haſten'd to the relief of the poor People, whoſe houſes were plunder'd and lands laid waſte; and, during their abſence, the *Conſuls* brought the *Gauls* and *Samnites* to a battle. This is the firſt time that we read of arm'd Chariots uſed in the wars of *Italy*. The *Gauls* ſurprized the *Romans*, ſoon after the action began, with this new way of fighting. Not only the *Roman* Cavalry, but the Infantry too of the left wing, which *Decius* commanded, was diſorder'd and entirely broken by them; nor could he by his utmoſt efforts engage his terrified ſoldiers to rally. In this extremity he remember'd the example of his father, and in the very ſame manner devoted himſelf to the *Dii Manes* to ſave his army. Aſſiſted by *M. Livius* the *Pontifex*, he performed the ſame ceremonies, pronounced the ſame form of words, and ruſh'd unarm'd among the enemy. The loſs of the General uſually occaſions the defeat of his Troops; but ſuch was the ſuperſtition of the *Romans*, that the death of their General, in this way of ſacrifice, gave them new courage. The *Pontifex*, who was himſelf a brave ſoldier, took advantage of their prejudices, put himſelf at their head, and eaſily brought them to renew the attack, in which they were ſeconded by ſome troops, ſent by *Fabius* from the rear, under the command of his two Lieutenants. The fortune of the day quickly changed in favour of the *Romans* in the left wing.

Y. of R. 458. Bef. J.C. 294. 157 Conſul-p.

In the mean time *Fabius*, who had hitherto done little more than act upon the defenſive, artfully managing his troops till the firſt fury of the *Samnites* was abated, now ordered his Cavalry to wheel about, flank the wings of the enemy, and be ready to charge upon a ſignal given. He then began to preſs upon the enemy in front; and as ſoon as he perceiv'd that their ſtrength was greatly exhauſted, he made Horſe and Foot, troops of Reſerve, all charge at once; nor could the *Samnites* ſuſtain the ſhock; they fled to their camp, leaving the *Gauls* by themſelves to make good the fight.

To break the *Gauls*, who yet kept their ground, *Fabius* detached a body of five hundred *Campanian* Horſe to fetch a compaſs, and fall upon their rear, commanding the *Principes* of the ſecond *Legion* to follow this detachment of Horſe, and wherever they ſhould ſee the enemy's ranks broken by them, to preſs on, and hinder the *Gauls* from rallying. This motion ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Gauls* were at length defeated.

In the mean time *Fabius* forced the camp of the *Samnites*, and made a terrible ſlaughter there. Twenty five thouſand of the enemy were killed in the action of this day, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Among the former was *Gellius Egnatius*, an eminent *Samnite* Commander, who by his negotiations had brought about the formidable alliance of the four nations. The *Romans* loſt of the left wing ſeven thouſand men, and one thouſand two hundred in the right. The *Conſul's* firſt care, after the victory, was to perform a promiſe he had made in the heat of the battle, to burn the ſpoils of the enemy in honour to *Jupiter the Conqueror*. He then cauſed ſearch to be made for the body of *Decius*, which being hidden under heaps of the ſlain, could not be diſcovered that day, but the day following it was found; and then *Fabius* performed honourable Obſequies for him, and ſpoke his Funeral Oration.

Livy, B. 10. ch. 30.

As for the *Propretors*, *Fulvius* and *Poſtumius*, they gained great advantages in *Hetruria*; and the *Proconſul Volumnius* obtained a conſiderable victory over the *Samnites* at the foot of mount *Tifernus*. But notwithſtanding all theſe victories, neither *Samnites* nor *Hetrurians* were yet brought into ſubjection. The latter took courage, and aſſembled freſh forces as ſoon as *Fabius* left the country, ſo that he was obliged to lead his army thither again. A new victory obtained over them was the laſt of this Hero's exploits, in the ſtation of Chief Commander.

Macrob. Sat. *B.* 2. & *Juv.* Sat. 6.

Fabius had a ſon whoſe ſurname was *Gurges*, or *The Gulph*, an appellation given him on account of his exceſſive intemperance in his youth. This man afterwards corrected his way of living, and though he never equalled his father in any kind of merit, became worthy of Public Offices. He was now *Curule Ædile*, and, in order to wipe off the ſhame of his paſt exceſſes, turned a zealous reformer of manners. He brought before the Tribunal of the People accuſations of Adultery againſt great numbers of women of diſtinction, who being convicted, were condemned to pecuniary fines. The money ariſing from theſe fines was conſecrated to the building of a Temple to *Venus* near the great *Circus*.

§. V. BEFORE the end of this year the *Samnites* brought two new armies into the field in different places, and even acted on the offensive. Upon which *Appius* the *Prætor* was dispatched from *Rome* to put himself at the head of those troops which *Decius* had commanded, and was ordered to go to the assistance of the *Proconsul Volumnius*. These two Generals having united their forces, defeated the enemy (whom they had constrained to join theirs) in a pitched battle fought in the *Campi Stellates* in *Campania*. The *Samnites* lost sixteen thousand three hundred men. Y. of *R.* 458. Bef. *J. C.* 294. 157 Consul-p.

Rome had never before made war in so many places at the same time with more success. But, in the midst of her rejoicings for such signal victories, she was visited with a dreadful Plague. It was a melancholy contrast, as *Orosius* observes, to behold the Triumphal Procession of *Fabius* often interrupted by Funerals; and the applauses of the People by the lamentations of those who bewailed the dead, or the dying. *Oros.* B. 3. ch. 21.

Prodigies were never in greater plenty than this year. It was said, that in three days there flowed successively, from the altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, three different liquors; the first day it was blood, the second honey, and the third milk; and in divers places it was reported to have rained earth. The *Augurs* and *Sybilline* Books were consulted upon these imaginary prognostics, and the joy for past victories, was much damped by the present calamity, and by the apprehension of impending evils. *Zonaras*, B. 8. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 31.

CHAP. XXIII.

§. I. *The war was carried on against the* Samnites *with various success.* §. II. *Three of the* Lucumonies *of* Hetruria *are reduced to sue for peace.* §. III. *The* Samnite *war is continued. The* Samnites *make* 16000 *of their soldiers bind themselves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. The* Romans *gain the victory by a new stratagem.* §. IV. *The war breaks out afresh in* Hetruria. *The* Hetrurians *are reduced to buy a truce for a year. In this year a Sun-dial is for the first time, seen at* Rome. §. V. *A new regulation is made relating to the Guardianship of Orphans, and another relating to the* Public Games.

§. I. THE Republic had now been forty eight years in war with the *Samnites*, almost without interruption; and tho' the latter had been so often vanquished, they did not relinquish the hope of being finally the Conquerors. Four times (says *Livy*) they had been defeated the very last year; they had lost their ablest General; they saw their Allies in the same adverse fortune as themselves; they could neither by their own strength, nor by foreign aid, maintain their ground; yet they did not desist from the war: They were never weary of fighting, even unfortunately, in the defence of liberty: They chose rather to be vanquished than not strive for victory. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 31.

So conſiderable were the preparations they made to take the field once more, that the Senate thought it neceſſary to employ againſt them both the new *Conſuls*, *L. Poſthumius* * *Megellus* and *M. Atilius Regulus*; But, *Poſthumius* falling ſick, *Atilius* was diſpatched away without him, to attack the enemy before they could get out of *Samnium*. The two armies met juſt upon the confines of *Campania*; and here the *Conſul* was no ſooner encamped than the *Samnites* formed the bold deſign of forcing his lines. By the help of a very thick fog they approached the *Roman* camp, ſurpriſed the advanced guards, made themſelves maſters of the *Decuman* gate, and penetrated as far as to the *Queſtor*'s tent, where the Military Cheſt was kept. The alarm reaching to the General's quarters, he awaked, put himſelf at the head of ſome *Manipuli*, and, in ſhort, repulſed the enemy, but durſt not purſue them for fear of an ambuſcade. Tho' this enterprize of the *Samnites* did not prove ſucceſsful, yet the courage with which they had felt themſelves animated to make the attempt gave them new confidence; and they kept the *Romans* ſo cloſely ſhut up, that they could not enter *Samnium*, to live there upon free quarter.

Y. of *R.* 459, Bef. *J.C.* 293. 158 Conſul-p. * A 2d time.

The diſadvantageous ſituation of *Atilius*'s army alarmed the Senate and People at *Rome*; ſo that *Poſthumius*, tho' not perfectly recover'd, thought himſelf obliged to ſet out for *Samnium* with the two *Legions* allotted him. Upon his arrival the *Samnites*, being in no condition to make head againſt two *Conſular* armies, decamped in haſte, and left their country open to be pillaged. *Poſthumius* applied himſelf to the beſieging of Towns, and took *Milionia* and *Triventum*; the latter without fighting,

Atilius met with more difficulties and danger in his expeditions. Having received intelligence that the *Samnites* were beſieging *Luceria*, in *Apulia*, he haſtened to its relief, but found the enemy in his way. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Romans* ſuffered moſt; and this misfortune ſo mightily dejected them, that they paſſed the night in great uneaſineſs, expecting every moment to ſee the enemy approach to force their lines. But it happened on the other hand, that the *Samnites* were no leſs terrified, and thought only of returning home. The difficulty was how to put their deſign in execution, becauſe the place where they were poſted was a kind of defile and much confined, and the *Romans* were between them and *Samnium*. They reſolved at length to go directly towards the *Roman* camp, endeavour to march along by the ſide of it, and make the plain. The *Conſul* imagining that the enemy was come to attack him, gave orders to his *Legions* to prepare for battle, and to follow him out of the camp. But though the Officers were ready enough to obey him, the Soldiers were ſo fatigued and intimidated, that he could not, even by ſoft words, prevail with them to ſtir. In the mean time the *Samnites* drew near, and the *Roman* Soldiers pretended to diſcern, that they were loaded with ſtakes, as if they meant to form a Paliſade round the camp. The *Conſul* hereupon expoſtulated with his men on the diſgrace of ſuffering themſelves to be ſhut up in their camp to ſtarve there; and ſhame at length made them march out, tho' very ſlowly and unwil-

lingly. This motion of the *Romans* was a diſappointment to the *Samnites*, for they had hoped to avoid a battle; however when they found it neceſſary to fight, they prepared for it; and thus two coward armies were brought to an engagement entirely againſt their inclinations. The *Romans* gave ground and would have fled into their entrenchments; but *Atilius* ordering ſome troops of Horſe to the rear of his Infantry, with directions to kill every *Roman* who ſhould attempt to enter the camp, the run-aways were hereby brought to rally and renew the fight. The victory at length fell to the *Romans*, after they had loſt 7300 men. *Atilius* ſoon after, in his march homeward, met with a body of *Samnites*, who having made an incurſion into the country of the *Volſci*, and brought thence a conſiderable booty and many *Roman* priſoners, were marching home in great diſorder; he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and releaſed the captives. After this he returned to *Rome*, to preſide at the new elections. Y. of *R.* 459. Bef. *J. C.* 293. 158 Conſul-p.

§. II. IN the mean time *Poſthumius* having taken *Milionia* and *Triventum*, and being weary of making war in a ruined country, where little was to be got, marched into *Hetruria*, without any orders from the Senate. There he defeated the *Hetrurians*, took *Ruſſellæ* by aſſault, and reduced the *Lucumonies* of *Volſinii*, *Peruſias*, and *Aretium* to ſue for peace. The Senate granted them a Truce for forty years, on condition of paying each 500,000 pounds of braſs into the treaſury of the Republic. *Poſthumius*, upon the merit of theſe exploits, ventured to demand a Triumph of the Senate; not that he expected the Senators would grant it, but becauſe it was the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions to make the firſt application to them. The Fathers did not fail to refuſe his requeſt on account of the irregularity of his proceedings, in leaving the province aſſigned him without orders. Being himſelf preſent when the queſtion was carried againſt him, he made no ſcruple to tell the Senators, that his reſpect for their authority ſhould not make him forget that he was *Conſul*; and that he *wou'd* triumph. Accordingly he preſented his petition to the *Comitia*, and though ſeven of the *Tribunes* oppoſed it, the People decreed him a Triumph for his victories over the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*. A new *Cenſus*, the thirtieth from its inſtitution, being now taken of the People, the number of *Roman* Citizens, fit to bear arms, appeared to be two hundred and ſeventy thouſand. A new liſt of Senators was likewiſe made at this time by the *Cenſors*, and the great Q. *Fabius Rullianus*, in his old age, choſen *Prince of the Senate*. *Euſeb.* in Chron.

§. III. IT is ſurpriſing, that *Samnium* ſhould be again the ſeat of the war; but thither it was that the two new *Conſuls*, *L. Papirius Curſor* (ſon of the famous hero of that name, who was *Conſul* five times) and *Sp. Carvilius* were ordered to march. *Atilius* the late *Conſul* was made *Prætor*. As for his Collegue *Poſthumius* a *Tribune of the People* having cited him to anſwer before the *Tribes*, for having left his province without orders, he, to avoid a trial, got *Carvilius* to appoint him one of his Lieutenants. Y. of *R.* 460. Bef. *J. C.* 292. 159 Conſul-p.

In

Y. of R. 460. Bef. J. C. 292. 159 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 19. ch. 38.

In the mean time the *Samnites*, to make another vigorous effort, publiſhed an edict, requiring all, who were of an age to bear arms, to appear in the field upon the firſt ſummons of their General, on pain of having their heads devoted to *Jupiter*, in caſe of diſobedience. (*i. e.* It ſhould be lawful for any one to kill them wherever they ſhould be found.) The place of rendezvous was in the neighbourhood of *Aquilonia*, a city of *Hirpinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. Having by this means raiſed a numerous army, the next thing was to inſpire the troops with courage. And in order thereto, they had recourſe to a bloody ſuperſtition. They erected a kind of booth, 200 foot ſquare, covered on the top with linnen cloth, and ſo cloſe on all ſides, that nothing of what paſs'd within could be ſeen by thoſe without. Here an altar was raiſed, and many victims ſlain; and then the principal Officers, and the flower of the Nobility, were introduced one by one into it by the General. As ſoon as they were entered, an oath of ſecrecy was adminiſtred to them; after which they were directed to pronounce the following imprecation: *May all the curſes of the Gods fall upon me and my poſterity, if I do not follow wherever the Generals ſhall lead me to fight, if I ever turn my back, or if I do not kill thoſe whom I ſhall ſee attempt to fly.* Some of the firſt who were introduced into the encloſure heſitated at loading themſelves and their poſterity with ſuch imprecations; but theſe being immediately ſtabb'd, and their bodies thrown among the carcaſſes of the victims, thoſe who followed were ſo terrified at this ſight, that they readily took the oath to the number of 16000. They were called *Legio Linteata*, the Linnen Legion, from the covering of the booth. They had finer helmets and bucklers than the reſt of the Troops, amounting to above 20000.

While theſe things were doing, *Carvilius*, at the head of the army which *Atilius* had left near *Interamna*, made his way towards *Samnium*; and his firſt exploit was the taking of *Amiternum*, a city of *Sabinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. *Papirius* in the mean time haſtened the new levies at *Rome*, and, as ſoon as his *Legions* were compleat, entered upon action. He took *Farconia* in the neighbourhood of *Amiternum*, and then joining his Collegue, they went together to ravage that part of the *Volſcian* territory, which was under the domination of the *Samnites*. After this, *Carvilius* prepared to lay ſiege to *Cominium*, in the extremity of the eaſtern part of *Samnium*; and *Papirius* marched towards *Aquilonia* (where the *Devoted Legions* had made their dreadful vows and imprecations) and encamped within ſight of the enemy.

Papirius being reſolved to give battle, ſent a letter to his Collegue to acquaint him with it, and deſired him to preſs the ſiege of *Cominium* vigorouſly that no detachments might be ſent from thence to ſtrengthen the *Samnite* army. Then calling his Troops together, he exhorted them *not to fear the enemy for the extraordinary methods they had taken to make themſelves valiant*; told them, *That Oaths, enforced by fear and violence, would never give true courage*; put them in mind of his Father's victory over a *Samnite* army, which had *made themſelves fine, as theſe had done, with*

with proud Crests to their Helmets, and magnificent Bucklers; and, in a word, he ſo animated his ſoldiers, that they all call'd out to lead them to battle. Nay, ſo univerſal was the deſire of coming to an engagement, that the *Augur*, appointed to conſult the ſacred *Chickens*, made a falſe report of their behaviour, and declared, that they had come out of their cage leiſurely, fed greedily, and ſcratch'd the ground; all good omens, but none of the facts were true. The General ſeem'd overjoy'd at ſo happy an augury, and order'd preparations to be made for fighting. When, the next day, he had aſſigned his ſeveral officers their proper poſts, and had made all the proper diſpoſitions to charge the enemy, his nephew, young *Papirius* (at the inſtigation of the *Roman Knights*) diſcover'd to him the error he was in concerning the Chickens. *No matter*, anſwer'd the General; *Do you behave yourſelf with activity and courage. If the* Augur *has given a falſe account, the vengeance will fall upon his head alone. The* Augury, *as reported to me, was good and fortunate for the* Roman *People.* He then commanded, that the Keeper of the *Sacred Chickens* ſhould be placed at the head of the firſt line; and before the two armies came to a cloſe engagement, the *Augur* was killed by an unknown hand (probably by order of the *Conſul.*) The news being brought to *Papirius*, he pretended to conſider it as a ſtroke from heaven: *The Gods are with us*, he cried, *their vengeance has ſpent itſelf on the guilty head.* In the beginning of the action the *Samnites*, eſpecially thoſe who had bound themſelves by oath not to fly, made a vigorous reſiſtance; till on a ſudden they perceived at ſome diſtance a cloud of duſt, ſuch as is wont to be raiſed by the march of a conſiderable army. This duſt was cauſed by the ſervants and muleteers of the *Roman* camp, whom *Papirius* had order'd one of his officers to mount upon mules and beaſts of burden, and lead them, together with ſome *Manipuli* of the allies, by round-about ways to the top of a neighbouring hill, from whence they were to fall upon the enemy in the heat of the battle. Theſe troops had provided themſelves with branches of trees, which they had trained along the ground to raiſe the greater duſt. Nothing could be ſeen but the tops of ſome ſtandards and lances, and ſomething like cavalry, which ſeemed to flank a body of infantry on each ſide. Both armies were deceived by this appearance; and, the better to carry on the deceit, *Papirius* himſelf pretended to be ſurpriſed, and cried out with an air of joy, COMINIUM *muſt certainly be taken, and my Collegue is come to my aſſiſtance. Courage, ſoldiers, let us make haſte to gain the victory, before another army can arrive to ſhare the glory of the day.* Then making the ſignal for his Cavalry to charge, they inſtantly gave the reins to their horſes, drove full ſpeed through the files of the Infantry (that widen'd and made room for that purpoſe) upon the enemy's Battalions, and quickly put them to the rout. Twelve thouſand of the *Samnites*, according to *Oroſius*, were ſlain; but, according to *Livy*, above thirty thouſand; and *Aquilonia*, whither moſt of the fugitives fled for ſhelter, was ſoon after taken.

Y. of *R.* 460. Bef. *J. C.* 292. 159 Conſul-p.

Tripudium Soliſtimum.

Val. Max. B. 7. ch. 22. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 40.

Frontin. Strat.

Y. of R. 460. Bef. J.C. 292. 139 Conſul. P.

§. IV. *CARVILIUS* was preparing to make a vigorous attack upon *Cominium*, according to the agreement between him and his Collegue, when he received a letter which *Papirius* had wrote to him before the battle, with notice that the *Samnites* had ſent away a large detachment of their army to relieve the place. Upon this news he diſpatch'd *Brutus Scevà*, with the firſt *Legion* and twenty *Cohorts* of auxiliaries, to meet the *Samnite* reinforcement, with orders to amuſe, or fight them, wherever he ſhould find them. In the mean time, with the reſt of his army he gave an aſſault to the town, and took it. The beſieged, to the number of 15400, ſurrender'd at diſcretion, 4380 had been ſlain. After this the two Conſular armies joined, and a council of war being held, it was judg'd to be expedient to puſh the advantages gain'd over the *Samnites* to the utter reduction of them, by taking the reſt of their cities; and this deſign was approved by the Senate and People of *Rome*. *Carvilius* received orders to lay ſiege to *Volana* (in *Lucania*, near Cape *Palinurus*) dependent doubtleſs on the *Samnites*; and *Papirius* was commanded to attempt the conqueſt of *Sepinum*, a town ſituated at the foot of the *Apennines*, near the head of the *Fonarus*.

The news of the great ſucceſs of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium* was the more agreeable at *Rome*, as an account came at the ſame time, that the *Hetrurians* were beginning to take arms again; which account was ſoon after confirm'd by deputies ſent from ſome cities in alliance with the Republic. Nor was this all; the *Faliſci*, who were the neareſt neighbours to *Rome* on the ſide of *Hetruria*, revolted, and join'd the enemy. It was neceſſary therefore to recall one of the *Conſuls*, with his army, from *Samnium*; they were order'd to caſt lots for the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, and it fell to *Carvilius*, who by this time had taken *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum* from the *Samnites*.

Papirius, after the departure of his Collegue, took *Sepinum* by aſſault, and gave the booty to his ſoldiers. He then return'd to *Rome*, full of glory, in the month of *February*, and was honour'd with a Triumph (as *Carvilius* had been a month before, when he paſs'd through *Rome* to go to *Hetruria*.) The rich ſpoils taken from the *Samnites* made his proceſſion very magnificent. *Papirius* had brought away from the conquer'd countries 2,533,000 * pounds weight of braſs, and 1330 pounds weight of ſilver. But though theſe riches ſwell'd the pomp of the victor's Triumph, he loſt the good will of his ſoldiers, by giving all into the public treaſury. And the People's diſcontent was yet greater, when a tax came to be laid upon them to pay his troops, which might have been ſatisfy'd by diſtributing among them a part of that wealth. *Papirius* on this occaſion dedicated a Temple (to *Quirinus*) which his father, when Dictator, had vowed. He adorn'd it with the fine ſpoils taken from the *Samnites*. Upon this Temple was alſo fixed a

Liv. B. 10.

Plin. B. 7. ch. 60.

* Between 6 and 7000 *l.* Sterling.

Sun-dial,

Sun-dial, the firſt ever ſeen at *Rome*. *Ameinocles* the *Lacedæmonian* had many years before, as *Pliny* tells us, diſcover'd this ſecret, but the invention had not reached to *Rome*. The *Romans* for a long while marked only the riſing and ſetting of the ſun; afterwards they obſerved the hour of noon, but in a very groſs manner. When the ſun ſhined between the *Roſtra* and the houſe appointed for the reception of Ambaſſadors, one of the *Conſul*'s heralds uſed to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day. But now they could mark the ſeveral hours of the day; and the Water-clock, invented ſoon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night. A. of *R.* 460. Bef. *J. C.* 292. 159 Conſul-p.

As ſoon as *Papirius* had triumph'd, he left *Rome* again, to lead his troops into the country of the *Vſtini*, which the *Samnites* ſtill infeſted, and there he paſſed the reſt of the winter. In the mean time *Carvilius*, in *Hetruria*, took *Troſſulum* by aſſault, and reduced the *Faliſci* to ſue for peace. He granted them however no more than a year's truce, and for that he made them pay dear. After this he return'd to *Rome*, carrying with him 390,000 *Aſſes* * of braſs for the public treaſury, without reckoning a conſiderable ſum which he reſerved to build a Temple to *Fortune that favours the Bold*. And he gave beſides to each private ſoldier of the Foot 102 pounds † of braſs, and twice that ſum to each Centurion and Horſeman; a ſmall preſent, but well received, and which the remembrance of *Papirius*'s parſimonious conduct made ſtill more agreeable; and by this means he became popular enough to prevail with the People to drop the proſecution, which the *Tribune Soanius* had begun againſt *Poſthumius*, one of the *Conſuls* of the laſt year. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 46. *Varro* de Lingua Lat.

§. V. IT was probably at this time that *Atilius*, the other *Conſul* of the laſt year, now *Prætor*, made a new law relating to Guardianſhips. The *Twelve Tables* had not provided for thoſe orphans, whoſe fathers died inteſtate, and who had no near relation to take upon him the guardianſhip of them. The *Atilian Law* ordained, that the *Prætor* and the *Tribunes of the People* ſhould by a plurality of voices aſſign ſuch Orphans a Guardian. At the ſame time the *Curule Ædiles* publiſhed an ordinance, that thoſe who had received crowns, as the rewards of their military exploits, might wear them at the public *Games*; and that Palm-branches ſhould be put into the hands of the victors in thoſe *Games*. *Ulpian.* de Tutelis. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 47.

* 1259 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* Arbuthnot. † 6 *s.* 7 *d.* Arbuthnot.

CHAP. XXIV.

§. I. Q. Fabius Gurges (*ſon of* Fabius Maximus) *is choſen to the Conſulate, tho' his father had oppoſed his promotion. Through his ill conduct, he is ſhamefully vanquiſhed in a battle with the* Samnites. *Old* Fabius *ſerves under his ſon the remainder of the Campaign, which proves ſucceſsful.*

§. II. *The* Romans, *to put a ſtop to the Plague, ſend Ambaſſadors to bring from* Epidaurus *the God* Æſculapius, *worſhiped there under the form of a Serpent.* §. III. *The God arrives. The haughty behaviour of* Poſthumius *one of the* Conſuls. *He ſucceeds in the war, but is puniſhed at his return to* Rome. §. IV. *The* Conſul CURIUS DENTATUS (*a Hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty*) *reduces the* Samnites *to aſk* PEACE. §. V. *He reduces* SABINIA *to a ſtate of ſubjection to the* Republic. *He is accuſed of imbezzling ſome of the ſpoil taken from the enemy.* §. VI. *Colonies are ſent into the conquer'd Cities. To relieve the* Prætor *of* Rome, *three new Judges are created to try Malefactors. The cruelty of a Creditor to his Debtor occaſions a new* Seceſſion *of the People. The* Patricians *are obliged to make conceſſions.* Fabius Maximus *in his old age is named* Dictator, *to finiſh the accommodation. He ſoon after dies.*

Y. of *R.* 461. Bef. *J.C.* 291. 160 Conſul-p.

§. I. IN the next election of *Conſuls*, the choice fell upon two men of ſmall abilities for war, Q. *Fabius Gurges* (the ſon of *Fabius Maximus*) and *Junius Brutus Scæva*. It is undoubted, that *Fabius* the father oppoſed the promotion of his ſon; but it is very uncertain for what reaſon; whether as *Valerius Maximus* thinks, from a Republican principle, and becauſe he thought it of pernicious example to have one family loaded with ſo many honours, he having himſelf been five times *Conſul*, and both his Father and Grandfather having been promoted to that dignity; or whether on account of ſome domeſtic quarrel, or whether becauſe he judged his ſon unqualified for ſo high a ſtation. *Rome* being at this time viſited with a Plague, which made terrible havock, this, together with the incapacity of the new *Conſuls*, encouraged the *Faliſci* to break their truce, and the *Samnites* to take arms again, and ſpread themſelves over *Campania*. It fell to *Brutus*'s lot to march into *Hetruria* againſt the *Faliſci*. The Republic, to ſupply his defects, appointed *Carvilius* to be his Lieutenant, and by his aſſiſtance the *Conſul* made a ſucceſsful expedition.

Val. Max. B. 4. ch. 1.

Oroſius, B. 3. ch. 22.

Livy, B. 10. ch. 47.

But on the other hand, *Fabius Gurges*, having all the fire of the *Fabii* without their uſual prudence, raſhly, and without drawing up his troops in order of battle, engaged with the *Samnites*, and loſt three thouſand men, he himſelf eſcaping only by the favour of the night. The account of the ill conduct of *Gurges* ſo exaſperated the public againſt him, that the Senate were going to remove him from the command of the army; but then the zeal of *Fabius Maximus* for the honour of his family was rouzed, and he undertook his ſon's cauſe. Without excuſing the precipitate conduct of the *Conſul*, he deſired the aſſembly to pardon it, in conſideration of the many victories which he himſelf had formerly obtained for the Republic. He repreſented to them, that his ſon's diſgrace had not been owing to a want of bravery, but to youthful imprudence, which time and experience might correct. And laſtly, he offer'd to go and ſerve under his ſon, and promiſed ſoon to repair the loſs which the State had ſuffer'd by his miſmanagement. This offer was immediately accepted, and the People were appeaſed.

Eutrop. B. 2. *Zonaras*, B. 8. *Florus*, Epit. 11. *Dio Cocceianus* in excerptis à Valeſio.

Fabius

Fabius Maximus accompanied his ſon into the field againſt the *Samnites*, in quality of his Lieutenant, and not only aſſiſted him by his advice, but when in a battle, which was ſoon after fought, the *Conſul* following the impulſe of his courage, and eager to recover his honour, had indiſcreetly penetrated too far among the enemies, and was ſurrounded by them, reſcued him out of their hands by his perſonal bravery. So gallant an action, in a man of his years, animated the *Roman Legions* to exert themſelves with more than ordinary vigour, and they ſoon put the *Samnites* to the rout. Twenty thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and four thouſand taken priſoners; among the latter was their famous General *Pontius Herennius*, who had commanded them in this and the former battle. Y. of *R.* 461. Bef. *J. C.* 291. 160 Conſul-p. *Oroſ.* B. 8. ch. 22.

§. II. THE joy at *Rome* for ſo compleat a victory would have been much greater, if it had not been damp'd by the Plague, which ſtill continued to make dreadful devaſtation. In this diſtreſs the *Romans* had recourſe to the uſual remedy, Superſtition. The *Sybilline* Books were conſulted, and it was there read, that to put a ſtop to the peſtilence, the God *Æſculapius*, adored under the form of a Serpent, muſt be brought to *Rome* from *Epidaurus*, a City of *Peloponneſus*. An Embaſſy was accordingly appointed for that purpoſe. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 47.

§. III. THE time for the new Elections drawing on, and the *Conſuls* being both in the field, a *Dictator* was named to hold the *Comitia*; but his nomination being found defective, the Government fell into an *Interregnum*; and then *Poſthumius* (the very ſame man who had ſo lately eſcaped a condemnation) holding the aſſembly, contrived to get himſelf elected * one of the new *Conſuls*. With *Poſthumius* was joined *Junius Brutus Bubulcus*. * A 3d time.

Poſthumius, now the third time *Conſul*, and as proud in office as he had been ambitious in procuring to himſelf the *Conſular* dignity, diſdained to draw lots with his *Plebeian* Collegue for their provinces. He inſiſted upon having the Command of the army in *Samnium*; and *Brutus* finding that his Collegue had a powerful party in the Senate, conſented to command in *Hetruria*, without waiting for a decree. Y. of *R.* 462. Bef. *J. C.* 290. 161 Conſul-p. *Suidas* in *Poſthumium*.

About this time the God *Æſculapius* †, that is to ſay, a tame Snake, which the *Roman* Ambaſſadors had bought of the Prieſts belonging to the

† *Æſculapius* § was a native of *Maſſene*, a city of *Peloponneſus*. As ſoon as he was born his parents expoſed him in the midſt of a foreſt, where he was found by ſome hunters. Theſe had compaſſion on him, and cauſed him to be ſuckled by a bitch. When he was old enough to be capable of inſtruction, he was committed to the care of the famous *Chiron*, who taught him Phyſic, or, if you will, Surgery; for the two arts were then confounded. The diſciple ſoon excelled his maſter, and being grown an able Phyſician, ſettled at *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argos*, and practiſed his art there. It muſt be granted, that *Æſculapius* made ſome diſcoveries in the cure of diſeaſes and wounds. He is ſaid to have invented the *Probe*; to have firſt made uſe of *Bandages*; and to have been the firſt who invented

§ The particulars concerning *Eſculapius* are taken from *D. Hal.* in excerp. à Valeſio. *Lactant.* ex Tarquitio, *Cicero* de nat. Deor. B. 3. *Plut.* in Queſt. Rom. *Pauſanias*, *Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.* ch. 22. *Ovid.* Met. B. 15. *Val. Max.* B. 1. ch. 8. *Pliny*, B. 29. ch. 1.

Temple:

V. of R. 462. Bef. J. C. 290. 561 Consul-p.

Temple at *Epidaurus*, arrived at *Rome*, to the great joy of the People; and the Plague is said to have soon after ceased.

vented Purges, and the art of drawing Teeth. And as he lived in an age wherein it was usual to deify those who distinguish'd themselves by any useful discoveries, the People were pleased to call him the son of *Apollo*, and to rank him among the Gods. After which he soon had a Temple erected to him in *Epidaurus*; which was built upon an eminence without the city, because the most airy and wholsome situations are most suitable to the God of *Health*. There the Priests, who presided over the worship of this new God, bred one of those snakes, which are easily tamed, and taught to follow any persons where they please, without any danger of being bit by them; and the silly vulgar honoured this Snake as the God himself. His usual hole was under the feet of the fine stone statue of *Æsculapius*, which the famous sculptor *Thrasymedes* of *Paros* had made; and whenever he came out of it, his appearance was understood to prognosticate the cure of the sick. The Envoys of *Rome* were brought into this Temple, to which the love of life drew all *Greece*, and which gratitude for cures imagined to be there obtain'd, had exceedingly enriched. *Ogulnius* was at the head of the embassy; and it's probable the *Epidaurians* made the *Romans* pay very dear for the relief they sought; their reputation and interest being then very small in *Greece*. Be that as it will, the *Epidaurians* granted their request, and suffered them to carry away with them the important Snake. It is reported as a prodigy, that the Snake came out in sight of the Ambassadors, whilst they were attentively viewing the statue of *Æsculapius*; and that he left the Temple of *Epidaurus* of his own accord, and winding his great body along, passed all thro' the city, and went directly to the port where the *Roman* ship was at anchor. To which it is added, that he entered the vessel of his own accord, went directly to *Ogulnius*'s cabin, and coiling himself into several circles, continued quietly there. An account which is neither incredible nor miraculous, if we suppose (which might have been the case) that the master of the Snake, who had tam'd him, went before him to the ship. Besides, this was not the first time that one of these Snakes had been taken out of the Temple of *Epidaurus*. The *Sicyonians* had already carried one from thence to their city, in a chariot; and an unknown woman, named *Nicagore*, had conducted him thither. Thus the impostures of the *Greeks* furnished the nations, who were willing to be cheated, with *Æsculapius's*; and thus the *Romans*, among others, were robbed by them.

The other adventures of the pretended *Æsculapius*, in his passage from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, have been celebrated both by the Historians and Poets. They relate, that the Ambassadors experienced the good effects of the God's present in their voyage, it being exceeding prosperous and happy. Nevertheless, she has become boisterous towards the coasts of *Italy*; and the strength of the winds forced the seamen to put in at the port of *Antium*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Æsculapius*. The Snake had hitherto confin'd himself to *Ogulnius*'s cabin; but here he escaped, and gliding along came to the court of the sanctuary where he was worshipped. This place was planted with Myrtles and Palm-trees, and the pretended *Æsculapius* got upon the largest of his trees, and twisted his long body round it. For three days it was much feared that the divine animal would continue there; and all endeavours to bring him back to the ship were vain. It avail'd nothing to offer him his usual food; he continued three days twisted round the Palm-tree. But at length he returned to the galley of his own accord, and suffer'd himself to be carried to the place intended. *Antium* was at no very great distance from the mouth of the *Tyber*; and the Snake was carried up that river to *Rome*. The joy the *Romans* shewed at the arrival of this salutary God is not to be expressed. Altars were erected all along the shore; and incense and sacrifices offered, even to profuseness. The *Romans* expected immediately to receive *Æsculapius* within their walls, and build him a Temple; but the God is said to have chose his own abode. In the midst of the *Tyber*, over-against the walls of *Rome*, there was an island, formed in the infancy of the Republic, by straw, trunks of trees, sand, and the rubbish of the city; and thither the Serpent retir'd, swimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the *Island of Æsculapius*; and a Temple was soon erected to him there, and enrich'd with numberless presents. The Temple was built in the shape of a ship; the higher part of it resembled the stern, and the

History says nothing of any exploits of *Brutus* in *Hetruria*. But young *Fabius*, who had been continued in the command of the army in *Samnium*, in quality of *Proconsul*, being assisted by his father (who govern'd and directed all his motions, without letting him perceive it) had already reduced the Canton of the *Pentrini*, and was besieging *Cominium* (an important Town, formerly taken and burnt by *Carvilius*, but since rebuilt by the *Samnites*) when *Postumius* prepared to enter *Samnium* with a new Consular army. Before he left *Rome*, he employed a detachment of his troops in the servile work of grubbing up a forest in his own estate; and he proceeded in the same spirit of tyranny when he came into the field. He sent orders to the *Proconsul* to desist from the siege of *Cominium*, and to leave that enterprize to his conduct. Young *Fabius* had received his commission from the Senate; and the *Fathers* supported his pretensions, and commanded the *Consul* to bend his forces another way; but *Postumius* bad the messenger tell the Senate, *That it was their duty to obey their* Consul, *and not his to submit to their commands.* He then marched furnit towards *Cominium*, resolving to give the *Fabii* battle, if they did not yield to his will. *Fabius Maximus* prevail'd with his son, for the sake of the public good, to give way to the imperious *Consul*. And then *Postumius*, having a clear stage, and being a man of courage and expedition, soon made himself master of *Cominium*. Thence he turn'd his arms against *Venusia*, which he likewise took in a short time. In the letter which he wrote to the Senate to inform them of his success, he proposed that a *Colony* might be sent to the last-mention'd place; and his proposal was approved; but the *Fathers*, who preferr'd Obedience to Valour, took occasion from it to humble him. Instead of appointing him, agreeably to custom, to be one of the founders of the new *Colony* in the City he had conquer'd, they named three others, and allowed him no share in that honour; nay, to mortify him yet more, they decreed young *Fabius* a Triumph. *Pontius Herennius*, that famous *Samnite* General who surprised the *Roman Legions* in the *Caudine Forks*, and made them pass under the Yoke, now followed the Chariot of the Triumphant Conqueror. (He was afterwards, by an inhumanity unworthy of *Romans*, condemn'd to lose his head.) But the most surprising sight of all was old *Fabius* on horseback in his son's train. He had formerly in his own Triumphs carried his son in the Chariot with him; and he was now overjoy'd to mingle in the croud, and make one of his attendants.

Y. of R. 462. Bef. J. C. 290. 16; Consul. p. *Die Cocceianus* in excerptis à Valesio.

Livy, Epit. 11.

D. Hal. in excerptis à Valesio.

Plut. in *Fab.* *Cunct. Val.* *Max.* B. 5. ch. 7.

the lower part the prow. But whatever the Historians say of it, it is very uncertain whether the plague was not stopped before the Serpent arrived; and if we believe *Pliny*, who gave no credit to vulgar traditions, the *Romans* themselves would not suffer this *Æsculapius*, who had been brought from beyond-sea, to be placed within their walls. He says, they had an aversion to Physicians and their art, and despised even *Æsculapius* himself, the prince and head of Physicians. Nevertheless, the Temple of this God of Health was very much frequented by the Commonalty of *Rome*; the sick came and passed the night in it; and imagination, or the strength of nature, sometimes wrought cures there, which were ascribed to the power of the God.

Y. of *R.* 462. Bef. *J. C.* 290. 161 Conſul-p.

As for *Poſthumius*, when he found himſelf treated with ſo much contempt, and his rival ſo much honoured, he not only declaimed with paſſion againſt both Senate and People, but did all that was in his power to revenge himſelf. He would not give the leaſt part of the booty brought from the two conquered Cities into the public Treaſury, but diſtributed it all among his ſoldiers, and then diſbanded them before his ſucceſſor could arrive. Some Hiſtorians ſay, that notwithſtanding theſe extravagant proceedings, and the oppoſition of the Senate, he obtained a Triumph by a decree of the People; but this is highly improbable, ſince it appears by what follow'd ſoon after, that the People were no leſs exaſperated againſt him than the *Fathers*. For the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* and *Manius Curius Dentatus*, were no ſooner enter'd upon office, than he was brought to a trial before the *Comitia by Tribes*. His chief accuſation turn'd upon his having employed his ſoldiers in a ſlaviſh work for his own private profit; a crime which touch'd the People much more than his diſobedience to the Senate. They condemned him to pay a conſiderable fine; and his reputation continued for ſome time blaſted.

D. Hal. in excerptis à Valeſio.

Y. of *R.* 463. Bef. *J. C.* 289. 162 Conſul-p. *Liv.* Epit. 11.

§. IV. THE *Samnites* having loſt their brave General and able Governor *Pontius*, were no longer in a condition to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Roman* arms. *Curius Dentatus* laid waſte their country, took their towns, and, in ſhort, obliged them to ſue for peace. The Republic conſented to a treaty of alliance with them for the fourth time, and left the conditions of it to *Curius* *.

Epit. 11. *Liv.* *Eutrop.* B. 2.

This *Conſul* was remarkable for living, without oſtentation, in that voluntary Poverty, which ſome Philoſophers have with great vanity cried up and recommended. The *Samnite* Deputies found him ſitting on a ſorry wooden ſeat near a fire, dreſſing his own dinner, which conſiſted only of ſome roots; and they offered him a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of Money. *Curius* expreſſed his indignation by a diſdainful ſmile. "Without doubt, ſaid he, my indigence makes you hope that you may "corrupt me: But you are miſtaken. I had rather be the commander "of rich men, than be rich myſelf. Take away that metal, which men "make uſe of only to their deſtruction, and go tell your nation, that they "will find it as difficult to bribe me, as to conquer me." A treaty being concluded upon ſuch conditions as *Curius* thought fit to preſcribe, he return'd to *Rome* to triumph. And never did the People expreſs more joy than upon this occaſion, being at length freed from the care and burthen of a dangerous war, which had laſted forty nine years. The conqueror, in the diſtribution of the conquered lands among thoſe *Romans* who had none of

Plutarch. in Apoph. *Val. Max.* B. 4. ch. 3. *Plin.* B. 19. ch. 6.

Nicol. Damaſ. in excerptis à Valeſio.

* It is uncertain what ſort of Government was in uſe among the *Samnites*; but it is moſt probable that they were divided into Cantons, and annually aſſembled a Diet, where reſolutions were taken for the public good. In time of war they choſe a Head, who was inveſted with Sovereign Authority. It is ſaid, that the *Samnites* had one very ſingular cuſtom in relation to Marriages. Every year, all the marriageable young men and women were aſſembled before certain judges, who matched them according to their merit.

their

their own, prevailed to have no more than ſeven acres allotted to each man, and accepted no more himſelf, though a much larger portion was offer'd him. He ſaid, that to preſerve the *Roman* frugality, it were to be wiſhed that no man had more land than was neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence.

Y. of *R.* 463. Bef. *J. C.* 289. 162 Conſul-p. Author de Viris Illuſtr. *Plutarch.* in Apoph.

§. V. THE conqueſt of *Samnium* was followed by the reduction of the *Sabines* to a ſtate of ſubjection, who had been almoſt ever ſince the foundation of *Rome* upon the foot of allies, and had been govern'd by their own laws. They had fear'd that the ruin of the *Samnites* would affect their own liberty, and had therefore not only lent them aſſiſtance, but had ravaged a part of the *Roman* Territory. *Curius* entirely ſubdued them; but the *Romans*, in regard to old friendſhip, treated them gently, and admitted them to *Roman Citizenſhip*, yet without the right of ſuffrage. For the conqueſt of *Sabinia*, *Curius* had a ſecond Triumph decreed him the ſame year; an honour which had never been granted to any of his predeceſſors in the Conſulate.

Florus, B. 1. ch. 15. *Liv.* Epit. 11. *Vell. Paterc.* B. 1. *Liv.* Epit. 11.

The eminent virtues of this Philoſophical Hero did not ſecure him from envy: There were not wanting thoſe to whom his reputation of diſintereſtedneſs gave offence, and they endeavour'd to caſt a ſtain upon it. They accuſed him of having applied a part of the booty taken from the enemy to his private uſe. The accuſation being general, he was put to his oath; and then he confeſſed, that he had reſerved a little wooden oil-veſſel for making libations to the Gods, but proteſted that he had kept nothing more: He was believed; and the malice of his accuſers ſerved only to heighten the luſtre of his virtue. Before the expiration of his *Conſulſhip*, he led an army againſt the *Lucanians*, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of *Thurium*, the inhabitants of which had implored the protection of the *Romans*, and had gained *Ælius* (one of the *Tribunes*) to be their friend. This Town was ſituated near the Gulph of *Tarentum*.

Auth. de Viris Illuſtr.

Plin. B. 34. ch. 7.

§. VI. THE ſame *Comitia* which choſe *M. Valerius Corvinus* and *Q. Cedicius Noſtia* to be *Conſuls* for the new year, appointed *Curius Dentatus* to carry on the war in *Lucania* in quality of *Proconſul*. His expedition prov'd ſucceſsful; and he thereby eſtabliſh'd the *Roman* domination through almoſt the whole extent of the country that reaches from the *Adriatic* to the *Tyrrhenian* and *Sicilian* ſeas. The new *Conſuls* employ'd their year altogether in works of peace, and in ſending out *Colonies*; particularly to *Adria*, a maritime Town, which ſome ſay gave name to the *Adriatic* ſea; *Caſtrum* in *Picenum*, and *Senæ*, another City on the *Adriatic*, at the mouth of the *Sena* in the country of the *Senones*.

Y. of *R.* 464. Bef. *J. C.* 288. 163 Conſul-p.

Liv. Epit. 11.

At this time the *Romans*, finding that the *Prætor* alone was not ſufficient to preſerve good order in the City in a time of peace, when malefactors always multiply, the People appointed three new Judges to try delinquents, and pronounce ſentence without appeal: But their power of puniſhing extended only to pecuniary fines; the People would not diveſt themſelves of the ſole power of life and death. Theſe new Magiſtrates were choſen annually in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The number of *Roman Citizens* fit to bear

Feſt. Pomp. B. 17.

bear arms, appear'd, by a *Cenſus* taken this year, to be two hundred and ſeventy three thouſand.

Y. of *R.* 464. Bef. *J.C.* 288. 163 Conſul-p. *Flor.* Epit. 11. *Zonar.* Annal. B. 8. S. *Aug.* de Civitat. Dei, B. 3. ch. 18.

And now, when all was quiet abroad, new diſturbances were raiſed at home, and the poor Debtors began again to murmur againſt the rich Uſurers. This ſpark of diſſention was blown up into a flame in the *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Marcius* * *Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius* † *Arvina*, on the following occaſion. *T. Veturius*, one of thoſe unfortunate *Conſuls*, who in the year of *Rome* 492 had been ſurpriſed in the *Caudine Forks*, died inſolvent. His ſon, a youth of great beauty, and virtuouſly educated, borrowed a conſiderable ſum of *C. Plotius*, his father's chief creditor, to defray the expence of his father's funeral. Being afterwards preſſed to pay, and having neither money nor credit, he was forced to ſubmit to ſlavery, and to work for his creditor in order to diſcharge the debt. *Plotius* conceived a deteſtable paſſion for the young man, and treated him unmercifully for his virtuous reſiſtance. *Veturius* one day, when his body was all bloody with ſtripes, made his eſcape out of the houſe, got upon an eminence, ſhewed himſelf to the People, and publiſh'd the infamy of his tyrant. The People laid hold on the occaſion to decry the Uſurers, and to demand the abolition of the law, which ſubjected thoſe to ſlavery, who could not pay. This law had been repeal'd before upon a like occaſion in the year 427, but the *Patricians* had got it renewed. As for *Plotius*, he was cited by the *Tribunes of the People* before the *Centuries*, and condemned to death.

Y. of *R.* 465. Bef. *J.C.* 287. 164 Conſul-p. * A 2d time. † A 2d time. *D. Hal.* in excerptis à Valeſio. *Val. Max.* B. 6. ch. 1.

In the following *Conſulſhip* of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Nautius Rutilus*, the People kept no longer any meaſures with the *Patricians*. They inſiſted upon the abolition of the law before mentioned, and finding the rich obſtinate in oppoſing it, they made a *Seceſſion* upon the hill *Janiculus*, on the other ſide of the *Tyber*. The city being thus left deſtitute of artificers and labourers, and no proviſions being brought thither from the provinces (for the country people had likewiſe their complaints) the *Patricians* and rich *Citizens* found themſelves under a neceſſity of making conceſſions, and they named *Q. Hortenſius* Dictator to negotiate with the Separatiſts. The terms of reconciliation were, beſide (doubtleſs) the repeal of the law in queſtion, the ſtrict obſervation of two laws, made in the year 414, but to which the Nobility had paid no regard. 1. *That the decrees made by the Tribes ſhould be obſerved by the* Patricians *as well as* Plebeians. 2. *That laws ſhould firſt paſs the* Senate, *and be brought afterwards to the* Comitia *to be there approved or rejected, and not vice verſa.* The complaint of the country people was, *That they could not get their cauſes heard by the Judges on Market-days, when they came to* Rome, *but were obliged to leave their work, and return thither again.* This was rectified. But when theſe ſeveral articles of reconciliation were drawn up, and the ſtorm began to be appeaſed, *Hortenſius* died of a ſudden, before the expiration of his *Dictatorſhip*. It being neceſſary therefore to create another *Dictator*, to complete what he had begun, the *Conſuls* nominated the illuſtrious *Fabius*, who

Flor. Epit. 11. S. *Aug.* de Civitat. Dei, B. 3.

Cic. in Orat. pro *Planc.* *Livy*, B. 8. *Varro* apud Nonum. *Macrob. Sat.* 1. ch. 16.

Y. of *R.* 466. Bef. *J.C.* 286. 165 Conſul-p.

Fragmentum *Faſt. Capit.*

who now, in an extreme old age, was President or Prince of the Senate. He happily finished the accommodation, and this was the last public scene in which he appeared. He died soon after. The Republic had consider'd him in his life-time as a prodigy of *Roman* Valour, Prudence, and Virtue, and now upon his death the People contributed to the expence of his obsequies with so much emulation, that his son, with the victims offer'd at his funeral, gave a public entertainment to the whole City. Y. of *R.* 466. Bef. *J. C.* 286. 165 Consul-p. Auth. de Viris Illustr.

Fabius, while *Dictator*, had (probably) presided in the *Comitia*, when *M. Valerius Potitus* and *C. Ælius Paetus* were chosen *Consuls*. Their year proved barren of remarkable events; but the Republic was never more happy than under their administration. The People having gained the highest pitch of their desires, thought only of enjoying the sweets of tranquillity. The balance of power leaned now rather to their side, and the *Patricians* had no advantage over them, but in the great riches they had acquired, while they kept the ascendant, and in that respect which naturally is paid to persons of high birth. Y. of *R.* 467. Bef. *J. C.* 285. 166 Consul-p.

CHAP. XXV.

§. I. *The* Tarentines *endeavour privately to stir up both old and new enemies against* Rome. *The* Gauls, *called* Senones, *give the* Roman *army a terrible overthrow.* Curius Dentatus *revenges this defeat.* §. II. *The next year the* Romans *vanquish in battle the* Senones, *the* Boii, *and the* Hetrurians. *The* Samnites *revolt. The year following, almost all* Italy *rises in arms against the Republic.* Fabricius *defeats the confederate forces of the* Lucanians, Bruttians, *and* Samnites. §. III. *The* Tarentines *fall in a hostile manner upon a* Roman *fleet, which chances to come into their port. The* Romans *send to demand satisfaction. The* Tarentines *insult the Ambassadors, and then turn their thoughts to an alliance with* Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus. [*A short account of this Prince, and the state of his affairs at this time.*] §. IV. *The* Senate *and people of* Rome *decree a war against the* Tarentines. *An army marches directly for* Tarentum. *The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the Citizens on its approach. They resolve to invite* Pyrrhus *to their assistance.* §. V. Pyrrhus *accepts the invitation, and sends before him to* Tarentum *the famous* Cyneas, *his prime minister.*

§. I. ROME was now not only in perfect tranquillity at home, but in a flourishing condition with respect to her affairs abroad. The *Latines*, *Sabines*, *Hernici*, *Æqui*, *Marsi*, and *Campanians* were all brought into subjection to her. The *Volsci* were no more a people. The terror of the *Roman* arms reached to *Apulia*, and kept it in awe. A part of *Lucania* on one hand, and on the other *Umbria* and *Picenum*, quite up to the frontiers of the *Senones*, were all either obedient to the *Romans*, or awed by *Roman Colonies* near them. On the other side of the *Tyber* one

part of *Hetruria* was ſubdued, and that which was more diſtant obſerved the truce which had been granted it. *Samnium*, in all appearance, was quieted; and the *Gauls*, both *Senones* and *Boii*, lived in peace with the Republic, always ready however to fight for thoſe who would employ them. Such was the State of *Rome*, when *C. Claudius Centho* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* enter'd upon the *Conſulſhip*. Nothing memorable happen'd during their adminiſtration; and the *Faſces* were tranſmitted to *C. Servilius Tucca* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. In their year the *Tarentines* (formerly a Colony of auſtere *Spartans*, but now ſunk into idleneſs and vice) growing jealous of the proſperity of the *Romans*, and fearing an interruption in their pleaſures, as much as the loſs of their liberty, employ'd all their *Grecian* ſubtlety to ſtir up both old and new enemies againſt the Republic; and this without appearing to be concerned.

Caſſiodorus, Tabulæ Græcæ, & Caſpinian.
Y. of *R.* 468. Bef. *J.C.* 284. 167 Conſul-p.
Y. of *R.* 469. Bef. *J.C.* 283. 168 Conſul-p.
Zonaras, B. 8.

At the ſame time the *Senones* prepared to beſiege *Aretium*, a City of *Hetruria*, about forty leagues from *Rome*, not far from the river *Arno*, and which was in truce with the Republic. The *Romans*, at the requeſt of the *Aretini*, raiſed an army to defend them; but before any act of hoſtility, they ſent a deputation to the *Senones*, to perſuade them to deſiſt from their deſign. Theſe proud *Gauls*, inſtead of liſtening to the mediation of the *Romans*, killed the Ambaſſadors, and then immediately brought their troops before *Aretium*. The *Conſul Cæcilius* haſten'd to the relief of the place, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himſelf was killed, with ſeven *Legionary Tribunes*, the beſt part of the *Roman Knights*, and thirteen thouſand private men. Upon the news of this terrible defeat, *Curius Dentatus* (probably *Prætor* at this time) was diſpatched from *Rome*, at the head of ſome new levies to ſupply the *Conſul*'s place. But this able and experienced Commander, inſtead of attacking the army of the *Gauls* flush'd with ſucceſs, or of attempting to ſuccour *Aretium*, marched along the confines of *Hetruria*, and enter'd the enemies country, where he took ample vengeance for the murder of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors. With fire and ſword he laid waſte and deſtroyed all before him, ſo that in a little time he reduced it to a vaſt deſert, in which there ſcarce remained any appearances of its having been cultivated or inhabited; all the men that were found were put to the ſword, and the women and children carried into ſlavery.

Polyb. B. 2.

Appian. apud *Fulv. Urſinum.*
Flor. Epit. 12.
Oroſ. B. 3. ch. 22.

Polyb. B. 2.

Dion. apud *Fulv. Urſinum.*

§. II. IN the mean time, and in the beginning of the adminiſtration of *P. Cornelius Dolabella* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Republic began to feel the effects of the ſecret negotiations of the *Tarentines*. The *Boii*, *Hetrurians*, and *Samnites*, all declared againſt her at once, and ſhe had already the army of the *Senones* before *Aretium* to deal with. Theſe *Gauls*, to revenge the devaſtation made in their country, left the ſiege of that Town, and were advancing ſtrait to *Rome*, when *Domitius* met them in *Hetruria*, and gave them a total overthrow with great ſlaughter. After this, *Cornelius* came to a pitch'd battle with the united *Hetrurians* and *Boii*; the troops of the former were almoſt all ſlain, and thoſe of the latter, who eſcaped, being vanquiſhed a ſecond time, ſued for peace. As for the *Senones*,

Y. of *R.* 470. Bef. *J.C.* 282. 169 Conſul-p.

Appian. apud *Fulv. Urſinum.*
Polyb. B. 2.

Samnites, they were ſo utterly deſtroyed, that there ſcarce remained any footſteps of them in *Italy*.

In the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, almoſt all *Italy*, through the ſecret intrigues of the *Tarentines*, roſe up in arms againſt the *Robbers*, as the *Romans* were then called. On one ſide the remains of the *Hetrurians* and *Boii*, on the other the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*, in conjunction with the *Samnites*, all conſpired together for the deſtruction of the imperious Republic. It fell to *Æmilius* to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to *Fabricius* to command in *Lucania*. The latter marched to the relief of *Thurium*, a city on the Gulph of *Tarentum*, and beſieged by the *Lucanians*, *Bruttians*, and *Samnites*. He defeated this confederate army, but found it a difficult enterprize to force their camp. The means by which he ſucceeded in it, and which had ſomething of the air of a miracle, was probably a ſtratagem of his own contriving. Whilſt he ſeemed to be in ſuſpenſe what meaſures to take, a young man full of ſtrength and vigour, wearing feathers in his helmet, appeared on a ſudden in the midſt of the Legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their country, and then ſeizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a ſhower of darts, planted his ladder againſt it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inſpired the *Romans* with ſuch intrepidity, that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of the camp. Twenty five thouſand of the enemy, with their General *Statilius*, were ſlain. After the victory the *Conſul* ordered the young man who had firſt mounted the rampart to be ſought for, in order to reward him; and becauſe he was not to be found, the *Romans* preſently imagined, that it was the God *Mars* himſelf, and returned him ſolemn thanks for his aſſiſtance, by public *Supplications*.

A. of *R.* 471. Bef. *J. C.* 281. 170 Conſul-p.

Plin. B. 34. ch. 6. *Ammian. Mar.* B. 24. *Val. Max.* B. 1. ch. 8. *D. Hal.* in Legation.

Val. Max. B. 1. ch. 8.

§. III. AS for the *Tarentines*, the real authors of this war, they had not yet openly declared againſt *Rome*. An accident at length made them throw off the maſk. *Valerius* one of the *Maritime Duumvirs*, or Admirals of the *Roman* fleet, happened to come with ten ſhips to the mouth of their port, while they were celebrating their Games in the Theatre, which look'd towards the harbour. The ſudden appearance of the *Roman* ſhips interrupted their diverſions; the *Tarentines* imagining that the *Romans* were come with hoſtile intentions, they all with one conſent ran down to the port, fell upon the fleet with the fury of mad-men, ſunk one ſhip, and took four, the other five eſcaping. All the priſoners fit to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the reſt ſold to the beſt bidder. Upon the news of this unexpected inſult, the Republic ſent a deputation to *Tarentum* to demand ſatisfaction. *Poſthumius Megellus*, who had been thrice *Conſul*, was at the head of the Embaſſy. He was admitted to an audience in the Theatre, where he harangued the aſſembly in *Greek*. The *Tarentines*, heated with wine, inſtead of liſtening to his diſcourſe with that ſerioufneſs which the importance of the matter required, burſt into loud laughter, or hiſſed him, whenever he heſitated, was incorrect in

Flor. B. 1. *Oroſius*, B. 4. ch. 1. *D. Hal.* in Legat.

Y. of R. 471. Bef. J. C. 281. 170 Consul. Pr

in his expression, or even pronounced a word with a foreign accent; but when he began to speak of *Reparation of Wrongs*, they fell a laughing, called him *Barbarian*, and, in a manner, drove him out of the assembly. Nor was this all: As he was walking off with a gait of gravity and dignity, a buffoon named *Philonidas* coming up to him, wiped upon his robe; a new source of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude; some of them even clapp'd their hands for extreme joy at the outrageous insolence. *Pyrrhus* turning about to the assembly, only shewed them the skirt of his garment so defiled; but when he found that this had no effect but to encrease the loudness of their contumelious mirth, *Laugh on, Tarentines, laugh your fill while you may. The time is coming, when you will weep for it. Tarentum will long weep. It is not a little blood that must wash and purify this garment.* Having thus spoken, he strait withdrew, left the city, and marched for *Rome*.

When the *Tarentines* came to themselves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, in not being forgiven, and at the same time on the inability of their neighbours to defend them, they concluded it absolutely necessary to look for succours from beyond sea; and they cast their eyes on *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, who, for personal bravery and martial skill, was reputed one of the greatest Commanders of that time.

Plut. Life of *Pyrrhus.*

This Prince was descended from *Achilles* by his son *Neoptolemus* (or *Pyrrhus*) who conquered *Epirus*, reigned there himself, and left the throne to his posterity. Being yet an infant at the breast, when his father *Æacides* was dethroned by his subjects, he was conveyed through a variety of dangers into *Illyricum*, where *Glaucias* the King of that country took care of him, and educated him with his own children. When *Pyrrhus* had attained to 12 years of age, *Glaucias* at the head of a great army enter'd *Epirus*, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors; but when he was 17 years old, the *Epirots*, rebelling again, drove him from his kingdom, and forced him to seek refuge in the dominions of *Demetrius*, the husband of his sister *Deidamia*. *Demetrius* was then master of *Greece* and a great part of *Asia*. *Pyrrhus* served under him in his wars against *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, and gained great applause by his courage and conduct at the famous battle of *Ipsus* in *Phrygia*, where so many Kings were present; and when a peace was made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, *Pyrrhus* was sent to *Egypt*, as one of the hostages to secure the performance of the Treaty. There he behaved himself with so much prudence and address as to gain universal esteem and admiration; and he made his court so successfully to *Berenice* the favourite Queen, that she gave him in marriage *Antigone*, her daughter by a former husband. Having by this alliance engaged *Ptolomy* to assist him with money and troops, he recovered his own kingdom, after which he made himself master of *Macedon*; but being dispossessed of it again by *Lysimachus*, he retired into *Epirus*, and was at this time in peace with all the neighbouring States. However as he naturally loved action, and had a restless and

hurry of war, the [illegible] when the *Tarentines* sent to him (at Y. of *R.* 471. Bef. *J. C.* 281. 171 Consul-p.
first perhaps only to try his pulse and observe the state of his affairs) found him in a disposition to hearken to any proposal, which would furnish him with employment worthy of his ambition.

§. IV. THE [illegible] to amuse the *Romans* till it could be known what might be expected from *Pyrrhus*, besieged *Thurium*, that was defended by a *Roman* Garrison, and took it. This news was brought to *Rome* soon after the return of *Postumius*, and the other ambassadors who had been so ill treated at *Tarentum*. The Republic had just raised *Appian.*
Y. of *R.* 472. Bef. *J. C.* 280. 171 Consul-p.
two Armies, the one under the Consuls *Æmilius Barbula* and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, to the *Genuates*. These Magistrates having assembled the Conscript Fathers represented to them on one hand the shameful indignity offered to their ambassadors, which required vengeance; and, on the other, the danger of engaging in a new war, when the Republic had already so many enemies to contend with: For the *Etrurians* and *Samnites* were still in arms, and the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians* were grown more confident, since the taking of *Thurium*. The Senate were unanimous as to the necessity of chastising the *Tarentines*; the Hostilities they had committed against the Republic, the insult offered to *Postumius*, whole robes were pissed in the assembly, left no room for deliberation upon that point; the only question was concerning the proper time; and this was debated in the Senate from Sunrising to Sun-set for several days together, the Fathers being divided in opinion. Some were for deferring the war with the *Tarentini*, till the intermediate Provinces should be subdued; others for beginning it immediately. The question being put to the vote, the latter opinion prevailed by a majority of voices; and the Senate's Decree was confirmed by the people. Hereupon, *Æmilius*, who had intended to make the campaign in *Samnium*, was order'd to lay aside that Expedition, and marched directly to *Tarentum*.
D. Hal. in Legation.
Zon. B. 8. & *Appian*

The approach of the *Romans* made the *Tarentines* carry on their deliberations with a little more seriousness than formerly; and when the *Consul* sent once again to demand satisfaction, before he began Hostilities, the oldest and richest declared for peace: but the populace who had little to lose, insisted upon a war; and what put an end to the debate was a speech of one of the common citizens, who renewed the proposal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, a motion highly applauded by the multitude. The wiser part of the citizens finding themselves overborn by numbers came no more to the assemblies. Only one *Meton*, a very sober worthy man, the day that a public Decree was to pass for inviting *Pyrrhus* to *Tarentum*, and when the people were all placed in the Theatre, putting a withered garland on his head, and having a flambeaux in his hand, as was the manner of drunken debauchees, and being accompanied by a woman playing on a flute, came dancing into the midst of the assembly. This silly sight was sufficient to divert the *Tarentines* from their most important deliberations. They made a Ring, and called out to *Meton* to sing, and to the woman to play; but when, expecting to be entertained with
Plut. Life of *Pyrrhus*.
Diod. in Eclog.
Plut. Life of *Pyrrhus*.

Y. of R. 472, Bef. J.C. 280. 171 Conful-p.

with a ſong, they were all ſilent. *Meton* aſſuming an air of more ſeriouſneſs, "You do well, *Tarentines*, not to hinder thoſe from diverting themſelves who are diſpoſed to mirth; and if you are wiſe you will yourſelves make advantage of the preſent liberty you enjoy to do the ſame. When *Pyrrhus* comes, you muſt change your way of life; your mirth and joy will be at an end." Theſe words made an impreſſion upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had ſpoken well: but thoſe who had ſome reaſon to fear that they ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans* in caſe of an accommodation, being enraged at what he had ſaid, reviled the aſſembly for ſuffering themſelves to be ſo mocked and affronted, and crowding together, they thruſt *Meton* out of the Theatre. After this the Decree was paſſed, and ambaſſadors were ſent into *Epirus*, not only from the *Tarentines*, but from all the *Italick Greeks*, with magnificent preſents for the King, and with inſtructions to ſay, that they only wanted a general of fame and experience; that as for troops, they could themſelves furniſh a numerous army, 20000 horſe, and 350000 foot, made up of *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, *Samnites*, and *Tarentines*.

Oroſ. B. 4. & *Zon.* B. 8.

As ſoon as the news came to the *Roman* camp, that a deputation to *Pyrrhus* was decreed, *Æmilius* ſtraight began Hoſtilities, burnt and deſtroy'd all before him, and forced the *Tarentines* in the field to take refuge within their walls. However not to drive them to deſpair, and to induce them to lay aſide the deſign of receiving *Pyrrhus*, he uſed ſome moderation, and ſent back the priſoners he had taken. Theſe highly extoll'd the generoſity of the *Conſul*; inſomuch, that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the *Roman* party; and they all in general began to repent of their rejecting a peace, and ſending for *Pyrrhus*. This was evident by their chuſing *Agis*, a friend of the *Romans*, to be their General, and the Governor of the City

§. V. IN the mean while the *Tarentine* ambaſſadors, purſuant to the powers they had received, made an abſolute treaty with the King of *Epirus*. He was very ready to accept the invitation into *Italy*, his head being turned with the exploits of *Alexander the Great* in the Eaſt, which he thought to imitate by mighty conqueſts in the Weſt.

Plut. Life of *Pyrrhus.*

There was then at the court of *Epirus*, a *Theſſalian*, named *Cyneas*, a man of ſound underſtanding, and who had been a Diſciple of *Demoſthenes*. He was thought to approach nearer than any other orator of this time to the vehement and forcible eloquence of that great maſter. *Pyrrhus* uſually employed him, as his ambaſſador to thoſe cities with whom he had any affair to tranſact, and the able miniſter ſucceeded ſo well in theſe negotiations, that the King was wont to ſay, *He had made more conqueſts by the tongue of* Cyneas, *than by his own ſword*. And for this reaſon he not only held him in the higheſt eſteem, but loaded him with honours, making him his chief miniſter and favourite.

Cyneas perceiving that *Pyrrhus* was eagerly bent to paſs into *Italy*, and finding him one day at leiſure, and in a humour for free converſation,

tion, that began the Romans. Sir, are reported to be great warriors, and to rule over many brave and warlike nations. Should God grant us, nevertheless, to vanquish them, what use shall we make of our victory? ——— The thing speaks of itself, answered Pyrrhus; the Romans once conquered, there is no city, Barbarous or Greek in Italy, that shall dare to resist us. We shall be immediately masters of that whole country, whose extent, wealth, and power, no body is better convinced of than yourself. ——— Cyneas, (after a short silence,) And when we have conquered Italy, What are we to do next? ——— Pyrrhus (not yet perceiving his drift) Next? Why, there is Sicily just by, She opens her arms to receive us, a rich and populous Island, and easily subdued; for since the death of Agathocles, the cities are all in confusion and anarchy. ——— What you say, replied Cyneas, seems very probable indeed, But is the conquest of Sicily to put an end to our expeditions? ——— No certainly, cried the King, those successes will be only preludes to greater enterprises. Who, in such a case, could forbear passing into Africk, and to Carthage? It is but a step thither. And when we have subdued these, what think you? Will any of those enemies, who now give us uneasiness, have once the boldness to withstand our arms? We shall then safely recover Macedon, and not only that, but in a little time be masters of all Greece. ——— Very true, said Cyneas. Nothing can withstand. But when we have compleated all these Conquests, What shall we do then? ——— Pyrrhus smiling, Do then? Why, then we'll live at our ease, my Good Friend, and drink, and feast, and spend our days in agreeable conversation. ——— Ah, Sir, replied the Philosopher, What hinders, but from immediately possessing that happiness, which you propose to purchase at the expence of so much danger? These

V. of R. 472. Bef. J. C. 280. 471 Consul-p.

* Monsieur Pascal, in his discourse of the Misery of Man, has a most admirable reflection on this subject of Cyneas and Pyrrhus.

"THERE is nothing more capable of letting us into the knowledge of human nature, than to observe after the real cause of that perpetual hurry and confusion, in which we pass our lives.

"The soul is sent into the body, to be the sojourner of a few days. She knows that this is but a step, all the very endeavours for eternity; and that a small space is allowed her to prepare for the voyage. ——— [illegible] by the necessity of nature, and but a slender provision for our own support. And yet this inconsiderable part employs her entirely. [illegible] this only diverts her from the thought of her approaching end, and the only difficulty to her is, the fear of annihilation. In order to live with less trouble, she throws herself out of herself, and loses all reflection, by amusing herself with things which prevent her notice of its speed.

"This is the ground of all the employments, of all the trifling diversions amongst men; in which our general aim is to make the time pass off our hands without feeling it, or rather without feeling ourselves; and, by getting rid of this small portion of life, to avoid that inward disgust and bitterness, which we should not fail to meet with, if we found ourselves obliged to descend into our own breasts. For it is undeniably certain, that the soul of man is incapable of rest and satisfaction; and that, though her only way to expand herself every way, and to seek how she may [illegible] the thoughts of her own proper being in a settled contemplation of the things about her. For true happiness consists in this forgetfulness; and so make her completely miserable, nothing more is required but the engaging her to look into herself, and to dwell [illegible]

Y. of R. 47[illegible]
Bef. J.C. 2[illegible]
17[illegible] Conful.p.

These words gather for the King, that directed him from his despair

WE charge Perfons from their very infancy with the care of their own fortunes and honours, and no lefs of the glory and dignities belonging to their kindred and friends. We burthen them with the fludy of languages, of exercifes, and of Art. We exact them in bufinefs, and perfuade them that they can never be unhappy, unleft by their indultry and caution they in fome meafure fecure the intereft and glory of themfelves, their families, and their dependants; and that unavoidable unhappinefs is fettled upon the failure of any one perfon in this kind. Thus we teach them to meet out their ftrength, and to rob themfelves of their reft. A ftrange method (for I fay of making them happy! What can be more with refpect to themfelves than to be in mifery? Would you know what? Why only to releafe them from thefe cares, and to take off their burthens. For then their eyes and thoughts muft be turned inward, and that is the only burthen which they efteem infupportable. Hence, if they gain any relaxation from their labours, we find them eager to throw it away upon fome fport or diverfion, which takes up their whole activity, and pleafantly robs them of themfelves.

'Tis for this reafon, that when I have fet myfelf to confider the various occupations of human life, the toil and danger to which we expofe ourfelves in the court, in the camp, in the purfuits of ambition, which give birth to fuch guilt and oppreffion, fo frequent defperate and fatal adventures, I have often faid that the unhappy caufe of moft misfortunes was this, that no body can live quietly in a chamber. A perfon who has enough for the ufes of this world, did he know the art of dwelling with himfelf, would want no more to render him happy. The defire of fuperfluous things is infinite, and the purfuit of them full of anxiety and danger; but he who can bring himfelf to the ufe of thofe things which are abfolutely neceffary to the fupport of life, has already attained the greateft bleffing that fortune can beftow upon him, as he is fecure from the impreffions of injury and contempt. Nature has not only made this eafy to us, but has annexed a pleafure to it, and rendered the moft neceffary things the moft delightful. Hence it comes to pafs, that thofe who are moderately furnished with the goods of fortune, are the moft eafily fupplied, and with the leaft difficulty adjufted to one another. Their converfation is the moft natural and unaffected in the world, and their friendfhips the moft lafting. In a word, they are in the moft eligible ftate for the exercife of all the virtues, and the moft powerful fteps towards the attainment of all the pleafures, which are truly worthy the purfuit of a reafonable creature, if we have nothing to divert our thoughts and to call us out of ourfelves.

I fpeak of thofe alone who purfue their own nature, without the vanities of faith and religion. The firft end of the miracles of Chriftianity, that of reconciling man to God, it reftores him to his own good opinion; that is, makes him able to bear the light of himfelf; and in fome meafure renders folitude and filence more agreeable, than all the intercourfe and action of mankind. Nor is it by fhewing him in his own perfon, that it produces thefe wonderful effects; 'tis by difcovering him to God, and thereby opening him moft that fenfe of his mifery, with the hopes of an infinite and compleat deliverance in a better life.

But for thofe who do not act above the meannefs of their nature, the impoffibility of their paffing into an eternity of grief and difcontent, undergo the lingering torment of feeling. Man who loves nothing but his own perfon, fees nothing to reach and be converfant in his own capacities. He finds nothing but himfelf, and yet he avoids nothing more than himfelf; becaufe when he is obliged to look within, he difcovers only a hideous void of the moft miferies, and a mighty want of all real and folid good, which 'tis beyond his ability to replenifh.

Let a man chufe his own condition, let him embellish it with all the goods and all the fatisfactions he can poffibly defire; yet, if in the midft of thefe he is without diverfion, and has time to contemplate on his fortune, this fmiling profpect will not be able to entertain his mind with the leaft relifh of what's agreeable, but he will be ftill wanting fomething to his happinefs. Or, if he has not reafon enough to difcover the vanity of thefe things, and to prepare for the worft of evils, he will be ftill in fear of them, and his thoughts of them will be more uneafy than the poffeffion of the moft real good can be delightful. Or,

V. of R. 492.
Ant. J. C. 259.
172 Consul-p.

for he could not part with the pleasing hopes he had entertained.

To

—WHAT, that by passing every day for [illegible] way, his life would be rendered unhappy, should not be rendered unhappy, should you give him every morning the sum which he could possibly win in any, upon condition to forbear. It will be said, perhaps, that of the amusement of the play with his fellows, not the gain. Yet if he plays for nothing, but gaiety is over, and the solemn moment full possession. Have patience, therefore, to see what he proceeds; if anything entertainment without hope and passion, would not displease and satisfy him. He must be allowed to raise and cheat himself, by proposing a happiness in the gaining of that which he would despise, if given him, not to venture, and by treating [illegible] objects, which disappoint and vanish before his anger, his hope, and his fear.

—WE have seen the utmost that human invention can do, in projecting for human happiness. Those who content themselves barely with demonstrating the vanity and littleness of common diversions, are indeed acquainted with one part of our miseries; for a considerable part it is, to be thus capable of taking pleasure in things so base and insignificant: but they apprehend not the cause and principle which renders these pursuits even necessary to us, so long as we remain ignorant of that inward and natural infirmity of not being able to bear the sight of our own condition. The toys which men buy in the market cannot screen them from this view; but the field and the chase afford an approved relief. And therefore when we reproach them with their low and ignoble aim, and observe to them how little satisfaction there is in that which they follow with so much contention and ardour, did they answer upon mature judgment, they would acknowledge the equity of our censure, and would ingenuously declare, that they proposed nothing in these pursuits but the bare violence of the motion, such as might keep them strangers to the bottom of their soul; and that therefore they made choice of objects, which, how worthless soever in reality, were yet of an engaging and taking nature, and able to engross the activity of all their powers. And the reason why they don't answer in this manner, is the want of this acquaintance with their own bo-

som.

Y. of R. 472. *Bef. J. C.* 280. 471 Conful. p. *Zonaras*, B. 8. *Plut.* Life. of *Pyrrhus.* *Zonaras*, B. 8.

To conceal his design of making himself master of Greece as well as of the reſt of *Italy*, he artfully inſerted a clauſe in the treaty with his allies, *That when he had delivered them from their dangers, he ſhould not be hindered from returning to Epirus.* And ſo ſecure of their fidelity, he detained ſome of their ambaſſadors under pretence of [illegible]. After theſe precautions, he ſent away *Cineas* with eight thouſand men to *Tarentum*. This eloquent miniſter ſoon found means to depoſe *Agis* from the Government, and to get poſſeſſion of the Citadel.

In the mean time *Æmilius*, the *Roman* Conſul, finding that there was no poſſibility of attempting any thing with ſucceſs againſt *Tarentum* this campaign, reſolved to march his army into winter quarters in *Apulia*. Being obliged to paſs thro' certain defiles, incloſed by the ſea on one ſide and high hills on the other, he was there attacked by the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* from great numbers of barks fraught with *Baliſtæ* (Engines for throwing ſtones of a vaſt weight) and from the hills which they had covered with archers and ſlingers; nevertheleſs by placing [illegible] between him and the enemy his *Lucanian* priſoners, whom they were unwilling to hurt, he preſerved his legions from ſuffering any conſiderable loſs. Having quarter'd his troops, he himſelf repaired to *Rome*, where his collegue *Marcius* had a Triumph for ſome conqueſts he had made in *Hetruria*.

Faſt. Capit.

CHAP.

ſom. A gentleman believes with all ſince-rity that there's ſomewhat great and noble in Hunting, and will be ſure to tell you, that 'tis a Royal Sport. You may hear the like defence and encomium of any other exerciſe or employment, which men affect or purſue. They imagine that there muſt needs be ſome-what real and ſolid in the objects themſelves. They are perſuaded, that could they but gain ſuch a point, they ſhould then repoſe themſelves with content and pleaſure; and are under an inſenſibility of the inſatiable nature of this deſire. They believe themſelves to be heartily engaged in the attainment of reſt, while they are indeed employed in nothing elſe but the ſearch of continual and ſucceſſive drudgery.

Men have a ſecret inſtinct, prompting them to ſeek employment or recreation; which proceeds from no other cauſe but the ſenſe of their inward pain, and never-ceaſing torment. They have another ſecret inſtinct, a reliqua of their primitive nature, which aſſures them, that the ſole end of their happineſs conſiſts in eaſe and repoſe. And upon theſe two oppoſite inſtincts they ſometimes conſtitute deſigns, tending to the recruit of their eaſe, which engage them to proſecute the latter by the intervention of the former, and conſtantly to perſuade themſelves, that the ſatisfaction they have hitherto wanted will infallibly attend them, if by ſurmounting certain difficulties, which they now look in the face, they may open a ſafe paſſage to peace and tranquillity.

Thus our life runs out. We ſeek reſt, by encountering ſuch particular impediments, which if we are able to remove, the conſequence is, that the reſt which we have obtained becomes itſelf a grievance. For we are ruminating every moment either on the miſeries we feel, or on thoſe we fear. And even when we ſeem on all ſides to be placed under ſhelter, the affections, which are ſo naturally roomed in us, fail not to regret their loſt dominion, and to diſtaſte their melancholic poſſeſſion through the fooling

AND therefore when *Cyneas* ſo gravely admoniſhed *Pyrrhus*, who propoſed to enjoy himſelf with his friends after he ſhould have conquered a good part of the world, that he would do much better to enjoy his own kingdom, by taking immediate poſſeſſion of all in eaſe and quiet, without purſuing it thro' ſo much danger; the counſel he gave was indeed fit for a philoſopher, and ſuited more to the natural deſire that people of that young ambitious Prince. Both the one and the other opi-

nion

ation supposed that which is false, that a man can rest satisfied with himself and his present possessions, without filling up the vast space in his heart with longings, expectations, and projects, which inevitably have been unhappy, either without or with the consent of the world; and perhaps that soft and peaceful life which his minister advised him to embrace, was less capable of giving him satisfaction, than the heat and tumult of so many expeditions, and so many battles, which he was then forming and fighting in his mind. *See Penſees de Paſchal c. 26. as tranſlated by Mr. Basil Kennet.*

Y. of R. 472. Bef. J.C. 280. 171 Conſul-p.

CHAP. XXVI.

§. I. Pyrrhus (whoſe Character is given) *being arrived at* Tarentum *takes meaſures to turn the* Tarentines *from the purſuit of* Pleaſures, *to which they are entirely addicted. The villainous behaviour of a Legion of* Campanian *Soldiers, which had been ſent by the* Roman *Republic to garriſon* Rhegium, *at the requeſt of the inhabitants.* §. II. Pyrrhus *ſends a letter to the* Conſul Lævinus, *requiring him to ſubmit the quarrel between* Rome *and* Tarentum *to his arbitration.* Lævinus, *in anſwer, returns a defiance. The* Romans *forte* Pyrrhus *to a battle.* §. III. *The King the victorious, declines a ſecond battle with* Lævinus, *and returns to* Tarentum, §. IV. *His converſation with* Fabricius, *ſent from* Rome *to treat with him concerning the ranſom of Priſoners. The King ſends* Cyneas *to* Rome *with propoſals of Peace. The Senate moved chiefly by a warm ſpeech of* Appius Claudius, (now blind) *unanimouſly refuſe to enter into any treaty of Peace with the King while he continues in* Italy.

§. I. THE *Conſuls* for the new year were *P. Valerius Lævinus* and *Tib. Coruncanius*, the latter not a *Roman* by birth, but raiſed to the Conſulate purely for his merit. He was of *Camerium*, one of the *Roman Municipia* in *Latium*. It fell to him by lot to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to his Collegue to conduct that againſt the *Tarentines*. *Æmilius* was continued in the command of his own Troops in quality of *Proconſul*, and was ordered to march againſt the *Salentines* (in *Iapygia*,) who had declared for the *Tarentines*. The preſent exigence of affairs obliged the *Romans* to inliſt the *Proletarii*. Theſe (as has been formerly obſerved) were the meaneſt of the People, and eſteemed not capable of doing the State any ſervice, except that of peopling the city; hitherto they had never been ſuffer'd to bear arms: A wiſe part of *Roman* Policy, to make it an ignominy to be excluded from ſerving their country in war.

Y. of R. 473. Bef. J.C. 279. 172 Conſul-p. *Tab. Claud. Cæſar.* apud. Lugdunenſes.

Pyrrhus was now arrived at *Tarentum*, having narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck. The *Tarentines*, ſoon after the arrival of *Cyneas*, had ſent to the King a great number of Galleys, flat-bottom Veſſels, and other Tranſports, whereon to embark his forces; and he had ſail'd from *Epirus* with 20 Elephants, 3000 Horſe, 20000 heavy-arm'd Foot, 200 Archers, and 500 Slingers. When he was got out to ſea, the wind riſing ſuddenly at North,

Juſtin, B. 17. 18. *Zon.* B. 8. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrhus.*

V. of R. 473. Ant. R. 278. Varr. Conful. p.

North, and blowing hard, he was driven out of his courſe. Nevertheleſs, by the great ſkill and diligence of the pilots and ſeamen, the King's ſhip bare with the land, and kept the *Ionian* coaſt; but the reſt of the fleet could not get up; ſome of the ſhips were driven into the *Libyan* and *Sicilian* ſeas; others, not being able to double the Cape of *Taenarus*, and a very boiſterous ſea throwing them in the night upon a rocky ſhore, they all ſuffered great damage. The Admiral, by her ſtrength and bulk, reſiſted the violence of the weather; but the wind coming about, and blowing directly in her teeth from the ſhore, and the veſſel keeping up her head againſt it, ſhe was in danger of opening at every ſhock ſhe ſuſtained from the huge billows that broke over her. On the other hand to be driven off again to ſea in a raging tempeſt, and when the wind was continually ſhifting about, ſeemed the greateſt of all evils. In this extremity, the veſſel not being far from land, *Pyrrhus* without heſitation threw himſelf into the ſea. His friends and guards inſtantly follow'd him, ſtriving with emulation to aſſiſt and ſave him, which the darkneſs of the night and the impetuoſity of the waves, that were repelled with a roaring noiſe from the ſhore, made extremely difficult. However, by day-break, the wind being then quite laid, he got aſhore, much fatigued and weakened in body, but with undaunted courage, and a ſtrength of mind ſuperior to the moſt adverſe fortune. The *Meſſapians*, upon whoſe coaſt the King was caſt, haſtened to give him all the aſſiſtance in their power; and they alſo went out to meet and ſuccour ſome of his veſſels which were not far off, and in which were found a few Horſe, two Elephants, and about 2000 Foot. *Pyrrhus* having drawn theſe together, marched with them directly towards *Tarentum*. *Cineas*, upon the news of the King's approach, led out his troops to meet him, and conducted him into the city, where he was received with the acclamations of the People.

Plut. in Pyrrh.

PYRRHUS (as we learn from *Plutarch*) had in his countenance a Majeſty that was rather terrible than auguſt. In a day of battle he was thought to reſemble *Alexander* in look, agility, impetuoſity, and ſtrength of arm. His conſummate knowledge in the art of war appeared even from the books he wrote upon that ſubject. *Antigonus* being aſk'd, *Who was the greateſt Captain (of that time)* anſwer'd, PYRRHUS, *if he lives to be old*: But *Hannibal* afterwards, ſpeaking of great Commanders in general, gave *Pyrrhus* the firſt place in the whole liſt. War was indeed his only ſtudy, and the only ſcience he thought worthy of a Prince. Nevertheleſs he had a great ſhare of humanity in his natural temper, was affable and familiar to his friends, not eaſily provoked to anger, and the moſt ardent of all men living to requite obligations. For which reaſon when *Meneas* died, who had done him important ſervices, he could not bear it with any moderation; *Not becauſe his friend had paid the indiſpenſible tribute to nature, (to die, he ſaid, was common to all) but becauſe he himſelf, by delays, had loſt the opportunity of requiting the kindneſſes he had received from*

him: [illegible] the ſecond.

A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277. Conful. p. 192

[illegible] his [illegible] that money should not be discharged by payment to the heir of the creditor whom he is dead, a debt of kindness can never be diſcharged but by a return of kindneſs to the friend himself, with all the advantage, it will always be a pungent grief to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

V. of A. 473. Bef. C. 279. 1 Cons. 3.

Polyb. B. 1. *Flor.* Epit. 12.

Plut. Life of *Pyrrh.* *Zon.* B. 8.

Plut. Life of *Pyrrh.*

V. of R. 495
Ol. 172 Conful I.

friendly offices, and [illegible] Ottavius of the Batavians
Ann. [illegible] more anxious about the fuccefs of the war than
before, [illegible] in his camp for the arrival of his confe-
derates, and [illegible] troops on the banks of the river to hinder the
Romans from paſſing it. Lentulus nevertheleſs, knowing of what conſe-
quence it would be to engage with the Romans before he could
receive the reinforcements he expected, and having exhorted his troops
not to be intimidated by the reputation of Pyrrhus, or by his Elephants
(animals which they had never yet ſeen) made his infantry ford the
ſtream at the very face of the enemy's advanced guard, while his Ca-
valry paſſed the river in different places, and wherever they could; to
ſurround them, fearing to be ſurrounded, retired in all haſte to their main
body. Pyrrhus upon the firſt notice of this motion, which much ſur-
priſed him, ordering the Officers of his infantry to range their troops in
battle, and keep them ready to march upon the firſt ſignal, he himſelf
with the Horſe amounting to about 3000, advanced with all diligence to
charge the Romans, before their whole army could recover firm footing,
and get into order. But the Roman Cavalry being already formed, re-
ceived him as they were well exerciſed in ſuſtaining furious attacks. The
bravery and preſence of the King's arms made him very conſpicuous, and
his gallantry preſently convinced all who obſerved him, that his reputation
did not exceed his merit; for in this fight, neither did his courage tranſ-
port him beyond the duties of a careful General, nor his attention to di-
rection hinder him from diſplaying his perſonal Valour.

During the heat of the combat, Lentulus a Patrician, obſerving that
an Italian horſeman had ſingled out the King, whoſe every motion he
watched and followed, gave Pyrrhus notice of it, adviſing him to beware
of that Barbarian, who, he ſaid, ſeemed to have formed ſome great de-
ſign. PYRRHUS anſwered; LENTULUS, *No man can avoid his Deſtiny*, he replied, however, *that neither that Italian, nor any other, ſhall have reaſon to boaſt of victory from an Encounter with me this day.* He had ſcarce ended theſe words, when the Italian quickning his horſe, and making directly at the King, aimed a furious ſtroke at him with his lance, but wounded only his horſe; Pyrrhus, at the ſame time, wounded that of the Italian, and both horſes fell to the ground with their riders. Pyrrhus was inſtantly ſurrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, having ſlain the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus to be more cautious. Seeing his Ca-
valry ſhrink, he ordered his Infantry to advance; but before he put him-
ſelf at their head to renew the charge, he gave his mantle and arms to
Megacles, in exchange for his. The battle was obſtinately fought on
both ſides, and the victory continued a long time doubtful. The
King's changing his arms (tho' prudently done for the ſafety of his per-
ſon) had like to have loſt him the day. For Megacles being mi-
ſtaken for the KING, was attacked by great numbers of the enemy, and

Y. of R. 474, Bef. C. 279, 172 Coeliad.

at last wounded and unhors'd by a *Roman* Knight, who [illegible] his helmet and mantle, rode full speed with them [illegible] out, that he had slain *Pyrrhus*. These spoils being carried [illegible] through all the ranks, fill'd the *Roman* army with [illegible] joy, [illegible] that the air rung with shouts of victory; while the [illegible] troops were struck with consternation and dismay.

The King no sooner perceived the ill effect of this mistake, but with all diligence he flew along the Lines bare-headed, stretching out his hands to his soldiers, and by his voice confirming the evidence of their eyes. The combat was then renewed, and *Pyrrhus*, bringing his elephants into the wings, quickly obtained the victory. For the *Roman* Battalions seeing their Cavalry put to rout by those huge animals, whose unusual form, noises, and smell, terrified the horses, and finding themselves both charged in flank, and overborn by the force and bulk of those strange beasts, gave way to necessity, and saved themselves as well as they could by hasty flight; nor did they stop to defend their camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both that and the honour of the day entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

Dionysius writes, that near 15000 *Romans* were slain in this battle, and that *Pyrrhus* lost 13000 of his men. But other authors lessen the loss on both sides. The King treated the prisoners, amounting to about 1200, with all possible humanity, and esteemed them the more for refusing to enlist themselves in his service.

Dio. apud Valef.

The fame of this victory was soon spread over all *Italy*, much to the reputation of *Pyrrhus*; for it was a rare thing, that a *Roman* Consul, with a select army, should lose in pitch'd battle, not only the field, but the camp itself. And this honour was the more bravely won by the Epirot, as he had none of his *Italian* Allies to assist him, except the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his concern in having the glory of this action so peculiarly his own. His satisfaction was visible in his face, even while he was severely reprimanding the *Lucanians* and *Samnites* (who joined him soon after the battle) for their tardiness. To attach them the more firmly to him, he gave them a share of the booty.

Plut. in *Pyrr.*

§. III. BUT now the King of *Epirus*, with his victorious army, broke like a torrent into the countries in alliance with the Republic, and many cities surrendering to him, he advanced within 30 miles of *Rome* *. *Zonaras* relates, that the King being disappointed in his designs upon *Capua* and *Naples*, thought to march into *Hetruria*, join the enemies of the *Roman* Republic in that country, and thence go and besiege *Rome*; but that hearing there was an alliance just concluded between the *Hetrurians* and *Romans*, and that the Consul *Coruncanius*, who by a successful

* *Florus*, Book 1. in his poetic strain and dust at twenty miles distance, *à vicesimo* tells us, that *Pyrrhus* from a hill near *Praeneste* took a view of *Rome*, and filled the *lapide oculos frequentia civitatis fumo ac pulvere* eyes of the trembling inhabitants with [illegible]

cam-

...ſucceeded their ambaſſy, was ſpreading ſtrong ſuſpicions againſt him, he pro- V. of C. 478.
...ceeded no further in his march. It appears, indeed, by the *Capitoline* Ant. C. 279.
...*Marbles* that *C. Genucius* had a Triumph for his victories that year 172 Olymp.
...over the *Volſcians* and *Faliſcans* in *Etruria*. And it is not improbable
...that theſe victories completed the reduction of that country. Be that as
...it will, it is certain that *Pyrrhus* returned to *Tarentum*.

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained, were not ſo dejected, as to have any thought of aſking peace from the victor; nor, tho' *Fabricius* ſaid publickly, *that the* Epirots *had not conquered the Romans, but that* Pyrrhus *had conquered* Lævinus, did they recall the unfortunate Conſul: Their whole attention was to recruit his army, and enable him to try a ſecond engagement. *Pyrrhus*, in his return to *Tarentum*, found him in *Campania*, with a more numerous army than that which he had vanquiſhed on the Banks of the *Siris*; and hereupon he is ſaid to have cried out, *I ſee plainly I was born under the Star of* Hercules, *I have to do with a Hydra, whoſe Heads are no ſooner lopp'd off, but new ones ſpring up from its blood.* The Conſul offered him battle; *Pyrrhus*, unwilling to refuſe it, drew up his army, and commanded the conductors of his elephants to force them to make their ſtrange and dreadful noiſes, in order to frighten the *Roman* Legions; but theſe noiſes were anſwered by ſo univerſal and terrible a ſhout from the *Romans*, that the King who found his ſoldiers diſmay'd, thought fit to decline the engagement, pretending that the Omens were not favourable; and the Conſul not forcing him to fight, he purſued his march to *Tarentum*.

Zonaras, B. 8.

Florus, B. 1.

Zonaras, B. 8.

§. IV. WHILE *Pyrrhus* continued quiet in this city, he had time to reflect on the bravery, conduct, and ſtrength of the *Romans*. He conſider'd that they were better able to endure many ſuch loſſes as they had ſuffered, than he many ſuch victories as he had won. And he concluded therefore, that the only means to ſave his reputation, was an honourable peace. He was full of theſe reflections, when to his inexpreſſible joy he heard that an embaſſy was coming to him from the Senate; he

† Authors are not agreed concerning the time of this embaſſy, whether it was after *Cyneas* had been to *Rome* or before. *Plutarch* (whom Mr. *Rollin* follows) makes it poſterior to *Cyneas*'s journey thither; and *Dionyſius* ſeems to do the ſame. But if we conſider the haughty manner in which *Cyneas* was diſmiſſed by the Senate, with an abſolute refuſal, of entring into any treaty with the King while he continued in *Italy*, at leaſt it is very unlikely that *Fabricius*, after ſuch a refuſal, ſhould apply himſelf to *Pyrrhus*, in the manner *Dionyſius* repreſents, preaching about the inconſtancy of fortune, and as if he was afraid a peace ſhould be made, ſpeaking more like an ambaſſador from a people who ſued for peace, than from the proud *Roman* Senate, who rejected it even upon reaſonable terms. *Hannibal*, indeed, before the battle of *Zama*, talks much to *Scipio* of the mutability of fortune, and the viciſſitudes of war; but this was in order to diſpoſe him to grant peace to the *Carthaginians*, whom he had reduced to extremity.

Flor. Epit. and *Zon.* L. 8.

Neither can I ſee what there was unbecoming in *Fabricius*'s propoſal, even upon the ſuppoſition that the *Romans* had rejected a peace offered. A releaſe of priſoners by way of ranſom or exchange, is what ſurely without any indecency may be propoſed to an enemy, notwithſtanding that a peace has been refuſed to that enemy upon his terms. Yet *Dionyſius* makes *Pyrrhus* reprove the ambaſſadors as guilty herein of an unworthy proceeding.—Σχέτλιοι, τί πεᾶγμα ποιεῖτε, &c. — *D. Hal.* in Legat. p. 711. Dr. *Hudſ.* edit.

See. *D. Hal.* in Legat.

Zon. B. 8.

Dion. Hal. in Legat.

Plut. in Pyrrh.

...ing, I have A MIND FREE FROM SELF-REPROACH, and I have ...

...ing by this answer that Porus was absolutely refuted *Plut.* in *Pyrr.*

...next day, knowing that he had ...ants, and being desirous to try whether he could ...ing ...ome to him, he commanded the largest he had of those ...and led to the place where he intended to converse ...This beast was so small concealed behind some ...hangings, that they scarcely had room for his appearance. The King's or...der being punctually executed, the signal was given, the hangings were ...suddenly drawn aside, and the enormous animal, stretching out his trunk ...over the head of the Romans, made a most terrifying noise. *Fabricius*, ...between astonished and angry, but, turning towards *Pyrrhus*, said with a ...smile, *Neither your Gold yesterday, nor your* great Beast *to day have made ...any impression upon me.*

While they were sitting at table in the evening, discourfing of various ...subjects, but especially of *Greece*, and the philosophers of that country, ...CINEAS happened to mention EPICURUS; and he began to relate ...the principles of the Epicurean doctrine. *That the* DIVINITY, *for re...moved from all business, and being destitute of anger, and subject to no ...cares himself, and troubles no other with either, but, passing his days in ...undisturbed tranquillity, without action, and without providence, ...totally absorpt in an uninterrupted flow of delights. That* PLEASURE *that*

also

Y. of R. 472 Bef. J. C. 279 472 Cenſor. P.

alſo the SOVEREIGN COUNCIL OF MAN; and that, for the ſame purpoſe, [illegible] *employments, all follicitude for the public welfare, and for the wife, as inconſiſtent with a life of happineſs.* Upon this, Cineas, when with a loud voice, O HERCULES, cried Pyrrhus, *and the* TARENTINES *be worthy of this fight, while they are with us!* The King greatly admiring the wiſdom and virtue of [illegible] became more deſirous than ever to conclude an alliance with the Republic. He therefore, once more, took him aſide, and warmly preſſed him to employ his endeavours for a ſpeedy accommodation, promiſing him at the ſame time, that, as ſoon as the peace ſhould be made, he would come and live at his court, where he promiſed him the firſt place among all his friends and captains. *Fabricius* anſwer'd in the ſame kind of whiſper, *You don't conſider, Sir, your own intereſt ſufficiently, if you ſo far if thoſe who now honour and admire you, come once to know you as well as me, they will chuſe rather to have me for their King than you.* Pyrrhus was not in the leaſt offended with this anſwer, but to his friends highly commended the exalted ſoul of the *Roman*; upon whoſe ſingle account he alſo ſuffer'd the * priſoners to go to *Rome* to celebrate the feſtival of the *Saturnalia*.

And now *Pyrrhus* having reſolved to ſend *Cineas* to negotiate a peace with the *Roman* Senate, inſtructed him, if we may believe *Plutarch*, to aſk nothing of the *Romans* but their † friendſhip, and a ſufficient ſecurity for the *Tarentines*. Upon which conditions he offer'd to ceaſe all hoſtilities, releaſe the captives, and aſſiſt the Republic in the conqueſt of *Italy*.

Together with theſe inſtructions, *Pyrrhus* furniſhed his Ambaſſador with magnificent preſents for thoſe perſons whoſe aſſiſtance would be neceſſary to compaſs what he deſired; nor did he forget rare and precious toys for the *Roman* Ladies, by whoſe means he hoped to ſmooth the rugged ſpirit of their Huſbands in his favour. Some authors report, *Juſt. Plut. & Flor.* that *Cineas* found both men and women ſo ſtedy and incorrupt, that not one of either ſex would receive any of his preſents: but *Dionyſius* affirms that many even of the Senators were gained by the liberality of *Pyrrhus*.

‖ *Appian.* apud *Fulv.*

* The Senate (according to *Plutarch*) careful of *Fabricius*'s honour and their own, commanded every priſoner upon pain of death to return to *Tarentum*, as ſoon as the feſtival ſhould be over.

With reſpect to this affair there is a great diverſity in the accounts of *Plutarch*, *Juſtin*, *Florus*, and *Zonaras*. Some ſay, the priſoners were abſolutely releaſed, and that the Senate, to puniſh them as deſerters, would not ſuffer them to ſerve again in the field, but ſent them to garriſon Towns.

† Other writers make his demands to be more extenſive, and ſay, that he required, in favour of all the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, the [illegible] enjoyment of their laws and liberty; and further, that the Republic ſhould reſtore to the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Bruttians*, what-ever they had conquer'd from them. Theſe demands, if they were made, will account for the warm indignation which *Appius Claudius the Blind* expreſſed, as we ſhall preſently find, at the Senate's liſtening to *Pyrrhus*'s miniſter. What then it will be difficult to reconcile them with the offer which *Pyrrhus* at the ſame time made the *Romans* to aſſiſt them in the conqueſt of *Italy*. The latter, aware of this inconvenience, have made Cineas [illegible] only by the Weſt of

Be

Be that as it will, it is certain that after *Cineas* had had his audience in the Senate, several of the leading *Fathers* discover'd a strong inclination to accept the peace proposed, alleging for reasons the battle they had already lost, and the hazard they were in of losing another (*Pyrrhus*'s strength being now greatly augmented by the junction of his *Italian* allies) and the small confidence there might be of a second overthrow. A rumour of this disposition in the Senate being spread through the city, came to the ears of *Appius Claudius* (the famous Orator and Civilian, who has been formerly spoken of more than once.) He had for some time, on account of his great age and the loss of his sight, retired from all public business, and confined himself wholly to his family. Upon hearing the report of what pass'd in the Senate, he caused himself to be carried in the arms of his domestics to the door of the Senate-house. There his sons and his son-in-law met him, and led him into the assembly, which was hush'd into a profound silence the moment he appear'd. The venerable old man was hardly enter'd, when he thus began.

"Hitherto, *Romans*, I have borne the loss of my sight with weariness "and impatience; but my great affliction now is, that I am only *blind*, "and that I am not *deaf* too; that I am able to hear of those shameful "resolutions you are taking, and of that infamous Treaty which is to "extinguish the glory of the *Roman* name. What then is become of "all those brave discourses, those lofty, sounding words, with which "you are wont to make all places ring, *That if Alexander had come into* "*Italy when he was young, and the Fathers in the vigour of their age;* "*that if the* Great Alexander *had* dared *to contend in arms with Us, he* "*would not be now styled* The Invincible, *but by his death or flight have* "*added new lustre to the* Roman *Glory?* An idle tale! vain and empty "boasting! Heroes indeed! you, that are afraid of the *Chaonians* * and "*Molossians*, ever the prey of the *Macedonians*! you, that are trembling "at the name of *Pyrrhus*, an assiduous humble courtier of one of *Alex-* "*ander*'s life-guards! a vagabond in *Italy*, come hither not so much to "succour the *Italic Greeks*, as to seek a shelter from his enemies at "home! And yet this mighty man, this *Pyrrhus*, it seems, is to con- "quer *Italy*; he is to *subdue all Italy* to *Us* with those very forces that "were not able to *preserve* to *Him* a *small portion* of *Macedonia*! No, "*Romans*, suffer not his arrogance to escape unpunished; if you conde- "scend to treat with him, your glory is at an end; *Pyrrhus* will himself "despise you; his allies will insult you as a nation easy to be terrify'd; "and one dishonourable peace will involve you in a hundred wars."

Appius by these and some other words to the like effect, so awaken'd the *Roman* spirit in the Senators, that without further debate they unanimously passed a decree, instantly to dismiss the Ambassador with this answer, *That the* Romans *would enter into no Treaty with King* Pyrrhus *so long as he continued in* Italy; *but with all their strength would pursue the war against him, that he should vanquish a thousand* Leviuus's.

Y. of R. 473. Bef. J.C. 279. 172 Consul p.

Plut. in Pyrr.

* People of Epirus.

Plut. Just. & Flor.

Y. of R. 473. Bef. J. C. 279. 172 Consul-p.

Cyneas left Rome [illegible] and returned to [illegible] that when [illegible] the [illegible] state, he answered, [illegible] seeming [illegible] of Kings. This account [illegible] increased the King's admiration of the [illegible] was no hopes of peace, he made all [illegible] campaign.

CHAP. XXVII.

§. I. *The* Romans *come to a second battle with King* Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus *retires to* Tarentum, *and the Consuls into* [illegible]. The Carthaginians *send a fleet to the assistance of the* Romans *against* Pyrrhus. *The Senate refuses the assistance offered.* §. II. *The Romans and Epirots having again taken the field, the Consuls give the king battle with terrible slaughter of his Elephants, who had offered to assist him for a reward.* Pyrrhus *once more sends* Cyneas *to* Rome *with proposals of peace, but in no effect.* §. IV. Pyrrhus *passes with his army into* Sicily.

Y. of R. 474. Bef. J. C. 278. 173 Consul-p.

§. I. IN the mean time the Republic chose [illegible] Consuls, [illegible] Severus and [illegible] were both famous for their Devotements. The two Generals joined their armies, and march'd together into *Apulia*, where they found Pyrrhus encamped near a little town called *Asculum*, and where they entrench'd themselves in a plain at the foot of the [illegible]. This plain was divided by a large deep stream, which likewise separated the two camps. For some time the Romans and Epirots stood fixed motive of each other. The latter had entertain'd the foolish belief, that the *Decii* transmitted from father to son some unaccountable art of Necromancy, by which they secured the victory to their side, whenever they lost their lives in battle. *Pyrrhus* endeavour'd to destroy this dangerous prepossession among his soldiers; and not daring to [illegible] sent a message to *Decius*, *That if he attempted to devote himself, he would find the Epirots upon their guard, who would take him alive, and make him suffer the most cruel kind of death after the battle.* To this message the Consul returned the following answer: *Pyrrhus is not formidable enough to reduce us to Devotements. To shew him that we [illegible] have the choice: Let him pass the river immediately, or [illegible] he shall then see which of us has the more need of [illegible] to gain the victory.* Pyrrhus chose to [illegible] the Romans pass the river. The Historians are not agreed concerning the circumstances of the battle of *Asculum*, nor the success of it, and some make two battles of it. The Romans had prepared against the Elephants several Chariots filled with soldiers, who were to throw fire-brands and other combustible things against those huge beasts, and the Towers on their backs. It is certain

Zon. B. 8.

Zon. B. 8.

Y. of R. 474.
Bef. C. 278.
Cn. Cornelius
Cf. in Tuſc.

Zon. B. 8.

Y. of R. 475.
Bef. C. 277.
174 Conſul.
A 3d time.
A 2d time.
Juſt. B. 18.

Polyb. B. 3.
Flor. Ep. 13.

Juſt. B. 18.

Diod. in Ec-
log. B. 22.

Zonaras, B. 8.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

all agree in the ſubſtance.

Y. of R. 475. Bef. J. C. 277. 174 Consul. p.

Rutrup. B. 2.

Plut. in *Pyrr.*

nor to make our court to you, but to avoid the calamity which might be brought upon us by your death, as if, for want of strength or courage to overcome you, we had recourse to treachery. Pyrrhus, upon receipt of this letter, is said to have cry'd out, *This is that Fabricius, whose virtue is as hard to turn aside from the ways of justice and honour, as it is difficult for the sun to turn aside from its course*; and in acknowledgment of the benefit, he immediately set all the *Roman* prisoners free without ransom. *Rome* was however too generous to accept a present from an enemy, much less a reward for not consenting to an execrable deed. In return therefore she released an equal number of *Samnite* and *Tarentine* prisoners. But though *Pyrrhus*, more ardent than ever for a peace, dispatch'd *Cyneas* once more to *Rome*, to try the force of his eloquence and presents, this able minister had no better success than before; the Senators were steady in their resolution to enter into no treaty with the King, till he had withdrawn his troops out of *Italy*.

§. IV. IT has been already said, that the *Syracusians* had invited *Pyrrhus* into their island to assist them against the *Carthaginians*. The King laid hold of this pretext to quit the war against the *Romans*, in which he had now but little hope of success, having in the last action lost his best Troops and his bravest Commanders. Besides, the *Sicilian* expedition was a new enterprize, and therefore very agreeable to the natural inconstancy of his spirit. But just at this time he received intelligence, that *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, King of *Macedon*, was dead, and that the *Macedonians* wanted a King to guard them against an inundation of *Barbarians*. This news kept him some time in suspense, and he pleasantly complained of Fortune for loading him with too many favours at once. *Macedon* had formerly been in his possession, and he willed to be master of it again; but as *Sicily* would open him a passage into *Africa*, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory, he determined at length for that expedition. In consequence of this resolution he sent his faithful *Cyneas* before him to treat with the cities there, and give them assurances of his speedy arrival. Not long after, leaving in *Tarentum*, under the command of *Milo*, a strong garrison, sufficient to keep the much discontented Inhabitants in subjection, he set sail from thence with thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, on board a fleet of two hundred ships. His departure proved fatal to the enemies of *Rome*. *Fabricius* fell upon the united *Brutians*, *Lucanians*, *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, defeated them, drove them out of the field, and laid waste their countries.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. The South of Sicily at the time of Pyrrhus's arrival there. Hieronymus. His stupid and contemptible character. His death. §. II. The Romans suffer a shameful defeat from the Samnites. §. III. Duly the next year, carrying on the war with fresh vigour against the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brettians, they so distract and tire Pyrrhus as to return to their assistance. His fleet, in its return to Italy, is attacked by the Carthaginian fleet, after his landing suffers a considerable loss of men. He plunders the Temple of Proserpine. §. IV. The Romans under the conduct of Curius Dentatus totally defeat the forces of Pyrrhus. §. V. He leaving a strong garrison in Tarentum, marches for Epirus.

§. I. WHEN *Pyrrhus* arrived in *Sicily*, this island was almost wholly possessed by foreigners of three different nations, *Italians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Greeks*, who had settled there at different times. *Messina*, *Lilybæum*, and *Syracuse*, were the capitals of the three dominions there established. The *Mamertines*, from *Mamertus* in *Campania*, had possessed themselves of the *first* (much in the same manner as the perfidious *Leglini*, who followed their example, got possession of *Rhegium*); the *Carthaginians* were masters of the *second*, and the *third* was governed by two tyrants, whose common interest had united after a civil war, to call in the King of *Epirus* to assist them against the growing power of the formidable *Syracusan* Republic. *Diod. Sic.* in Eclog. l. 21.

Pyrrhus soon after his arrival deprived the *Carthaginians* of all their conquests in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*. He also attacked the *Mamertines*, and having defeated them in a pitched battle, reduced them to their city of *Messina* only; after which he counted so much on the reduction of the whole island, that he called one of his younger sons (whom he had by a daughter of King *Agathocles*) to be styled King of *Sicily*, purposing so to make the other King of *Italy*, which he now also looked upon as a certain conquest. *Polyb.* B. 1. *Justin*, B. 22. ch. 3.

§. II. IN the mean time the *Centuries* at *Rome* proceeded to the choice of new *Consuls*. *Fabricius* presided in the *Comitia*, and the respect he had acquired by his virtue was such, that it made him master of the elections. Every body therefore was astonished to see him vote and influence the assembly in favour of *Cornelius Rufinus*, a man extremely covetous and self-interested. *Fabricius* hated him thoroughly, yet promoted his election, because of the dangerous situation of affairs, and because he knew him to be a much abler soldier than any of his competitors. And these reasons were implyed in the short answer he made to *Rufinus*'s compliment of thanks; *I deserve no thanks*, said he, *for chusing rather to be plundered than sold.* The Colleague given to *Rufinus* *, was *C. Junius* †. *Rufinus*, and they both turned their forces against *Samnium*. The *Samnites* Y. of R. 476. Bef. J. C. 276. 275 Consul-p. *Cic. de Orat.* B. 2d. ch. 66.

* A 2d time.
† A 2d time.

Y. of R. 476. Bef. J.C. 276. 175 Confuls-p. *Zon.* B. 8.

Samnites being too weak to ſuſtain the attacks of two *Conſular* armies, fled to their mountains, and there intrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that it was no eaſy matter to force them. The *Romans* nevertheleſs attempted it, and were puniſhed for their raſhneſs; many of them were killed, and a great number taken priſoners, and loaded with irons. The *Conſuls* at length aſhamed of their enterprize, threw the blame on each other, and ſeparated; *Brutus* continued in *Samnium*, while *Ruffinus* entered the territory of the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*. Theſe nations continued ſteady in their adherence to *Pyrrhus* and the *Samnites*. *Ruffinus* therefore not only laid their country waſte with fire and ſword, but formed a deſign upon *Croton*, a conſiderable City belonging to the *Bruttians*, and ſituated on the borders of the *Ionian* ſea, at a little diſtance from Cape *Lacinium*. He found this place too well defended to be carried by force; for *Milo* having notice of his deſign, had ſent a reinforcement of *Epirots* to the garriſon, under the command of one *Nicomachus*. However, the *Conſul* took it by ſtratagem. Having been repulſed by the beſieged, who made a ſally, he exaggerated the loſs he had ſuſtained in the action, and employed two pretended deſerters to publiſh, one, that he was going to retire into the country of the *Lucanians*, the other, that he was actually gone, and had marched off in a precipitate manner. *Nicomachus*, deceived by theſe reports and by the *Conſul*'s decamping, haſtened with his troops to relieve *Locris*, which he imagined the *Romans* intended to beſiege. *Ruffinus* took the advantage of his abſence, returned with all expedition, and, by the help of a fog, got into the place almoſt before the inhabitants, who were in perfect ſecurity, diſcovered him; and not only ſo, but he defeated *Nicomachus* alſo in the field, who when he found himſelf cheated, would have led back his detachment to *Tarentum*. *Locris* likewiſe ſoon after ſurrendered to the *Romans*, the inhabitants having firſt maſſacred the Governor and Garriſon that *Pyrrhus* had left in it. [The *Capitoline Marbles* aſcribe all theſe exploits to the *Conſul Brutus*.]

Frontin. Stratag. & *Zon.* B. 8.

Appian. in excerptis à Valeſio.

§. III. IN the following *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Fabius* * *Gurges* and *C. Genucius*, *Rome* was afflicted with a ſtrange ſort of Plague, which chiefly affected women with child and breeding cattle. To put an end to this calamity, an unfortunate *Veſtal* was buried alive; and *Ruffinus* was created *Dictator*, to drive a nail into the wall of *Jupiter*'s Temple. In the mean time the ſickneſs did not hinder the *Romans* from continuing the war. *Fabius* by repeated victories reduced the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Bruttians* ſo low, that they could no longer keep the field without *Pyrrhus*; and they therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to him to intreat him to return, and put himſelf again at their head.

Y. of R. 477. Bef. J.C. 275. 276. Conſul-p. * A 2d time. *Oroſ.* B. 4. *Euſeb.* & *Panſan.* B. 4.

Juſtin, B. 23. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrh.* *D. Hal.* in excerptis à Valeſio.

The face of *Pyrrhus*'s affairs in *Sicily* was now much changed. At his firſt arrival he gained the hearts of the *Sicilians*, by his inſinuating affable behaviour; but being afterwards elated with ſucceſs, his mild government changed into an abſolute tyranny. He treated cruelly thoſe very men who had been chiefly inſtrumental to his good fortune. He excluded the natives from the Magiſtracies, beſtowing them on his Guards

and

Y. of R. 477. Bef. J.C. 275. 176 Conſul-P.

Juſtin. B. 23.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus. Appian. in excerpt. Plut. Life of Pyrrh.

The *Mamertines*, upon the firſt report of his intended departure from *Sicily*, had detach'd 10,000 men to *Rhegium*, to oppoſe him after his landing; and theſe lying in ambuſh in woods and behind rocks, attack'd the rear and flank of his army unexpectedly, and made great ſlaughter. *Pyrrhus*, on this occaſion, ſignally diſplay'd his heroic bravery and ſurpriſing ſtrength. In the beginning of the action he received a wound in the head, which obliged him to retire out of the battle; but returning to it again, he is ſaid with one ſtroke of his ſabre to have cleft a *Mamertine* to the waiſt, which daunted him to ſingle combat. This action ſo aſtoniſhed the enemy, that they quitted the fight, and the King continued his march towards *Tarentum*. It was neceſſary for him to paſs through the territory of the *Locrenſes*, who had a little before maſſacred the garriſon he had left in *Locris*. He not only exerciſed all ſorts of cruelties on this people, but plunder'd the Temple of *Proſerpine*, to ſupply the wants of his army. The great treaſure which he found there, he put on board his fleet to be carried to *Tarentum* by ſea; but the ſhips were all daſh'd againſt rocks by a tempeſt, and the mariners loſt. The hiſtorians relate, that *Pyrrhus* now repented of his ſacrilege; and as the ſea had thrown the greateſt part of the treaſure upon the ſhore, he cauſed it to be gathered up and replaced in the Temple with great reverence; and not only ſo, but he put to death all thoſe who had counſelled him to rob the Temple.

Zon. B. 8. Dio apud Valeſ. & Liv. B. 29. Val. Max. B. 1. ch. 2. Appian.

His army, when he arrived at *Tarentum*, conſiſted only of about twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe.

§. IV. BEFORE *Pyrrhus* was in a condition to renew the war, *Rome* changed her *Conſuls*, and the famous *Curius Dentatus* was now raiſed (a ſecond time) to that dignity, with *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. Their firſt buſineſs was to raiſe two armies, which might be ſufficient to make head againſt the King of *Epirus* with his numerous allies. But when *Curius* would have begun to form the *Legions*, he found that the *Roman* youth, from ſome unaccountable caprice, or perhaps becauſe their ſpirits were depreſs'd by the late contagious diſtemper, refuſed to liſt themſelves.

Y. of R. 478. Bef. J.C. 274. 177 Conſul-P.

A. of R. 478, Bef. J. C. 274. Varro & Lentul. Cons. P. *Val. Max.* B 6. ch. 3. *Florus*, Epit. 14.

themselves. Upon this he assembled the *Tribes*, and put all their names into an urn. The first drawn was the *Pollia Tribus*, and the man of that Tribe, whose name came first up, being an audacious young fellow, and refusing to list, *Curius* order'd his effects to be sold, and upon his appealing to the *Tribunes*, he told the man, saying, *That he would not suffer a member of such a body to be exempted.* The fellow's crime being too bad, the *Tribunes* did not think it for their honour to screen him, and from this time if any *Roman* refused to list himself in a regular manner, when commanded, it became a custom to make a slave of him.

Plut. in *Pyrr.*

So wholesome an instance of severity had its due effect, and two considerable armies were raised without further opposition. *Lævinus* led one into *Lucania*, while *Curius* entered *Samnium* with the other. *Pyrrhus* to make head against both, was obliged to divide his forces, which were now become very considerable; and esteeming *Curius* the more formidable of the two *Roman* Generals, he marched himself against him with the choice of his *Epirots* and of his Elephants. And tho' the *Consul* had posted himself very advantageously near *Beneventum*, in a place full of hollow ways, rocks, and woods, where the *Grecian Phalanx* could not act with all its strength; yet *Pyrrhus*, who found it necessary by some new exploit to confirm his allies, who were much discontented with him, made all possible haste to attack the *Romans* in their camp. He marched by night in hopes to surprize them, but getting through certain woods his lights failed him, and he lost his way; and at the break of day his approach was discovered by the *Romans* as he came down the hills that bordered the *Tarentine* fields. *Curius* sallied out of his camp with a detachment of his *Legionaries*, and fell upon the King's van guard with such fury, that he put them to flight, kill'd a great number of them, and took some Elephants. This success encouraged *Curius* to descend into the plain, and try a pitched battle with the enemy. One of his wings had the advantage in the beginning of the battle, but the other was overborn by the Elephants, and driven back to the intrenchments; but then the *Consul* finding for a body of troops which he had left to guard his camp, these supply'd the huge beasts with lighted torches, that they ran back upon the *Epirots*, bearing down and breaking all their ranks, so that the *Romans* obtained a compleat victory. The King is said to have lost in this action 4000 men. His army, according to *Orosius*, had consisted of 80000 Foot and 6000 Horse.

Frontin. B. 2. *Plut.* in *Pyrrh.*

Orosius, B. 4.

Eutrop. B. 6.

Pyrrhus's camp being also taken, proved afterwards of great service to the *Romans*; for they not only admired the form of it, but made it their model for the future. It had been a large enclosure within a rampart and a ditch had served them for a camp, in which their tents were pitched in a disorderly manner; but now they got great light into the art of encamping, which by gradual improvements they at length carried to the highest perfection.

Frontin. B. 4.

§. V. THE King of *Epirus*, who after his defeat had retired to *Tarentum* with a small body of Horse, resolved to leave Italy as soon as

possible; but he concealed his design, and endeavour'd to keep up the spirits of his allies by promises of succour from *Greece*. In the mean time he sent letters to his friends there, demanding men and money, but for want of them could not so soon get ready as he desired. He could no longer conceal his resolution of going, the method he took to save his honour, at least for some time, was to pretend to be angry with his allies, and to depart with anger against his friends for their obstinacy in refusing him the succours he required. *Then*, said he, *I must go my self and fetch them*. He left a strong garrison in *Tarentum* under the command of *Milo*, and, to engage him to be faithful, one author tells us, that he made him at his departure a very extraordinary present, a fair covered with the head of the wretch *Nicias*, that Physician who had offer'd *Pyrrhus* to poison the King his master. After these cautions and precautions he returned into *Epirus* with only 8000 Foot and 500 Horse.

Liv. et Ro. 274. Ref. A.C. 274. 277 Consul. p. Justin. B. 25. Polyæn. Strat. B. 8.

Zon. B. 8.

Plut. in Pyrrh.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. The triumph of Curius for his victory. His disinterestedness. § II. He is continued for another year in the Consulate. He forces the Samnites and Lucanians to retire for refuge to their mountains. The next year, the Consul Claudius defeats them in a pitched battle. § III. Ptolemy Philadelphus sends an Embassy to Rome, to ask an alliance with the Republic. The Romans send Ambassadors into Egypt. § IV. Certain advice comes that Pyrrhus is dead. The manner of his death is related. The Samnites, in despair, put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby totally subdued, after a war which had lasted 72 years. The Brettians and Lucanians submit soon after; and Tarentum is surrounded, while that City begins to tremble. After which the Carthaginians, with the Sicilians, sail away from the coast. § V. The Romans furnish the seditious Campanian Legion. § VI. Silver Money is coined at Rome for the first time. § VII. Picenum is entirely subdued, and the Sabines are made entirely Roman, by being admitted to the right of suffrage in the Roman Comitia. § VIII. A war is commenced with the Salentines, which makes, together with the Sarcinatenses Umbria, being entirely subdued, Rome remains master of all the Countries in Italy, from the remote part of Hetruria to the Ionian Sea, and from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Adriatic. § IX. The Republic is courted by foreign States. A tumult stifled to prevent insults on foreign Ambassadors. The Romans regulate their Finances.

§. I. AND now the Triumphal Procession of *Curius*, for his victory over *Pyrrhus*, drew all the attention of the People at *Rome*. The *Romans* had never before seen so much magnificence, such quantities of rich spoil; Vessels of Gold, Purple Carpets, Statues, Pictures, and in short, all the finenes of the Greek Cities. *Rome*, says *Florus*, could hardly contain her victory. And what raised the admiration of the People

Florus, B. 1.

Y. of R. 478. Bef. J. C. 274. 177 Conſul-p. *Plin.* B. 16. *Val. Max.* B. 4.

People, more than all, were the Elephants, thoſe huge animals, with Towers on their backs. The Senate, to reward the valour, [illegible] am to appropriate to himſelf any ſpoils of the Conquered Lands; but he declined this favour. Having already obliged every to poſſeſs ſeven acres, an Eſtate which he thought ſufficient for the ſupport of any honeſt man.

The Triumph of *Curius* was followed by that of his Colleague *Lentulus*, who had made a ſucceſsful campaign in *Lucania*, and taken *Caudium* from the *Samnites*.

This happy Conſulſhip ended with a *Cenſus* and *Lectrum*. The ſuffrage *Fabricius*, and his old Colleague in the Conſulſhip, *Æmilius Papus*, being *Cenſors* this year, they made a new liſt of Senators, and excluded all thoſe of the former liſt who led diſſolute lives; by *Cornelius Rufinus*, who had been *Conſul* and *Dictator*, was ſtruck out of the roll, only for having ten pounds weight of Silver Plate for his table. The number of *Roman Citizens* fit to bear arms appeared to be 271,224.

Plut. Life o *Sylla.* *Val. Max.* B. 4

Y. of *R.* 479. Bef. *J. C.* 273 178 Conſul-p.

§. II. THE *Romans* being under the apprehenſion that *Pyrrhus* might ſoon appear again in *Italy*, continued *Curius* the Conſulate for the next year, giving him for a Colleague *Cornelius Merenda*. In the mean time the *Tarentines*, who had hated *Pyrrhus* ever ſince his firſt coming among them, began now to deſpiſe him. Placing one *Nico* at their head, they forced *Milo* and his Troops to retire into the Citadel, and confine themſelves there. The belief that by theſe diviſions *Tarentum* would ruin herſelf, and be forced in the end to ſurrender to *Rome*, was what probably made *Curius* neglect to beſiege it. He turned his forces againſt the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, who not being able to keep the field, retired to their mountains. But in the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Fabius Dorſo* and *C. Claudius* Canina*, being encouraged, doubtleſs, by the emiſſaries from *Epirus*, who promiſed them that *Pyrrhus* (after the conqueſt of *Macedon*, which he had undertaken ſince his return home) would haſten to their aſſiſtance, they came down again into the plains to defend their Towns, and preſerve their harveſts. *Claudius* defeated them in a pitched battle, and preſerved the ſame aſcendant over them, which his predeceſſors had gained.

Zon. B. 8.

Flor. Epit. 14. Y. of *R.* 480. Bef. *J. C.* 272. 179 Conſul-p. * A 2d time.

Faſt. Capit.

§. III. THE reputation of the *Romans* being now ſpread into foreign countries by the ſucceſsful war they had ſuſtained for ſix years againſt *Pyrrhus*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome* to aſk the friendſhip of the Republic, an honour which gave the *Romans* no ſmall pleaſure. Not to be out-done in civility, they ſent away to *Egypt* four ambaſſadors, choſen with the utmoſt circumſpection by a Senate ſtudious to preſerve their reputation abroad entire. *Fabius Gurges* was at the head of the Embaſſy, and with him were join'd three *Curule Ædiles*, two of them brothers of the *Ogulnian* family, and the third *Ogulnius*. Their reception was magnificent, and *Ptolemy* at a ſplendid entertainment preſented each of them with a Crown of Gold, which they received, becauſe they were unwilling to diſoblige him by a refuſal; but they

Eutrop. B. 2. *Zonaras*, B. 8.

Dion. in excerpt. *Val. Max.* B. 4. ch 3.

they went the next morning and visited them: on this hands of the King's Guards that were stationed in the public parts of the City. The rich presents which the King allowed them at their audience of leave they also accepted; but as they returned to Rome, and before they came to the Senate, they deposited all those presents in the public Treasury, desiring no reward but Glory for the services they did their country. However the Senate and People ordered the Quæstors to restore to the Ambassadors what had been given them for their own use.

Y. of R. 478. Bef. J. C. 272. 179 Consul-p.

§. 3. WHETHER the Romans believed or not, that Pyrrhus whom he had conquered Manibus, would once more return into Italy, they took care to raise such Levies for the next year as should be able to cope with him if he came. Their choice fell upon L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius, who both of them had been raised to that eminent station before, and had signalized themselves in it. These Generals, with two Consular armies, were already entered into the Territory of the Samnites, when an account came that Pyrrhus was dead. This inconstant Prince, after he had almost totally subdued Macedon, left that enterprise to undertake the protection and restitution of Cleonymus King of Sparta, who had been driven from his capital by the contrivance of his wife, and the ambition of his nephew. Such was the Epirot's pretence; but his real design was to make himself master of all Peloponnesus, by taking advantage of the divisions which had sprung up there. He march'd into Laconia, and in the first fury of his assault found himself even at the gates of Sparta. Cleonymus, to whom the honour of the nation was intrusted by the

Y. of R. 481. Bef. J. C. 271. 180 Consul-p.

Plut. Life of Pyrrh. Justin, B. 25.

Plut. Life of Pyrrh.

Flor. B. 1. Oros. B. 4. ch. 3.

Y. of R. 482. Bef. J. C. 271. 180 Consul-p. *Flor.* Epit. 14. *Zonaras*, B. 8. *Frontin.* Stratag. B. 3.

Fast. Capit.

Polyb. B. 1. Y. of R. 482. Bef. J. C. 270. 181 Consul-p.

Zon. B. 8.

Polyb. B. 1. *Val. Max.* B. 2. ch. 7. §. 15.

Polyb. B. 1.

past in the aristocracy of the *Comitia Lexiæ*. Those of the old inhabitants, who had escaped the cruelty of the usurpers, were re-instated in the possession of their lands, liberties, and laws.

L. VALERIUS and M. HORATIUS the following administration of the *Consuls* Y. of R. 483
C. CLAUDIUS and C. CERVILIUS the former obtained a victory over the Bef. *J.C.* 269
Sentinates, a people of Umbria, who were for the most part Gauls. This 182 Consul-p.
year was remarkable for nothing more, except the severity of the winter. *Fast. Capit.*
The snow lay forty days upon the ground in the Forum of *Rome*, and Zon. & D. *Aug.*
was of a prodigious depth. The succeeding *Consuls*, Q. *Ogulnius Gallus* B. 3. de Civ.
and C. *Fabius Dorso*, were ordered to undertake the reduction of the *Pi-* Dei.
centes and *Salentines*, (the only nation in the East of *Italy* not yet subject Y. of *R.* 484.
to the Republic) but they were of a sudden called elsewhere, to extin- Bef. *J.C.* 268.
guish a fire which a very small spark had kindled. One *Lollius*, by 183 Consul-p.
birth a Samnite, had been delivered to the *Romans* by his countrymen, *Eutrop.* B. 2.
as a hostage for their fidelity. This man had escaped from *Rome*, join'd *Zonar.* B. 8.
a company of rebels, seized a strong place in *Samnium*, and was committing robberies in all the country; he had drawn also the *Garicini*, who were either a people of *Lucania*, or in alliance with them, into his measures, making their City the magazine of his booty. The *Consuls* were therefore dispatched to lay siege to that place; and by the help of some defenders, who introduced the *Roman* Troops secretly into it, they made an easy conquest. The *Consuls* had no Triumph for their success in this war, because it was deemed a civil war; nevertheless, they signalized their victory by more lasting monuments.

To this time the *Romans* had never used any money in commerce, except pieces of Brass stamped with the figure of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar; they had been too poor to coin Silver Money. But now after the conquest of *Samnium*, and the surrendry of *Tarentum*, the riches of the State being increased, and a great quantity of bars of silver (of no use to the Republic in that form) having been found among the treasures taken from *Lollius*, the *Consuls* thought it advisable to coin the silver, and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the Mint was the Temple of *Juno Moneta*, from whence comes the word *Money*. The new species, instead of being stamped with the figures of animals, was made to represent the exploits of the *Roman* Heroes, by ingenious hieroglyphics, but so enigmatical, that the invention of our antiquaries is often put to the rack to explain them. Some of these pieces of silver money, being worth ten *Asses* each, were called *Denarii*, and marked with the numeral letter X; others, worth but five *Asses*, were called *Quinarii*, and were marked with the letter V. The *Sestertii*, which were worth but two *Asses* and a half, were distinguished by the letters LIS *.

Plin. B. 33. ch. 3.

Suidas under the word Μονέτα.

Varr. de ling. Lat. B. 4.

* *Duo & Semis tertius.*

A. U. C. VII. THE next year the new *Consuls*, P. *Sempronius Sophus* and Y. of *R.* 485.
Ap. *Claudius Crassus* (son of the famous blind *Appius*, and the heir of Bef. *J.C.* 267.
his ambition) entered *Etruria* jointly; but new commotions in *Umbria* 184 Consul p.
obliged the latter soon after to march thither. He laid siege to *Camerinum*, *Eutrop.* B. 2.
a town situated near the mountains that separated *Umbria* from *Picenum*;

Y. of R. 485. Bef. J.C. 267. 184 Consul-p. *Val. Max.* B. 6. ch. 5.

and when he had taken it, [illegible] them for slaves, contrary to his agreement with them, put the [illegible] money into the public treasury, and sold their lands. The Romans, however, would not authorize so wicked a deed. The Senate ordered the unhappy wretches to be brought back from the [illegible] *into Citizens*, assigned them a quarter upon [illegible] don, and allotted each of them a small [illegible]

Frontin. Strateg. B. 1. *Flor.* B. 1.

In the mean time *Sempronius Sophus* pursued the war against the *Picentes*. Just as he was going to engage with the enemy in a pitch'd battle, a sudden earthquake greatly [illegible] their ardour for fighting; but [illegible] *for fear of changing its position*, and [illegible] *Tellus*, they quickly recover'd their courage, and fell upon the *Picentes* with their usual intrepidity. The battle must have been exceedingly bloody; for tho' the Consul gain'd the victory, he lost a great part of his troops in the action. *Asculum*, the capital of *Picenum*, soon after surrender'd, and the whole nation gave themselves up to the Romans; an important increase of the dominion of the Republic, because this country alone was able to supply her armies with [illegible] foot soldiers.

Oroſius, B. 4. ch. 4. *Flor.* B. 1. ch. 19. *Pliny*, B. 3. ch. 13. *Vell. Paterc.* B. 1.

To keep the newly-conquer'd nations in awe, the Romans to this time settled *Colonies* at *Ariminum* in the country of the *Picentes*, and at *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*; and at this time also the fellows whose right of Citizenship at *Rome* had hitherto extended only to the privilege of being incorporated in the *Legions*, instead of barely [illegible] which, were admitted to the rights of suffrage in the City, and thereby became entirely *Romans*.

§. VIII. THE *Salentines*, whose chief Cities were *Hydruntum* and *Brundusium*, were now almost the only people in the eastern extremity of *Italy*, that remained unsubdued to the Romans. It was easy for the ambitious Republic to invent pretences to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The next year's Consuls, *L. Julius Libo* and *M. Æmilius Regillus*, took *Brundusium*; but as the brave *Salentines* disputed their country inch by inch, the two Generals were obliged to leave their conquests to be finished by their successors. These were *Numerius Fabius* and *D. Junius Pera*, who, having first subdued the Sarsinates in *Umbria*, totally reduced the *Salentines*, (though they had brought the *Messapians* or *Lapygians* into their quarrel.) The reduction of two nations in one campaign procured each Consul two Triumphs, a thing unheard of before in the Republic.

Y. of R. 486. Bef. J.C. 266. 185 Consul-p. *Flor.* B. 1. Y. of R. 487. Bef. J.C. 265. 186 Consul-p.

Fast. Capit.

Rome was now become mistress of all the different nations of *Italy*, from the furthest part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* Sea; and from the *Tuscan* Sea cross the *Apennine* to the *Adriatic*. But these nations had not all the same privileges, but were upon the same footing in point of subjection. Some were entirely subdued to *Rome*, as mere subjects, but when they received [illegible] others retained their own customs and forms of government. Some were tributary, others [illegible] allies, who were bound

Y. of R. 487. Bef. J. C. 264. 186 Conful p.

...ſubſiſt, after Reformation, were to come, and maintain them, at their own ... Some had the ... of Roman Citizens, and their ſol... ſuffrage in the Centuries: others had likewiſe a right of ... Concerning the Comitia Martia, ... and diſcharge, were exempted ... in their Centuries with the ... and privileges were afterwards increaſed, according to the deſerts of the ſeveral cities and nations, and the ſervices they did the Republic.

§. IX. AFTER the great increaſe of power and dominion which the Romans obtained by their victories over Pyrrhus and his Italian allies, ... Carthage and whoſe dreams beyond the ſeas began to follow the ex... ambition of Rome, and court the friendſhip of the Republic. ... ſoward ever againſt Brundiſium, was the firſt City of Magna-... that ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire her protection. Theſe Ambaſſadors were received with honour by the Senate; but afterwards, upon ſome occaſion not known, were inſulted by Fabricius and Aemilius, young Ro... mans of great diſtinction, and at this time Aediles. So grievous a breach of the law of nations required ſatisfaction; nor did the Republic refuſe ... The young men were condemned to be delivered up into the hands of the Ambaſſadors, in order to be tranſported to Apollonia, and there ... at the pleaſure of the People. This was ſhewing the Apolloniates all the regard poſſible; and they, in their turn, ſhewed a prudent re... ſentment for the Roman Senators and Aemilius were hoſpitably re... ceived, and then ſent back to Rome. And this memorable event gave ... to a law (which ſubſiſted ever after) That if any Citizen, of what ... ſoever, inſulted an Ambaſſador, he ſhould be delivered up to the injured ...

Fler. Epit. 15. Val. Max. B. 6. ch. 6.

Dig. Parag. de Legat.

And now the great affair of the Republic under the adminiſtration of the Conſuls Q. Fabius * Gurges and C. Manilius Vitulus, was to regulate her Revenues. Theſe revenues aroſe from the tributes each provance was to pay; from the rents of certain arable and paſture lands, which the Republic reſerved as her demeſnes, whenever ſhe divided any conquer'd lands among the Citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands dependent on her; and laſtly from the impoſts upon all merchandize im... ported into her dominions. It has been already obſerved, that four Offi... cers, with the title of Queſtors, had the charge of receiving and diſburſ... ing the Public Moneys. Valerius Publicola, ſoon after the birth of the Republic, deſiring to eaſe himſelf of the care of the Finances, had ap... pointed two. To theſe Semronius Atratinus, in the year 333, being then Military Tribune with Conſular Authority, had added two more, whoſe peculiar buſineſs was to attend the Conſuls in their expeditions, keep the military cheſt, pay the troops, and ſell the ſpoils and priſoners taken from the enemy. The Queſtors neither of the one nor of the other inſtitution had any of the great badges of diſtinction annexed to their offices. They had neither Curule Chairs, nor Lictors, nor Apparitors; nor could they refuſe

Y. of R. 488. Bef. J. C. 264. 187 Conſul p. * 3d time.

Tacit. Annal. Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. & contr. Rullum. Suetonv

Y. of R. 488
Bef. J. C. 264
387 Confid. p.

refuse to appear before the *Tribunes*, upon a Summons from the meaneſt of the Citizens. The only privileges they had were that of aſſembling the *Comitia* at *Rome*, and ſpeaking to them from the Roſtra, and haranguing the ſoldiers in the field.

The four *Quæſtors* had been found to be hardly ſufficient to go through the buſineſs belonging to them even before the late conqueſts; but now it was abſolutely neceſſary to augment the number of theſe officers; and four new ones were therefore created, with the title of *Proconſtors*, to take charge of the four * provinces into which the Republic had divided her conqueſts.

The uſual fortune of *Rome* during any interval of tranquility, did not fail to attend her at this time. A moſt dreadful Plague raged both in the City and in the Country. The *Sybilline* books, according to cuſtom, were hereupon conſulted; and it was there found, that ſome ſecret crimes had drawn down the wrath of Heaven upon the Republic. A veſtal, named *Caparonia*, proved the unhappy victim, ſacrificed to the preponderations of the People. Being convicted of incontinency before the Tribunes of

Oroſius, B. 4. ch. 5.

* The firſt or chief place of the firſt province, the ſeat of the *Quæſtorſhip* aſſigned for that province, was at *Oſtia*, a ſeaport city ſituate in *Latium* by *Tiber*, at the mouth of *Rome*. This *Quæſtorſhip* reached, in all probability, from the head of the *Tyber* and the river *Arnus*, to the mouth of the *Liris*; and comprehended *Etruria*, *Latium*, *Umbria*, and, in ſhort, all the coaſt within the *Tuſcan* ſea, and all the lands between that ſea and the *Apennines*. The ſeat of the ſecond province was at *Cales*, in the delightful country of *Campania*; and it reached from the *Liris* to the *Gulph of Tarentum*. This province contain'd *Campania*, ſometimes *Lucania*, the country of the *Bruttii*, and *Otranto*; and within it were many rich maritime cities. The third province reached from the *Apennines* to the ſhore of the *Adriatic* ſea, and was called the *Gallic Quæſtorſhip*. It contained the countries formerly conquer'd by the *Gauls*, eſpecially the *Senones*, from the river *Rubico* to the *Æſis*. But notwithſtanding its name, it contained alſo *Picenum*, the country of the *Frentani*, and all the other countries as far as *Apulia*. And laſtly, the fourth *Quæſtorſhip*, of which we have not ſo diſtinct an account as of the other three, could only comprehend *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the territories of the *Salentini*, *Meſſapians*, and *Tarentines*. A fine province, if we conſider the great number of its ſeaports, into which merchandize were imported from *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Egypt*. For theſe four provinces *Rome* created four new *Quæſtors*; and it was then ſettled, that all

the

the *Pontifices*, they condemned her to be buried alive; and tho' to avoid so cruel a death she strangled herself, the same ceremonies of interment were performed upon the dead body, as if she had been living. *V. of R.* 488. *Bef. J. C.* 264. 187 Consul-p.

Notwithstanding the havock made by the Plague, the number of Citizens fit to bear arms appeared, by a *Census* taken this year, to be 292,224. Doubtless the *Sabines*, to whom the right of suffrage had been lately granted, must have been reckoned in this enumeration. *C. Marcius Rutilus*, one of the *Censors*, had on account of his extraordinary merit been elected, contrary to custom and his own earnest remonstrances, a second time to this office; and hence probably he acquired the surname of *Censorinus*, which was perpetuated in his family. *Plutarch* tells us, that to put a stop to so dangerous a practice, *Marcius* got a law pass'd, forbidding any person to hold the *Censorship* a second time. *Flor.* Epit. 16. *Eutrop.* B. 2. *Val. Max.* B. 4. ch. 1. *Plut.* Life of *Coriolanus*.

The present *Consuls* were still at *Rome*, wholly employed in civil affairs, when on a sudden a war sprung up in the very bowels of the Republic. *Volsinii*, a considerable City of *Hetruria*, had been by Treaty allowed to enjoy her own laws and form of government; but the *Volsinienses* had since fallen into sloth and luxury, neglected their laws, despised the public offices, and suffered their Freed-men to usurp them. These Freed-men by degrees had made themselves tyrants in the little Republic; and it was their whole business to mortify their old masters. They not only with all licentiousness [illegible] their wives, but pass'd a law, that no Virgin-daughter of a man [illegible] should be married to a husband of the like condition, till she had submitted to the passion of a freed-man. And to all these insolences [illegible] added Banishments and Proscriptions of the most worthy Citizens. The *Volsinienses* not being able to help themselves, sent Deputies privately to implore the protection of the Senate of *Rome*. But tho' the negotiation was thought to be carried on with perfect secrecy, the Freed-men got notice of it, and put the Deputies to death at their return; and when *Fabius Gurges*, who undertook with a small army of volunteers to chastise them, came near their City, he found them upon their guard; nay, the Freed-men ventured to face him in the field, and gave him battle. The *Consul* put them to the rout; but as he was entring the Town with the run-aways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand, and then the *Romans* were repulsed. After this *Decius Mus*, who had been Lieutenant to *Fabius*, besieged the place in form; and in the year following it surrendered to the *Consul Fulvius Flaccus*. The Freed-men, who had usurped the magistracies, and acted the whole scene of villany, were all put to death; the City was razed, and the Inhabitants transplanted to another. *Zon.* B. 8. *Florus*, B. 1. Auth. de Viris Illustr. *Val. Mal.* B. 9. che. 1.

These last particulars are here mentioned a little before their time, that they may not hereafter interrupt the relation of more important matters; the occasion and commencement of the FIRST PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

THE CAPITOLINE MARBLES:

OR

CONSULAR CALENDARS,

An ancient Monument, accidentally discovered at Rome in the year 1545. during the Pontificate of *Paul III.*

KINGS OF ROME.

Year

1. ROMULUS. He triumphs for vanquishing the Ceninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates.

He [illegible] a treaty of peace [illegible] Tatius King Acron whom he killed with his own hand.

16. He triumphs over the Camerini.

17. He triumphs over the Veientes, and Fidenates.

38. Interregnum.

40. NUMA POMPILIUS.

83. TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

87. He triumphs over the Albans.

91. He triumphs over the Sabines.

114. ANCUS MARCIUS.

115. He triumphs over the Veientes.

120. He triumphs over the Sabines.

139. TARQUIN the First.

150. He triumphs over the Latines.

160. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

171. He triumphs over the Sabines.

176. SERVIUS TULLIUS.

182. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

Year

186. He triumphs over the Hetrurians a second time.

200. He establishes the Census, and Lustrum, of which there were four in his reign.

220. TARQUIN the Proud.

227. He triumphs over the Volsci.

238. He triumphs over the Sabines.

243. He is dethroned, and driven from Rome.

CONSULS.

1. Consulate. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

244. Year. L. TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA, is substituted in the room of L. Tarquinius, who abdicates.

SPURIUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, fills Brutus's place, who was killed before his office expired.

HORATIUS PULVILLUS is chosen in the room of Spurius, who died in his office.

Publius Valerius Poplicola triumphs over the Veientes and Tarquinienſes.

Quæſtors. P. Veturius Geminus.
M. Minucius Augurinus.

2. *Conſulſhip,* 245. *Year.* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a ſecond time.
TITUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.
The fifth Luſtrum.

Quæſtors. Q. Cloelius Siculus.
A. [illegible] Atrinus.

3. *Conſulſhip,* 246. *Year.* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a third time.
M. HORATIUS [illegible] LUS, a ſecond time.

Quæſtors. T. Æbutius Elva.
A. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.

4. *Conſulſhip,* 247. *Year.* SPURIUS LARTIUS FLAVUS.
T. [illegible] AQUILINUS.

Quæſtors. M. Tullius Longus.
T. Virginius Tricoſtus.

5. *Conſulſhip,* 248. *Year.* M. VALERIUS.
P. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS.
Marcus Valerius, and Publius Poſthumius, triumph over the Sabines.

Quæſtors. T. Lartius Flavus.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

6. *Conſulſhip,* 249. *Year.* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a fourth time.
T. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, a ſecond time.
Valerius triumphs over the Sabines and Veientes.

Quæſtors. P. [illegible] Priſcus.
A. Virginius Tricoſtus Caelimontanus.

7. *Conſulſhip,* 250. *Year.* T. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS, a ſecond time.
AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS, who triumphs over the Sabines.

Poſthumius receives only the Honours of an Ovation.

Quæſtors. T. Veturius Geminus.
Poſthumius Cominius Auruncus.

8. *Conſulſhip,* 251. *Year.* OPITER VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
SPURIUS CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, who triumphs over the Sabines.

Quæſtors. Q. Servilius Priſcus.
T. Geganius Macerinus.

9. *Conſulſhip,* 252. *Year.* POSTHUMUS COMINIUS AURUNCUS.
T. LARTIUS FLAVIUS.

Quæſtors. M. Minucius Augurinus.
Q. Sulpitius Camerinus Cornutus.

10. *Conſulſhip,* 253. *Year.* SER. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS.
M. TULLIUS LONGUS, who dies in his Conſulſhip.

Quæſtors. [illegible] Julius.
M. Valerius Volusus.

11. *Conſulſhip,* 254. *Year.* P. VETURIUS GEMINUS.
T. AEBUTIUS ELVA.

Quæſtors. P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

12. *Conſulſhip,* 255. *Year.* T. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a ſecond time.
Q. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

Dictator. T. LARTIUS FLAVUS.
Gen. of Horſe. Sp. Cassius Viscellinus.

Quæſtors. M. Claudius Craſſinus Regillenſis.
L. Geganius Macerinus.

13. *Conſulſhip,* 256. *Year.* A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Quæſtors. C. Aquilius Tuſcus.
Virginius Tricoſtus Rutilus.

14. *Conſulſhip,* 257. *Year.* A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.

CONSULAR CALENDAR.

	COSTUS.	
Dictator.	A. POSTUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.	
Gen. of Horſe.	T. [illegible] triumphs over the Sabines.	
Quæſtors.	T. [illegible] Sabinus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus.	
15. *Conſulſhip,* 258. *Year.*	APPIUS CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS. P. [illegible] [illegible] Malugineníis. L. [illegible] Minucius Esquilinus.	
16. *Conſulſhip,* 259. *Year.*	A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CAELIMONTANUS. T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS.	
Dictator.	MANIUS VALERIUS.	
Gen. of Horſe.	Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS. Manius Valerius triumphs over the Æquians.	
Quæſtors.	C. [illegible] Augurinus. [illegible] Furius Fuſus.	
17. *Conſulſhip,* 260. *Year.*	SP. CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, a ſecond time. POSTHUMUS COMINIUS AURUNCUS, a ſecond time. *The ſeventh Luſtrum.*	
Tribunes of the People.	L. Sicinnius Bellutus. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.	
Plebeian Ædiles.	[illegible] Cordus Scævola. [illegible] Cordus Scævola.	
Quæſtors.	P. Valerius Poplicola. M. Furius Vibulanus.	
18. *Conſulſhip,* 261. *Year.*	T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS. P. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.	
Tribunes of the People.	Sp. Icilius Ruga. C. Licinius Calvus.	
Ædiles.	*L. Sicinnius Bellutus.* *L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.*	
Quæſtors.	C. Julius Iulus. Sp. Furius Fuſus.	
19. *Conſulſhip,*	M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.	
	[illegible] time.	
Tribunes of the People.	L. [illegible] Icilius.	
Ædiles.	[illegible]	
Quæſtors.	Cn. [illegible] Cincinnatus. M. [illegible] Pulvillus.	
20. *Conſulſhip,* 263. *Year.*	Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS. SP. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a	
Tribunes of the People.	L. [illegible]	
Ædiles.	[illegible]	
Quæſtors.	[illegible] Tricoſtus Rufus. C. [illegible] Structus Ahala.	
21. *Conſulſhip,* 264. *Year.*	C. JULIUS IULUS. P. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.	
Tribunes of the People.	C. Sicinius Bellutus.	
Ædiles.	L. Icilius C. [illegible]	
Quæſtors.	C. Cornelius Lentulus. C. Horatius Pulvillus Eſquilinus.	
22. *Conſulſhip,* 265. *Year.*	SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. SEX. FURIUS FUSUS.	
Tribunes of the People.	M. [illegible] P. Licinius Calvus.	
Ædiles.	*L. Sicinnius Bellutus.* *C. Licinius Calvus.*	
Quæſtors.	T. Menenius Lanatus. A. Virginius Tricoſtus Rutilus.	
23. *Conſulſhip,* 266. *Year.*	C. AQUILIUS TUSCUS. T. SICINIUS SABINUS, who triumphs over the Volſci. Aquilius defeats the Hernici, and has only the honour of an ovation.	
Tribunes of the People.	L. Albinius. P. Licinius Calvus.	
Ædiles.	*L. Icilius Ruga.* *C. Icilius Ruga.*	
Quæſtors.	Sp. Servilius Structus. Q. Sextius Capitolinus.	

24. *Conſulſhip,* SP. CASSIUS VISCELLI-
269. *Year.* NUS, a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People. C. PROCULUS VIRGINIUS
T. LUCRETIUS RUTILUS.
C. Julius triumphs over the Volſci and Hernici.

Ædiles. C. [illegible]
M. Platorius.

Quæſtors. C. Nævius Rutilus.
L. Furius Medullinus Fuſus.

25. *Conſulſhip,* Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
268. *Year.* SER. CORNELIUS MALU-
GINENSIS COSSUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. Mucius Scævola.
M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Ædiles. Ca. [illegible]
C. [illegible]

Quæſtors. K. Fabius Vibulanus.
L. Valerius Potitus.

26. *Conſulſhip,* L. [illegible] MAMERCI-
269. *Year.* NUS.
K. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. [illegible]
C. [illegible] Ruſatus.

Ædiles. L. [illegible]
M. [illegible]

Quæſtors. A. Manlius Vulſo.
Veturius Julius Iulus.

27. *Conſulſhip,* M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
270. *Year.* L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA
POTITUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Mænius.
P. Licinius Calvus.

Ædiles. C. Lucretius Cotta.
M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Quæſtors. P. Furius Fuſus.
Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regil-
lenſis.

28. *Conſulſhip,* C. IULIUS IULUS.
271. *Year.* Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a
ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People. L. Albinius.
P. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Ædiles. C. Rabulius.
C. [illegible]

Quæſtors. L. Publius Rufus Mamercinus.

29. *Conſulſhip,* K. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a
272. *Year.* ſecond time.
[illegible] FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People. [illegible]
[illegible] Arentinenſis.

Ædiles. [illegible]
P. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

Quæſtors. A. Verginius Tricoſtus Cæli-
montanus.
Q. Servilius Priſcus.

30. *Conſulſhip,* CN. [illegible]US CINCIN-
273. *Year.* NATUS.
M. FABIUS VIBULANUS,
a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People. [illegible]
[illegible] Laurentinus.

Ædiles. T. Numicius Priſcus.
M. Veturius Amintinus.

Quæſtors.

31. *Conſulſhip,* K. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a
274. *Year.* third time.
T. VIRGINIUS TRICOS-
TUS RUTILUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Julius Iulus.
C. [illegible]
Sp. [illegible]
M. Duronius Dives.

Ædiles. M. Manlius Augurinus.
P. Manlius Augurinus.

Quæſtors.

32. *Conſulſhip,* L. [illegible] MAMERCI-
275. *Year.* NUS, a third time.
CAIUS SERVILIUS STRU-
CTUS AHALA, who did
not finish the year, but ab-
dicated, or died before it
ended.
C. CORNELIUS was put in
his room.

Tribunes of the People. P. Decius Mus.
M. Flavolenus.

Ædiles. T. Perfidius.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.

Quæſtors. L. Valerius Amintinus.
M. Tullius Longus.

Proconſuls. K. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
Sp. [illegible] Fuscus.

33. *Con-*

33. *Conſulſhip,* [illegible] HORATIUS PULVIL-
276. *Year.*

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

Proconſul.

34. *Conſulſhip,*
277. *Year.*

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

35. *Conſulſhip,* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
278. *Year.* C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

36. *Conſulſhip,* L. [illegible] MEDULLINUS
279. *Year.*

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

37. *Conſulſhip,* L. [illegible] MAMERCI-
280. *Year.* VORINUS, a third time.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

38. *Conſulſhip,* L. [illegible] RUFUS MA-
281. *Year.* [illegible] FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

39. *Conſulſhip,* AP. CLAUDIUS SABINUS
282. *Year.* [illegible] REGILLENSIS.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBA-
[illegible] CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

40. *Conſulſhip,* L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA
283. *Year.* [illegible] POTITUS, a ſecond time.
T. [illegible] MAMERCI-
NUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

41. *Conſulſhip,* A. VIRGINIUS TRICOS-
284. *Year.* TUS CAELIMONTANUS.
T. NUMICIUS PRISCUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

Quæſtors.

Quæstors. C. [illegible] Fregerinus.
C. [illegible] Fabius.

42. *Consulship,* 285. *Year.* T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a [illegible] time.
Q. [illegible] PRISCUS.
T. Quinctius triumphs over the Volsci, and Antiates.

Tribunes of the People. C. Pontificius.
C. Confidius.
L. Romulius.
L. Titinius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. Duillius.
Q. Minucius Augurinus.
Sp. Virginius Tricostus Caelimontanus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

43. *Consulship,* 286. *Year.* TI. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Duillius.
C. Mænius.
T. Statius.
M. Decius.
L. Cædicius.
L. [illegible]
Sp. Tullius Rufus.
T. Romilius Rocus Vaticanus.
C. Veturius Cicurinus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

44. *Consulship,* 287. *Year.* SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People. Volero Publilius Philo.
M. Pomilius.
M. Manilius.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
P. Silius.
[illegible]
[illegible]
A. Æternius Fontinalis.
Sex. Quintilius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

45. *Consulship,* 288. *Year.* Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a third time.

Tribunes of the People. [illegible]

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

Præconsul.

46. *Consulship,* 289. *Year.* [illegible]

Tribunes of the People. L. [illegible] Ahenobarbus.
L. [illegible]
L. [illegible]
Cn. [illegible] Aventinensis.
M. [illegible]
C. [illegible]
T. [illegible] Capitolinus.
T. [illegible] Lanatus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

47. *Consulship,* 290. *Year.* T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS.
P. [illegible] PRISCUS.
L. [illegible] ELVA. Both die before the year of their Consulship ends.

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius.
C. [illegible]
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
T. Publilius Philo.
M. [illegible]
M. [illegible]
Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.
Sp. Virginius Crassus Cicurinus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

48. *Consulship,* 291. *Year.* L. [illegible] TRICIPITINUS, who triumphs over the Volsci, and Æqui.
T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS, who receives the honours of an Ovation.

Tribunes of the People. Sex. [illegible]
C. [illegible]
M. Duillius Mus.

C. Fef-

Ædiles. C. [illegible]
L. [illegible]
Cn. [illegible] Semiensis.
Quæstors. T. [illegible] Augurinus.
M. [illegible] Malugiensis.

49. *Consulship,* 292. *Year.* [illegible] AMINTIUS.
SER. [illegible] CAMERINUS.

Tribunes of the People. [illegible] Victor.
L. [illegible]
M. [illegible]
Quæstors. T. [illegible] Verenda.
M. [illegible]

50. *Consulship,* 293. *Year.* M. [illegible] POPLICOLA, a second time.
C. [illegible] SABINUS REGILLENSIS.
Valerius died in his office.
L. [illegible] CINCINNATUS succeeds him.

Tribunes of the People. M. Valerius Victor.
C. [illegible]
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Ædiles. Sex. Titius.
M. Horatius Barbatus.
Quæstors. M. Horatius Barbatus.
Lar. [illegible] Aquilinus.

51. *Consulship,* 294. *Year.* Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a third time.
L. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.
The former triumphs over the Æqui and Volsci. The latter over the Volsci and Antiates.
The tenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginius.
M. Volscius Victor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Macilius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Ædiles. M. Confidius.
Quæstors. A. [illegible]
A. Cornelius Malugiensis Cossus.
C. [illegible] Ahala.

52. *Consulship,* 295. *Year.* [illegible] RUTILUS, a second time.
L. [illegible] AUGURINUS, who is forced to abdicate.

Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
Gen. of Horse. L. TARQUITIUS FLACCUS.
Quinctius triumphs over the Æqui.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginius.
M. Volscius.
C. Numitorius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Macilius.
Ædiles. C. [illegible]
P. Publilius Philo.
Quæstors. M. Valerius Maximus.
T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus.

53. *Consulship,* 296. *Year.* C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
T. [illegible] AUGURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginius.
M. Volscius.
C. Numitorius.
L. Macilius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Ædiles. *Sex. Titius.*
C. *Junius Brutus Bubulcus.*
Quæstors. M. Valerius Vibulanus.
M. Geganius Macerinus.

54. *Consulship,* 297. *Year.* M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
SP. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
Secular Games.

Tribunes of the People. L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Alienius.
K. Duilius.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.
M. Oppius.
Sex. Mamilius.

C. Ful-

55. *Consulship,* 298. *Year.*
T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
C. VETURIUS CICURI[illegible]

Tribunes of the People.
L. Icilius [illegible]
L. [illegible]
Q. Pa[illegible]
P. L[illegible]
Sp. [illegible]
M. O[illegible]
L. R[illegible]
K. D[illegible]
C. Fu[illegible]
Sex. Mu[illegible]
M. [illegible]
C. [illegible]

Ædiles.

Quæstors.
M. Genucius Augurinus.
A. Sempronius Atratinus.

56. *Consulship,* 299. *Year.*
SP. TARPEIUS MONTANUS CAPITOLINUS.
A. ATERNIUS FONTINALIS.

Tribunes of the People.
L. Sicinius Dentatus.
C. Claudius Cæcus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Sex. Titius.
T. Albinus.
M. Tetinius.
L. Manilius Vitulus.
M. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Claudius Cicero.
M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Ædiles.
L. [illegible]
A. [illegible]

Quæstors.
L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.
C. Curtius Philo.

57. *Consulship,* 300. *Year.*
SEX. QUINTILIUS, who dies in his Consulship.
P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.

Tribunes of the People.
[illegible]

Ædiles.

Quæstors.
[illegible]

58. *Consulship,* 301. *Year.*
P. [illegible] CAPITOLINUS.
T. [illegible] LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People.
[illegible]
L. [illegible]
P. [illegible] Laurentinus.
[illegible] Alvernhensis.
[illegible]

Ædiles.
[illegible]

Quæstors.
[illegible] Atratinus.
[illegible]

59. *Consulship,* 302. *Year.*
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
They abdicated the Consulship to make way for the Decemviri.

1. *Decemvirate,* 302. *Year.*
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
C. JULIUS IULUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SEX. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS.
T. RO-

P. [illegible] Rocus Vati-
P. [illegible] Terminus.

2. *Decemvirate.* Ap. [illegible]udius Crassi-
303. *Year.* [illegible] time.
Q. [illegible] Vulsulanus.
M. [illegible]s Maluginen-
[illegible] Merenda.
[illegible]
Q. Petelius Libo Visolus.
[illegible] Augurinus.
[illegible]
P. [illegible]
Sp. [illegible] Camerin.

3. *Decemvirate.* Appius Claudius Crassi-
304. *Year.* nus, a third time, with the same Colleagues as in the second Decemvirate. Being forced to give place to new Consuls, they abdicated.

60. *Consulship,* L. Valerius Poplicola
304. *Year.* Potitus. He triumphs over the Æqui.
M. Horatius Barba-
tus. He triumphs over the Sabines.

Tribunes of the People.
L. [illegible]
L. Icilius Ruga.
P. Numitorius.
M. [illegible]
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. [illegible]
C. [illegible]
C. [illegible]
M. [illegible]
P. [illegible]

Ædiles.
C. Claudius Cicero.
M. [illegible]

Quæstors.
Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.
L. [illegible] Julus.

61. *Consulship,* L. [illegible] Herminius Aqui-
305. *Year.* linus.
T. Virginius Tricos-
tus Caelimontanus.

Tribunes of the People, according to Livy.
[illegible] Montanus Capi-
[illegible]
A. [illegible] Fetialis.

Ædiles.
[illegible]

Quæstors.
[illegible]

64. *Consulship,* M. Genucius Augurini-
308. *Year.* nus.
C. Cur-

Tribunes of the People.

C. [illegible] PHILO.
C. [illegible]
C. [illegible] Cicero.
L. [illegible]
C. [illegible]
Ti. [illegible]
M. [illegible]
C. [illegible]
Cn. [illegible] Pansa.
T. [illegible]
P. Villius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

C. [illegible]
C. Fonteius Flaccinator.
Publius Ebutius Elva.

1. *Military Tribuneship.* 309. *Year.*

A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
L. ATILIUS LONGUS.
T. CLOELIUS SICULUS. They all three abdicated.

65. *Conſulſhip,* 309. *Year.*

L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

N. Sextius Sextinus.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Pub. Numitorius.
[illegible]
[illegible]
L. Cædicius.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
[illegible]
[illegible]

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

[illegible]
[illegible] Ruga.
[illegible]
Manl. Æmilius Mamercinus.

66. *Conſulſhip,* 310. *Year.*

M. GEGANIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fifth time.
M. [illegible] triumphs over the [illegible]

Firſt Cenſors. L. Papirius Mugillanus.
[illegible] Atratinus.
The eleventh Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People.

L. [illegible]
C. Oppius.
C. Antius.

[illegible]
P. [illegible] TERGEMINUS.
[illegible] CRASSI-
[illegible]

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

[illegible]
N. [illegible] Martinus.
L. Papirius Crassus.
L. Virginius Tricostus.

67. *Conſulſhip,* 311. *Year.*

M. [illegible] VIBULANUS.
[illegible] EBUTIUS ELVA CORNICEN.

Tribunes of the People.

C. [illegible]
C. Claudius Cicero.
C. [illegible]
[illegible] Asper.
[illegible]
[illegible]
M. Allienus.
[illegible]

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

[illegible]
[illegible] Fidenas.
[illegible] Camerinus.

68. *Conſulſhip,* 312. *Year.*

C. [illegible] RACILIUS FUSUS.
M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. [illegible]
[illegible]
N. [illegible] Martinus.
M. [illegible]
C. Valerius Flamma.
[illegible] Mangus.
C. Fusius
P. Virginius
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
[illegible]
[illegible]
C. Laterius.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

[illegible] Cornelius Maluginenſis.
C. Servilius Structus Ahala.

[illegible] SICCIUS GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
[illegible] Year.
L. [illegible] JANATUS.

Tribunes of the People.

[illegible]
C. Apronius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

T. Geganius Macerinus.

70. *Conſulſhip,* T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS
314. *Year.* a ſixth time
MENENIUS LA-

Dictator.

a ſecond time.

Gen. of Horſe. STRUCTUS A-

Tribunes of the People.

Icilius Bruticus.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

2. *Military Tribuneſhip.*
315. *Year.*

M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-
QUINCTIUS CINCINNA-

Tribunes of the People.

Flamma.
Aventinenſis.

Ædiles.

Phile.

Flagginator,
Mamercinus.

Dictator,

time.
VIUS MAMER-
He triumphed
Veientes, Falifci,

Gen. of Horſe. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNA-

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

72. *Conſulſhip,*
317. *Year.*

M. CORNELIUS MALUGI-
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Maelius.
C. Furius.
C. Veturius Flamma.
L. Sextius.
L. Caedicius.
C. Icilius Bruticus.
Sextius.
Pennus Ginginius.
K. Fofſilius Tuberus.

73. *Conſulſhip,*
318. *Year.*

C. JULIUS IULUS, a ſecond
time.
L. VIR-

L. [illegible] TRICOS-
TUS.

Dictator. Q. [illegible] PUBLILIUS PRISCUS
PHILONAS.

Gen. of Horſe. [illegible] Eburius Elva
Caninus.

Cenſors. C. [illegible] Pacilus Fuſus.
M. Cornelius Macerinus.

Tribunes of the People. [illegible] Lafrum.
C. [illegible].
C. Cornelius.
C. [illegible].
C. [illegible].
M. [illegible].
L. [illegible].
M. [illegible].
C. Fulvius.
M. Fulcinius.
T. Statius.
P. Decius Mus.
C. [illegible].
C. Julius Mento.
A. Sempronius Fontinalis.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

74. *Conſulſhip,* 319. *Year.* C. JULIUS IULUS, a third time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS, a ſecond time.

Dictator. MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Gen. of Horſe. A. Poſthumius Tubertus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Furius.
M. Cædicius.
L. Manlius.
M. Poſtumius.
C. Veliſcius.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Silius.
C. Manilius.
M. Metilius.
L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Ædiles. M. [illegible].
A. [illegible].

Quæſtors. T. Larius Flavus.
Hoſtus Lucretius Tricipitinus.

3. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 320. *Year.* M. Fabius Vibulanus.
M. Foſlius Flaccinator.
L. Sergius Fidenas.

Tribunes of the People. L. Canuleius.
L. Cædicius.

C. [illegible].
M. [illegible].
T. [illegible].
P. [illegible].
L. Aemilius Lanatus.
L. [illegible].
M. [illegible].
L. Papirius.
C. [illegible].
A. [illegible].
M. [illegible].

Ædiles.

Quæſtors. N. Fabius Vibulanus.
T. Genucius Augurinus.

4. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 321. *Year.* L. Papirius Rufus Mamercinus.
L. Furius Medullinus.
[illegible] Albus Ruſo.

Tribunes of the People. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
L. [illegible] Balbutus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
M. Decius Mus.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
C. [illegible].
C. [illegible] Balbutus.
P. [illegible] Mus.
L. Aemilius Mamercus.
M. [illegible].
M. [illegible].
T. [illegible].
P. Cornelius Priſcus.
M. Cornelius Sabinus Regillenſis.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors.

75. *Conſulſhip,* 322. *Year.* T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS.
C. JULIUS MENTO.

Dictator. A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS. He triumphs over the Æqui and Volſci.

Gen. of Horſe. L. Julius Iulus.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginius.
T. Metilius.
M. [illegible].
C. [illegible].
C. [illegible].
C. [illegible].
M. Pomponius.
M. [illegible].
C. [illegible].
P. [illegible] Publius.
L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
C. Volſcius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

76. *Conſulſhip,* 323. *Year.*
C. [illegible] CRASSUS.
L. [illegible] IULUS.
Tribunes of the People.
[illegible]
L. Sempronius Barbatus.
[illegible]
L. Valerius Victor.
C. Valerius Flamma.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Arfa.
[illegible]
M. [illegible]
Ædiles.
Quæſtors.
A. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Hortenſius Barbatus.

77. *Conſulſhip,* 324. *Year.*
L. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a ſecond time.
HOSTUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.
Tribunes of the People.
C. [illegible]
C. Furius Libo.
Sp. Maelius.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
M. Valerius Victor.
C. Nautius [illegible].
Sp. Maelius Capitolinus.
C. Lectorius.
Sp. Antius.
M. Trebonius.
M. [illegible]
L. [illegible] Patus.
Ædiles.
Quæſtors.
Ap. Claudius Craſſus Regillenſis.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

78. *Conſulſhip,* 325. *Year.*
T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS, a ſecond time.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
Some Authors place Coſſus's Triumph, and the Trophy he made of the Spoils of Tolumnius King of the Veientes, under this year.
Tribunes of the People.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Publilius Philo, the Son of Publius.

Ædiles.
Quæſtors.
P. Publilius Philo, the Son of
L. [illegible]
L. [illegible]
M. [illegible]
L. [illegible] Philo Valerius.
C. [illegible] Philo Valerius.
L. Manlius Vitulus.
P. [illegible] Potamo.
T. [illegible]
C. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus.

79. *Conſulſhip,* 326. *Year.*
L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, a ſecond time.
C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA.
Tribunes of the People.
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Sex. [illegible]
A. Virginius.
C. Pomponius.
L. Cædicius.
M. Metellius.
M. Silius.
L. Siccius.
P. Lentulus.
P. Licinius.
Ædiles.
C. Terentius Arſa.
M. [illegible]
Quæſtors.
Q. Antonius Merenda.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.

5. *Military Tribuneſhip,* 327. *Year.*
T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS.
C. FURIUS PACILUS.
M. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

Dictator.
MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Veientes and Fidenates.
Gen. of Horſe.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
Tribunes of the People.
L. Cæcilius Metellus
C. Lectorius.
Sp. Maelius Capitolinus, the ſon of Spurius.
L. Ælius Pætus.
L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Publilius Philo.

Spurius

Æ. Capitolinus, the

M.

M. Cicero.

K.

Ædiles.

Quæstors. L. Sextius Sextus.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus.

6. *Military Tribuneship,* 388. *Year.* A. Sempronius Atratinus.

L. Furius Medullinus, a second time.

L. Papirius Barbatus.

Tribunes of the People. C.

L.

P. Publius Philo, the son of Volero.

C. Poplius.

P. Numitorius.

Sex. Titius.

Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.

P. Publius Philo, the son of Publius.

M. Plætorius.

M. Titinius.

Ædiles. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

Quæstors. M. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.

Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

7. *Military Tribuneship.* 389. *Year.* Ap. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.

Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

L. Sergius Fidenas, a second time.

Sex. Julius Iulus.

L. Julius Iulus.

L. Papirus Crassus.

The thirteenth Lustrum.

Censors.

Tribunes of the People. L. Virginius.

C. Pombilius.

Sp. Oppius Cornicen.

C. Claudius Sicero.

C. Numitorius.

L. Scribonius.

C. Pomponius.

Sp. Maelius Capitolinus.

H.

L. Volumnius Flamma.

Ædiles.

Quæstors. Sex.

Pacilius Dricipitinus.

C. Servilius Axilla.

80. *Consulship,* 330. *Year.* C. Sempronius Atratinus.

Q.

C. Julius Bubulcus.

Tribunes of the People.

L.

P. Titinius Asper.

C.

M. Cicero.

M.

M.

P.

Ædiles.

Quæstors. M. Papirius Mugillanus.

Sp.

8. *Military Tribuneship.* 331. *Year.* L. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.

Q. Antonius Merenda.

L. Papirius Mugillanus.

L. Servilius Structus.

Tribunes of the People.

Sex.

L.

A.

Sp. Titius Ruga.

T.

M. Trebonius Arfa.

M.

L. Volumnius Flamma.

C.

C. Papirius.

Ædiles. Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.

Quæstors. T. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Cn. Cornelius Cossus.

8. *Consulship,* 332. *Year.* T. Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus.

N. Fabius Vibulanus.

He gains a victory over the Æqui, and is honoured with an Ovation.

Tribunes of the People. Sp. Maelius Capitolinus.

Sp. Oppius Cornicen.

C. Tre-

C.

L.

L.

L. Allienus.

C. Cicero.

Ædiles. [illegible] Plebeius.

Quæſtors. [illegible] Potitus Voluſus.

[illegible] Maluginenſis

9. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 333. *Year.* [illegible] Fidos Pennus Cin- [illegible] a ſecond time.

M. [illegible]ius Vulso Capi- [illegible]

[illegible] Medullinus, a [illegible]

As[illegible]ius Atratinus, [illegible] time.

Tribunes of the People. M. [illegible]

Ser. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Proculus.

M. [illegible]

L. [illegible] Dentatus.

Q. Petilius.

[illegible]

M. Pomponius.

Ædiles. Ser. [illegible]

A. [illegible]

Quæſtors of Rome. P. Cornelius Coſſus.

M. [illegible] Ambuſtus.

Military Quæſtors. Q. [illegible]

M. Cornelius Coſſus.

10. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 334. *Year.* [illegible] Menenius Lanatus.

Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

[illegible] Servilius Ahala.

Tribunes of the People. C. [illegible] Bubulcus.

L. [illegible]

L. [illegible]

C. Popilius.

[illegible]

[illegible]

C. Appuleius.

Ædiles. [illegible]

Quæſtors of Rome. [illegible] Albus Regillenſis.

L. [illegible] Lanatus.

Military Quæſtors. [illegible] Barbatus.

L. Valerius Potitus.

11. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 335. *Year.* M. Papirius Mugillanus.

C. Servilius Axilla, [illegible] cond time.

L. Sergius Fidenas, a third time.

Dictator. Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas, a ſecond time.

Gen. of Horſe. C. Servilius Axilla.

Cenſors. L. Papirius Mugillanus.

Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

The fourteenth Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People. Sp. [illegible]

[illegible]

A. [illegible]

[illegible]

L. [illegible]

[illegible]

P. [illegible]

L. Sicinius.

C. [illegible]

Ædiles. [illegible]

[illegible]

Quæſtors of Rome. M. Cornelius Coſſus.

P. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Military Quæſtors. C. Sergius Nepos.

L. Virginius Tricoſtus.

12. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 336. *Year.* P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

L. Servilius Structus.

Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, all three a ſecond time.

Sp. Vetturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Tribunes of the People. Sp. [illegible]

Sp. [illegible]

C. [illegible]

L. [illegible]

M. Ap-

Gen. of Horſe.

Tribunes of the People.

Edile.

Queſtors of Rome.

Military Quæſtors.

Craſſus.

19. Military Tribuneſhip.

34th. Year.

Military Quæſtors.

17. Military Tribuneſhip.

346. Year. C. SERTILIUS AHALA, a

Tribunes of the People.

Philo.

Ediles.

Queſtors of Rome.

Military Quæſtors.

Fidenas.

RUTILUS Cos-

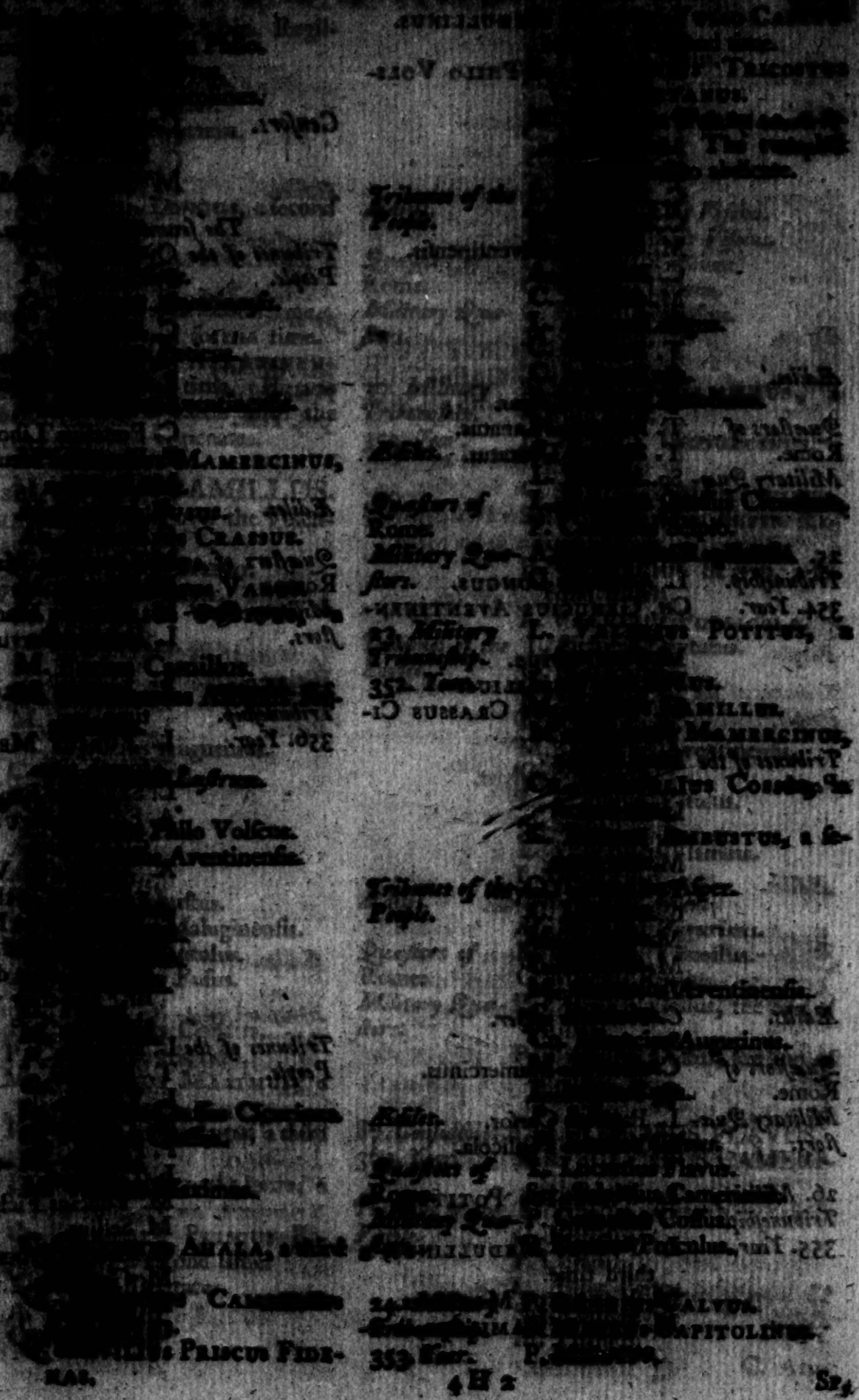
347. Year. L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a

Cossus, a

Tribunes of the People.

P. Puppius.

Tribunes



Publius Volesius.

Consuls:

Military Quæstors.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

Tribunes of the People.

355. Year.

Marcus Furius Camillus, a fifth time Dictator.

Caius Sulpitius, a second time.

Publius Cornelius Scipio.

Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus.

Caius Licinius Calvus Stolo.

Lucius Sextius Lateranus.

Caius Sulpitius Peticus, a second time.

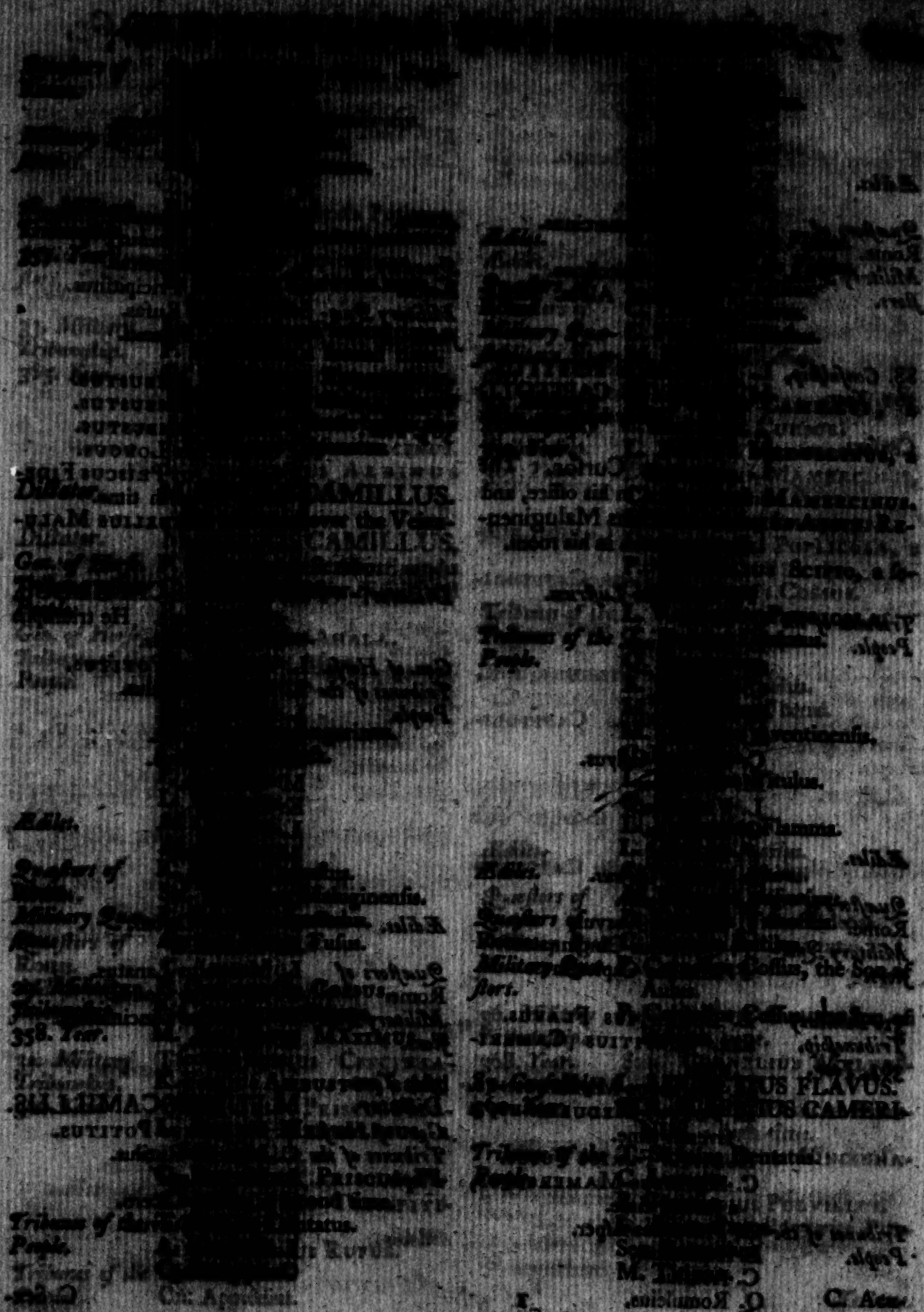
Caius Licinius Calvus Stolo.

Lucius Sextius Lateranus.

Caius Sulpitius Peticus, a second time.

Publius Cornelius Scipio.

Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus





Dictator.

Gen. of Horſe.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæſtors of Rome.

Military Tribuneſhip.

365. Year.

CAMILLUS.

Cn. Appuleius.

Caius Cincinna-

Publius Ficus Fide-

Tricipiti-

Rutus.

Caius Camillus, a

Lucius Malugi-

Publius Ficus Fide-

Cincinna-

Albus Le-

Tribunes



Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

376. Year.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

378. Year.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Assembly.

380. Year.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Tribunes.

Dictator.

Gen. of Horſe.

People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors of Rome.

Military Tribunes.

Dictator.

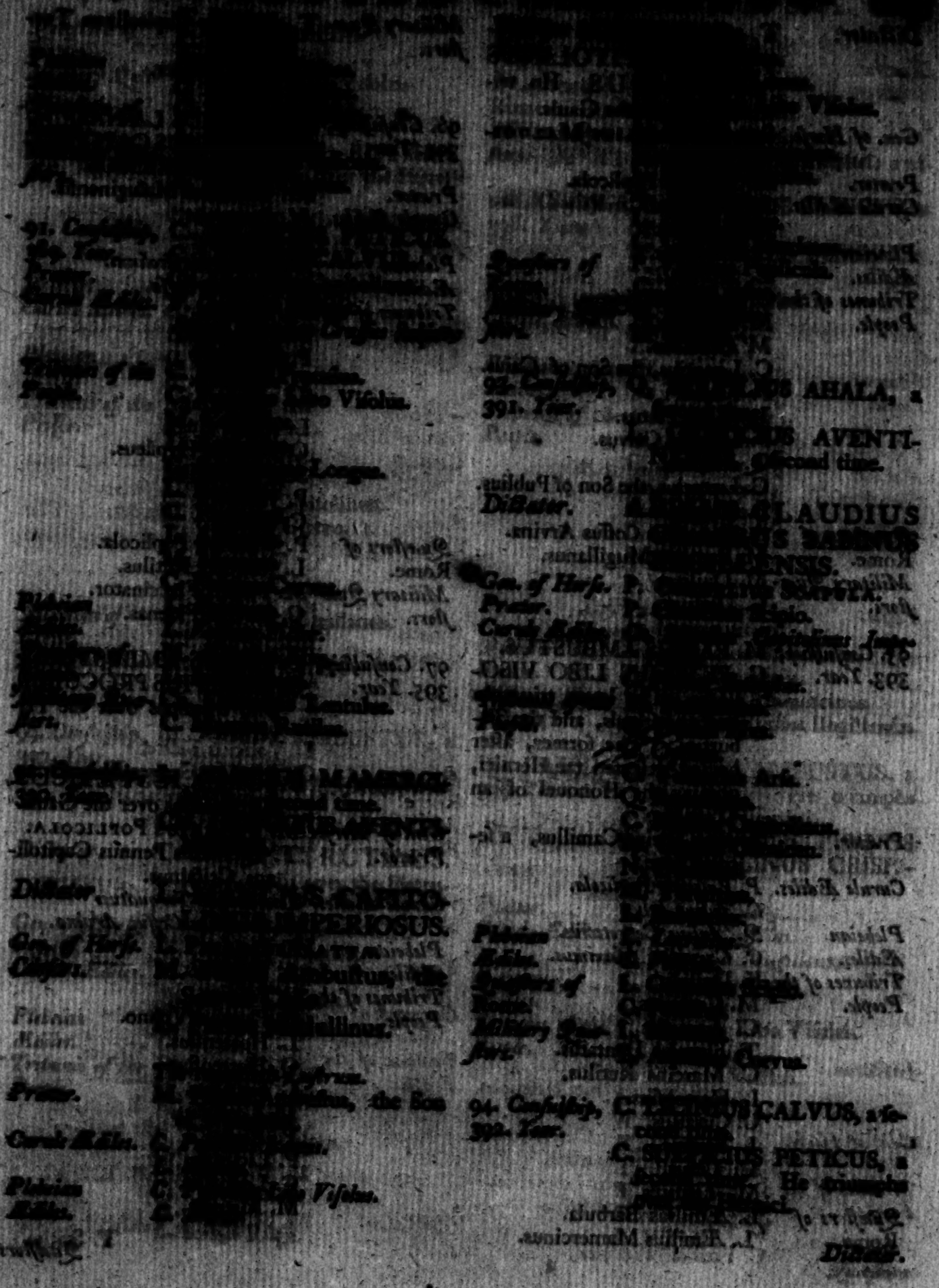
Gen. of Horſe.

People.

Ædiles.

Quæſtors of Rome.

Military Tribunes.



Dictator.

Gen. of Horſ.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæſtors of Rome.

Military Quæſtors.

393. Year.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæſtors of Rome.

Military Quæſtors.

395. Year.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæſtors

Tribunes of the People.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Tri-bunes.

99. Confulship, 397. Year.

101. Confulship, 399. Year.

Dictator.

Gen. of Horſe.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæſtors

Dictator.

Gen. of Horſe.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Quæſtors of Rome.

Military Quæſtors.

Tribunes of the People.

Dictator.

Gen. of Horſe.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Dictator.

Gen. of Horſe.

Conſuls.

Capitolinus

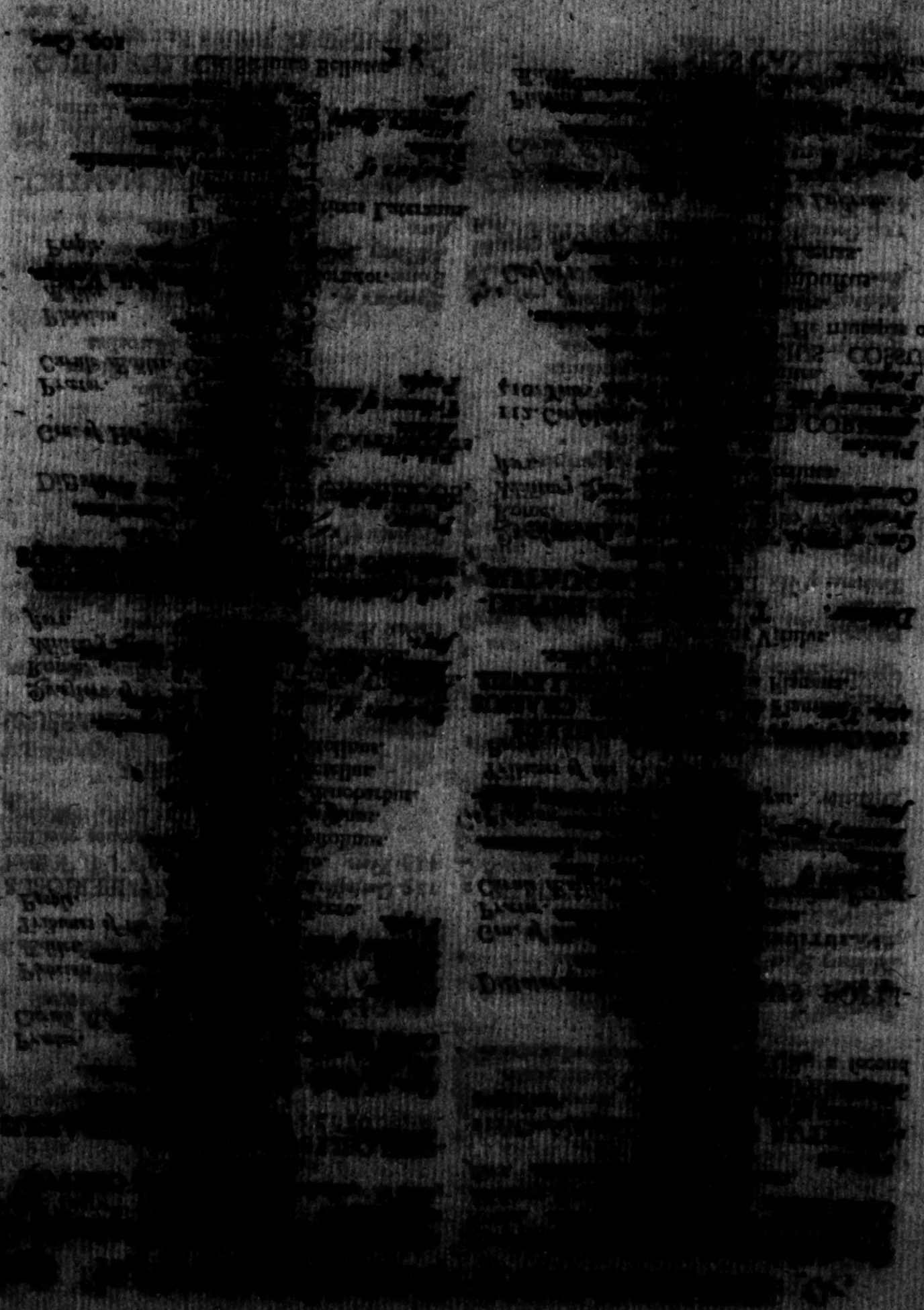
Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

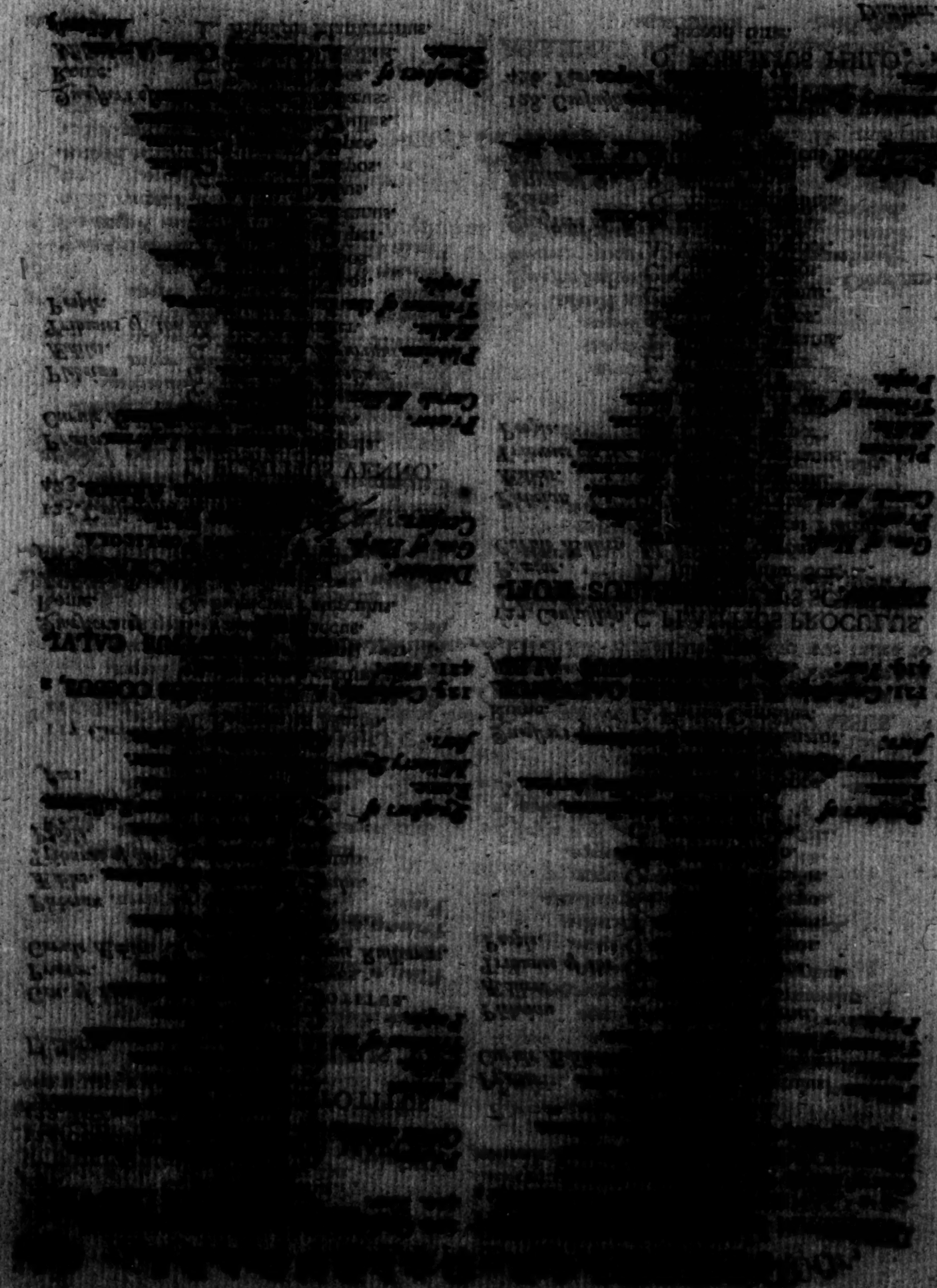
Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Dictator.







Dictator.

Gen. of Horse.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Tribunes.

125. Consuls,

443.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Tribunes.

127. Consuls, C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Tribunes.

128. Consuls,

426. Year of Rome.

Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a second time.

Dictator.

Quæſtors of Rome.

Military Tribunes.

129. Conſuls, L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a ſecond time.

427. Year. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLA-

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæſtors of Rome.

Military Tribunes.

C. Publius Libo Viſolus.

Prætor.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæſtors of Rome.

Military Tribunes.

over the Samnites and

C. Poetelius Libo Viſolus.

Lufrenus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Nepos.

Dimo.

Publicus Brutus.

Nepos.

[illegible]

Dictator.

Gen. of Horſe.
Prætor.
Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian
Ædiles.
Tribunes of the
People.

Quæſtors of
Rome.
Military
Tribunes.

139. Conſuls.

Dictator.

Gen. of Horſe.

Prætor.
Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian
Ædiles.
Tribunes of the
People.

T. Numicius Nepos.

CALVINUS.

ACCINATOR.

Dictator.
Gen. of Horſe.
Prætor.
Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian
Ædiles.
Tribunes of the
People.

Military Quæſtors.

141. Conſuls.
440. Years.

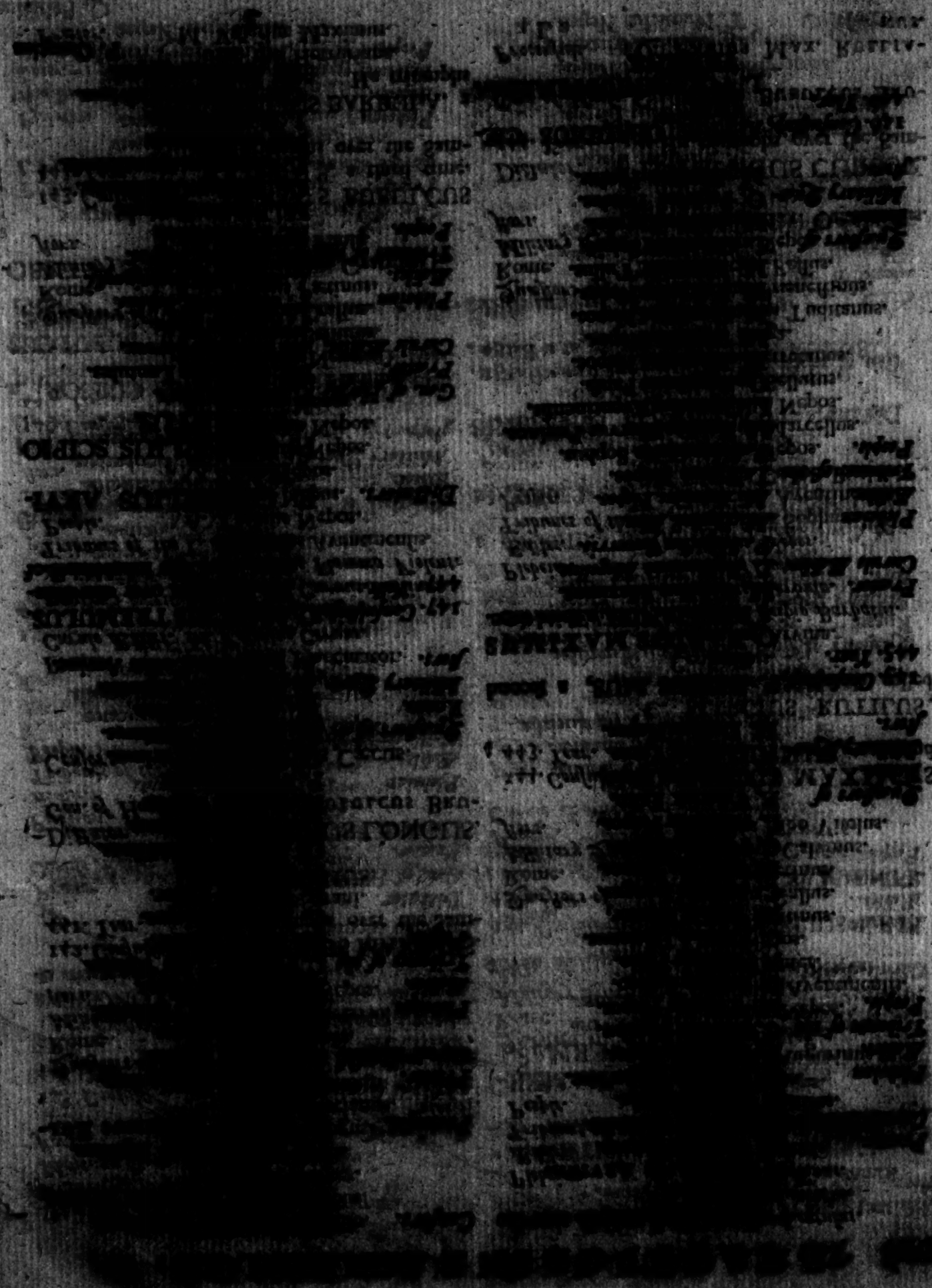
Dictator.

Gen. of Horſe.
People.
Curule Ædiles.

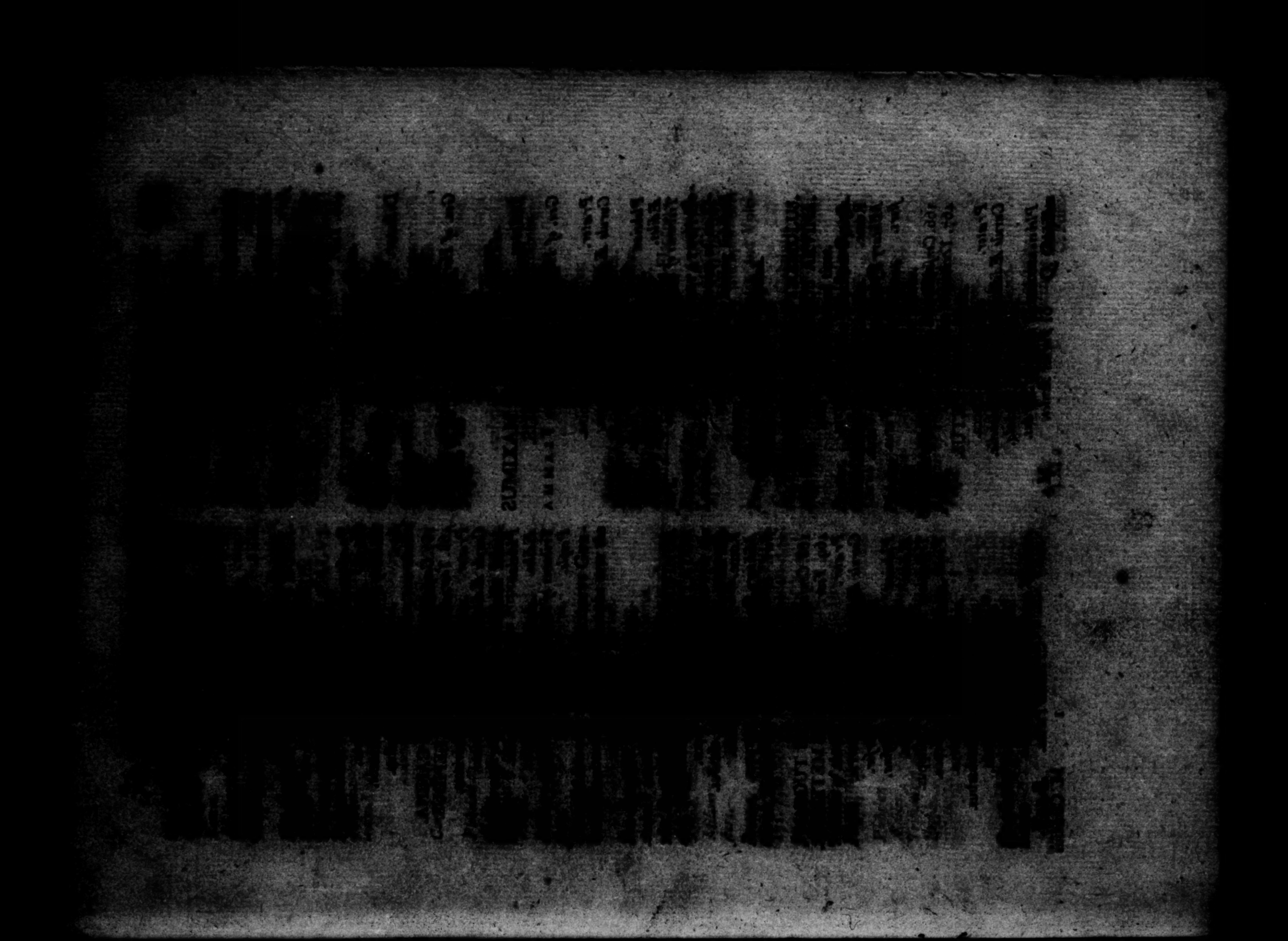
Plebeian
Ædiles.
Tribunes of the
People.

Cn. Papius Nepos.

Q. Publilius



Consuls of Rome.
Military Tribunes.
452. Year.
Consul.
Consul.
Prætor.
Curule Ædiles.
Plebeian Ædiles.
Tribunes of the People.
Quæstors of Rome.
453. Year.
Prætor.
Curule Ædiles.
Plebeian Ædiles.
Tribunes of the People.
Quæstors of Rome.
454. Year.
Consul.
Consul.
Prætor.
Curule Ædiles.
Plebeian Ædiles.
Tribunes of the People.
Quæstors of Rome.
455. Year.
Prætor.



L. Papirius Cræssus.